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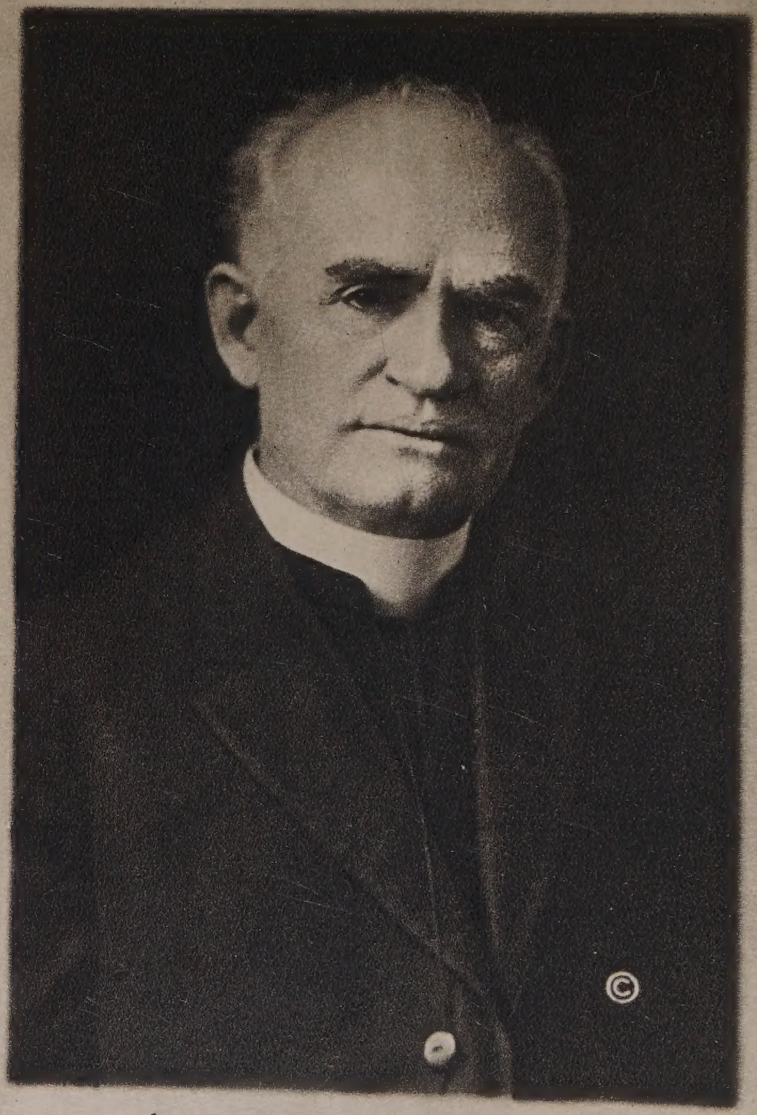

Francis A. Gaynor

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE

FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL SESSION

HELD IN

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

MAY 10-17, 1916

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PREFACE

The Indianapolis transactions may be considered a leading incident in the history of organized social service and reform in the United States. Specifically, they represent a year's growth of a dignified and powerful association. But in both discussions and business action those who attended the forty-third annual session of the Conference seem to have been impressed with the usefulness of this body in showing how *all* of scientific social effort in America may be turned to the solution of all its main practical problems. The sense of direction was rated scarcely second to technique.

Individual papers are noticeably more exhaustive of their subject-matter than usual. We wish they might have been both exhaustive and brief. Index references to outlines for action and to the results of research are numerous. Large issues such as state policy in dealing with the insane and feeble-minded, national measures to prevent unemployment, and strikingly, alcoholism, were singled out for attack with confidence. But the prevailing method of treatment was that of scientific analysis and deduction.

Several reasons may be given for this clean-cut definition of problems. Three of them were quite obvious from external circumstances. The Conference had this year for the first time a committee on The Promotion of Social Programs. As one may see from their discussions—the first division of the volume —a most disconcerting "Whither?" may be written over much of organized social effort. Co-ordinate with this was the attempt, only partially successful, to adopt simple forms of expression, both enlightening and forceful, in view of the constantly increasing popular audiences that attend the general sessions. A third influence tending to direct the discussions of the Conference toward outstanding objectives was, without doubt, the reflection of the type of organization and method of social work in Indiana under the leadership of the Board of State Charities. In that state results are checked up with preliminary calculations. This year, Indiana's centennial, was particularly one of counting gains.

W. T. C.

Chicago, October 1, 1916.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

The following figures are computed from the financial statements published in the annual volumes of Proceedings. They are to a negligible degree approximate. The amount of receipts is not always exactly divisible by the membership fee. The years from 1897 to and including 1902 are reported without analysis of membership receipts by years, so that the entire amount is credited to the year for which the financial report is made.

The figures for some years are thought to include small amounts for exchange on checks. Beginning with the year 1913 again the total amount of receipts is treated as though it were for the current year, as from this time on the number of members paying after the end of the year is about constant.

No financial report was published up to 1885, and then for eight years no item of membership receipts occurs. Beginning with 1893 rules of procedure were published giving a definition of membership requirements, and a fee, as stated, at $2.00. In 1897 the fee was raised to $2.50. In 1903 a special class of sustaining members was created in addition. Beginning with the year 1916 the regular membership fee was raised from $2.50 to $3.00.

There has for many years been an arrangement whereby credit is given in memberships for orders of Proceedings in quantity. In recent years about 175 members have been so accredited. This quantity should, therefore, be added to the total memberships for recent years to get the entire bona fide number. For example, the highest record in memberships, that of 1915, was 2,959 plus 171, making a total of 3,130. This figure is likely to be exceeded for 1916.

Membership of the National Conference Beginning 1893

Year	Sustaining Members	Regular Members	Total
1893	..	230	230
1894	..	259	259
1895	..	816	816
1896	..	1047	1047
1897	..	960	960
1898	..	1513	1513[1]
1899	..	595	595[1]
1900	..	1162	1162
1901	..	1201	1201
1202	..	1099	1099
1903	60	1033	1093
1904	67	1254	1321
1905	81	1021	1102
1906	214	1716	1930
1907	203	1741	1944
1908	196	1612	1808
1909	210	1810	2020
1910	212	2009	2221
1911	193	2417	2610
1912	166	1344	1510
1913	177	2354	2531[2]
1914	210	1731	1941
1915	290	2669	2959
1916	210	2593	2803[3]

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

1. The 1898 item of receipts includes subscriptions to the *Bulletin*, hence the figure 1,513 is probably excessive. The occurrence of so small a figure for the year following suggests that the 1898 account may include a considerable number of membership receipts for 1899.

2. The 1913 financial account covers a period of approximately 17½ months. The end of the financial year was changed from the date of holding the conference to December 31st. The figure given includes 63 memberships of 1912 as ascertained by actual count.

3. To the figures given for nine months to the end of August one should add about 175 (estimate) to correct, according to the calculation of previous years.

PLACES OF MEETING, PRESIDENTS, SECRETARIES AND TREASURERS

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1874	New York	John V. L. Pruyn, N. Y.
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1877	Saratoga	John V. L. Puryn, N. Y.
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1881	Boston	Frank B. Sanborn, Mass.
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1883	Louisville	Frederick H. Wines, Ill.
1884	St. Louis	Wm. P. Letchworth, N. Y.
1885	Washington	Philip A. Garrett, Pa.
1886	St. Paul	Wm. Howard Neff, O.
1887	Omaha	H. H. Giles, Wis.
1888	Buffalo	Charles S. Hoyt, N. Y.
1889	San Francisco	G. D. Gillespie, N. Y.
1890	Baltimore	A. G. Byers, O.
1891	Indianapolis	Oscar C. McCulloch, Ind.
1892	Denever	Myron W. Reed, Colo.
1893	Chicago	Hastings H. Hart, Minn.
1894	Nashville	Lucius C. Storrs, Mich.
1895	New Haven	Robert Treat Paine, Mass.
1896	Grand Rapids	A. O. Wright, Wis.
1897	Toronto	Alexander Johnson, Ind.
1898	New York	Wm. R. Stewart, N. Y.
1899	Cincinnati	Chas. R. Henderson, Ill.
1900	Topeka	Chas. E. Faulkner, Minn.
1901	Washington	John M Glenn, Md.
1902	Detroit	Timothy Nicholson, Ind.
1903	Atlanta	Rob't W. DeForest, N. Y.
1904	Portland, Me.	Jeffrey R. Brackett, Mass.
1905	Portland, Ore.	Samuel G. Smith, Minn.
1906	Philadelphia	Edward T. Devine, N. Y.
1907	Minneapolis	Amos W. Butler, Ind.
1908	Richmond	Thomas M. Mulry, N. Y.
1909	Buffalo	Ernest P. Bicknell, Washington, D. C.
1910	St. Louis	Jane Addams, Ill.
1911	Boston	Homer Folks, N. Y.
1912	Cleveland	Julian W. Mack, Ill.
1913	Seattle	Frank Tucker, N. Y.
1914	Memphis	Graham Taylor, Ill.
1915	Baltimore	Mrs. John M. Glenn, N. Y.
1916	Indianapolis	Francis H. Gavisk, Ind.
1917	Pittsburgh	Frederic Almy, N. Y.

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Proceedings of the Forty-third
National Conference of Charities and Correction

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The Scope of the Conference*

Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, LL.D., Indianapolis

Twenty-five years ago the National Conference of Charities and Correction met in this city of Indianapolis. The President of that Conference was the Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch, the pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church. Though long since gone from among us, he still lives in the influence he exerted upon this community; his is not merely a memory, but a blessed vital force. Nor has the impression of that long ago conference been effaced from the people of this city and state; there are many among us who first learned what the National Conference stands for from the Indianapolis gathering twenty-five years ago, and whose interest and activities in works of social betterment date from the conference of 1891.

It is but natural that, gathered in this city, our thoughts should go back to the intervening period. There were problems then to be solved by the earnest men and women who gathered here; many have found solution. Some of the forward outlooks of that day that were deemed visionary and radical have come to reality and may now be classed as quite conservative. The circle of the influence of the National Conference has widened year by year until now it embraces every effort toward social betterment.

The National Conference, having its origin in the meetings of public relief officials, institution managers and boards of state charities, was, prior to 1891, engaged principally with the problems of relief and management. It was the period of relief work. The organization of charities, with its fundamental principle of co-operation of philanthropic agencies, had just begun. It was called forth by the abuses that had crept into the administration of relief, and by the study of the problem of poverty. It was not a popular movement then, and in truth is not well understood even now. The method of investigation of cases and co-operation in charities was deemed as quite unnecessary—if,

*Opening meeting, Wednesday, May 10, 8:15 P. M.

indeed, it was not an impertinent interference. Most charitably disposed persons preferred sentimental alms-giving to any scientific investigation of the causes of dependency and methods of prevention and self help. Against this sentiment Mr. McCulloch had to stand in his day. Had he no other claim upon the remembrance of this community, his educational work in constructive charity, his advocacy of co-operation in effort, his preventive work, would alone embalm his name as a doer of good deeds in Indianapolis.

The province of philosophy is to study the nature of things in their causes. Philosophy began to be applied to social problems. Relief alone was not lessening the burden of dependency, and so thoughtful men and women began to ask what are the causes of poverty, delinquency, dependence and inefficiency, that learning the causes, they might study to remove them in so far as possible. This was a forward step, the period of prevention. To this forward step the National Conference not only lent itself, but it has been, in many respects, the herald of the movement. In the effort to remove the causes of the burden of the unsocial classes, many agencies dealing with special social problems have been organized and have found the National Conference a common meeting ground. Our civilization and social life has become so complex that what affects the individual reacts upon the community at large, so that each phase of social betterment or specialized endeavor is of interest to every other. The National Conference of Charities and Correction has now come to mean the gathering of not only institution managers, relief officials and charity organizations, but of all those who are engaged in any form of social welfare work. A glance at the extensive and varied programs of constructive philanthropy of this conference, and the other conferences of late years, will indicate how far the field of study in philanthropy has extended. These programs are not all theoretical schemes of social betterment; these, of course, have their place, but in the main the programs are practical applications of study and knowledge to concrete problems of human life. It was in no irreverent spirit that a former pastor of this city gave a wider interpretation of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, as illustrating the modern method of prevention. Instead of ceasing from his efforts after he had cared for the man fallen among robbers, the present day Samaritan would have organized a posse of citizens to apprehend the robbers and by process of law would have put a stop to the brigandage on the road to Jericho.

While we admire the philosophy and science of the later day philanthropy, and we have learned much of the causes of human misery and how to prevent much of the needless dependency, let us not ignore the point of the Master's illustration—the fine sympathy with the victim of the robbers, the unselfish love that saw the brother and the fellow man in one of a different creed and caste, the practical service of self and of means in the care of one in distress.

> "For the gift without the giver is bare;
> Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,—
> Himself, his hungering brother, and Me."
>
> —*Lowell.*

I hope that we will grow in knowledge and advance in method as we assemble in conference year by year, but I trust that philanthropy will never become so much of a science as to be a passionless intellectuality or a frigid officialism. To lose human sympathy, which is the very essence of charity, would be to quench the vital spark of a heavenly flame. Suffering, dependency, and the whole range of the problems of poverty and crime, because of the waste they entail, are indeed economic questions, but they are much more than that. A criticism of the tendency to consider these problems only in the light of economics was made by Walter George Smith in "America" a few months ago. He says:

> Consciously or unconsciously the ideal he has before him of a perfect society is one in which all trial and suffering is eliminated from human life; where sanitary science is developed to such perfection that a strong-limbed, clear-brained, practical people live together in much prosperity, and where the rules of justice are observed, not because they carry with them supernatural sanction, but because a careful consideration of the lessons of history shows that both for the mass and for the individual honesty is the best policy. So the golden age will be brought back by a cultivation of the intelligence of the people, and their passions will be subdued by a demonstration of the physical injuries and the mental discomfort that follow their violation.

I do not believe that any large number of practical social workers have any such material view of human life or of social endeavor. The great majority of those engaged in practical social work is composed of volunteers from either church, charitable organizations or from societies which, if not professedly religious, have a membership recognizing a religious as well as a social obligation. To them human suffering is not entirely evil; poverty is not a crime; crimes are not the results alone of poverty and

of ignorance; dependency is not a shame. They have no delusion that legislative enactments are a panacea for human ills, or that the day will come when there will be none who are dependent, none who are poor, none who will not violate the law, none who will not do injustice. I believe this great majority of social workers is eager to accept the best that scientific philanthropy can discover and suggest to lift the social burden, but to them the promised good things of life are a means and not the end. Theirs is the vision of the spiritual kingdom for their beneficiaries, and for themselves, an "other world" motive which has created a greater enthusiasm for social service than the brightest optimism of materialism is capable of arousing.

I believe the strongest ally of the Conference is religion. The very history of charity is founded in religion. In the book of Tobias we read of the wonderful deeds of charity of that Jewish captive in Nineveh, the elder Tobias; how he "daily went among his fellow captives and comforted them, and distributed to every one as he was able out of his goods; he fed the hungry and gave clothes to the naked, and was careful to bury the dead and they that were slain," and instructed his son to works of mercy. And this not to bring about a better social condition among the captives, but rather to the end that their faith might be maintained, their hope sustained, that the face of the Lord be not turned from them; and the alms-deeds of the poor Jewish captive merited an angel's visit. The teachings of the book of Proverbs abound in counsels of mutual help for God's sake.

The example of Jesus and His words have been the inspiration for the wonder works of charity during the present era, and the spirit of giving of the present day is the fruithful inheritance from those who believed that doing to the least of the brethren was doing to Him. It may not have always been done in the most enlightened manner and may have simply relieved the evils without effecting a cure, but at all events the motives behind the effort were pure and high. Let us not negative the splendid work of the Jew, the Protestant and the Catholic in charitable effort by removing or minimizing the spiritual, the religious motives which are the purpose of their being.

I believe that this is the scope of the National Conference: To make it the common meeting ground of all who are interested in the matters embraced under the general title of Charities and Corrections, whether they are engaged in public or private charity work, whether as professional workers or volunteers, whether from purely social or religious motives; this is

the universal forum for all who are concerned in the betterment of their fellowman. Here there shall be recognition of each other's good and each from other shall learn, forgetful for the time of the differences that divide us.

And I wish here to assure the public that in my observation of the administration of public and private charities and corrections I have been deeply impressed with the very general kindness, sympathy and wisdom of officials and workers towards their wards and dependents; rarely have I found either deliberate unkindness and neglect or even cold officialism toward them; there has been a general desire to relieve distress and to lift the burden.

The National Conference is unlike any other body that assembles. It is the democracy of charity in which each interest is equal to every other. Though possessing the traditions of nearly half a century of existence it is as young as its newest member, looking forward with the eagerness of inexperience. Its organization is simple and unhampered with many regulations; it is a conference in which there is free interchange of opinion giving scope to individuality. The Conference decides nothing and does not go on record as favoring either this policy or that; but that its influence has been potent is evidenced from the forward movement in charities and corrections since its organization. We do not merely meet, read papers, discuss them, go home and then publish a volume of papers and proceedings; the activities of the conference are continued through the permanent headquarters with an efficient permanent staff. One can see how great a benefit to the cause of charity the continued activities of the conference organization can be in its educational work, in assembling a body of trained workers to unify the philanthropic efforts of the country; in standardizing phases of charitable effort, in putting into effect those policies outlined at the conference which are the results of the deep study, and the wide experience of the best thinkers. The Conference ought to be at the service of public officials in state, county and municipality as well as private charities in collating the best experience and the ablest thought in philanthropy. At a single conference on the care of dependent children held in Washington in 1909, the result of the deliberation of the White House Conference was to standardize the methods of child care and indirectly to establish the Federal Children's Bureau, so ably and profitably conducted by our eminent co-worker, Miss Julia Lathrop. To do all that the National Conference could do and

ought to do would require a larger income than the Conference has at its command. There is both enthusiasm and intelligence in the membership of the Conference waiting for the opportunity for greater work, there is an incessant cry from over the country for aid from those who are so willing to do but have not the knowledge to execute, and who look to the Conference for direction; but the means are not at hand. After a year's experience as President in the activities of the Conference between sessions, I would wish that the Conference were endowed to carry on its work, that a Conference Foundation might be established by its members with sufficient income to enable the Conference to dispense with the guarantee fund asked of the conference city, and to carry on the great things for which the Conference was instituted and to project the philanthropic works that are now in our vision.

May all of us learn new lessons at this conference now beginning, and when we part at its close may it be with mutual recognition of each other's work and a common zeal for the cause we each have at heart.

"In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity;
All must be false that thwart this one great end,
And all of God, that bless mankind, and mend."

—*Pope.*

WAR RELIEF*

Ernest P. Bicknell, Director General of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

When the hour struck, the alliances and treaties, meant to maintain the peace of Europe, served to drag all the powers into the conflict. Like Alpine climbers the nations, roped together for protection, together plunged over the precipice. The general European war had come; the war which had long been predicted, long feared, but in whose actual realization humanity had refused to believe.

Instantly every other interest was overshadowed or forgotten. Day by day the mounting horror became more terrible. Europe seemed to have gone mad. Nothing mattered but destruction. All that the most enlightened and progressive nations in the world had achieved in beautifying and broadening life was swept aside in the fury of war. Those things in which mankind prided itself; the institutions which had served as a measure of its progress, were destroyed or forgotten or converted to the horrible purposes of war. The science and skill which had been developed for the production of the instrumentalities of a nobler life were turned, with devilish ingenuity, to the production of instruments of death.

Civilization crumpled like a toy balloon and was trampled under the feet of contending armies. The sword, after all our fine words, proved mightier than the pen. Right went down before might. The currents of life turned backward. Those futile sayings and formulas by which we had befooled ourselves into a sense of security and well being, were snatched away, revealing the pit of hell over which we were suspended.

Of the nations actively engaged in this war, all, except Japan, are of the Caucasian race. Their population, not including their colonial possessions, is about 500,000,000. These nations are not fighting to break down the barriers of superstition and barbarism among the benighted peoples of Africa and Asia; they are fighting among themselves to destroy the best and finest products of their own civilization. And more than half of all the people on the globe, who have been counted as enlightened, are now at war. Moreover, it is a war of Christian nations, for all the countries

*An address at the Opening Meeting, Wednesday, May 10, 8:15 P. M.

involved, except Turkey and Japan, profess to follow the teachings of Jesus Christ.

In order to carry on this war, the nations have called into their armies their best men; their young, ambitious, strong men, at the zenith of mental and physical power; the men upon whom depend the progress and prosperity of the world during the next quarter century. The teachers, the scientists, the writers, the law-makers, the leaders in industry and the professions are sent to the front to kill each other with guns, to blow each other to pieces with bombs and mines, to poison each other with deadly gases.

How many have been called to arms is unknown, but it is probable the numbr is not less than 30,000,000. It were futile to enter into careful calculations as to the number of these men lost in the fighting and by illness. Estimates available are usually prepared by men whose interest or information inclines them to magnify the losses of one side while minimizing those of the other. It is, however, clear that out of the great body of the best men from all countries involved, millions are being lost by death and other millions by permanent disability because of wounds or disease.

A traveler about the countries at war cannot but be profoundly impressed by the number and capacity of the hospitals. When the war began, the military hospitals and public hospitals of a general character were first filled with the wounded. As the influx of patients increased, public buildings were taken over for hospitals. Then came school houses, churches, private residences, warehouses, factory buildings, etc. This adaptation of various sorts of structures to hospital use is well illustrated by the hospitals assigned to the medical units sent to Europe by the American Red Cross. In England the hospital was a spacious country villa; in Germany one of the hospitals was a theater; in Russia the buildings of a great technological school were occupied; in Hungary a large school for the blind was utilized; in Belgium a huge, temporary, barrack-like structure erected for the purpose; in Serbia one of our hospitals was in a vast abandoned tobacco warehouse; while in France a beautiful amusement pavilion was utilized. An observer who has witnessed this expansion of hospital facilities comes almost to feel that all the world is destined to be swallowed up in hospitals. These institutions today exist by thousands in each of the larger countries at war, and the patients are counted by millions.

It is in the care of sick and wounded soldiers that war relief

reaches its highest point in magnitude and efficiency. Every tie of kindred, every incentive of patriotism, every fear of national defeat, every economic motive finds common interest in the restoration of the disabled soldiers. This task, too great for the military organization, absorbed as it must be in the conduct of military operations, is largely entrusted to the societies of the Red Cross, organized for this purpose in times of peace and invested by law with necessary powers and immunities. The part taken by the Red Cross in the European war is second only to that of the army itself in importance and magnitude. It has been stated that 80,000 persons are fully engaged in the field and at home in the work of the British Red Cross Society, and there is no reason to doubt the estimate that the societies of the Red Cross in all belligerent countries at the present time have the full personal service of more than 500,000 persons, while millions contribute of their means and time as much as they can.

The Red Cross provides a channel through which the non-military elements of a country may do their part no less surely, no less devotedly than the soldiers and sailors themselves. While the skill of Red Cross surgeons and nurses constitutes the chief means by which the civilian population may help, a great opportunity is open to thousands who possess no professional training. Every country at war today is aquiver with the zealous activity of its women, its children and its men who cannot serve in the army. The maintenance and management of hospitals; the transportation of the sick and wounded from the front to base hospitals or to their homes; the setting up of eating places along the railways over which the disabled men are carried; the organization and management of hospital ships, hospital trains and ambulance units; the establishment and conduct of convalescent homes; the conduct of information bureaus whose agents visit all hospitals and keep a record of wounded men, notify the folks back home of those who are killed or wounded or sick, carry on correspondence for men unable to write for themselves, distribute mail and a great variety of comforts which lie outside the narrow range of articles included in the regular regimen of the military establishment, and render a multitude of unenumerated services; and finally the tremendous industry by means of which loving hands in a million homes fashion bandages and garments and a thousand things for the alleviation of pain and the softening of the harshness of camp life—all these and more are the civilian people of Europe doing for their armies and navies today through their societies of the Red Cross.

And in this vast, vibrant, all embracing service, reaching up to the highest and down to the lowest, we have a picture of what the American Red Cross will be doing should our own country become involved in a great war.

Each country places the control of these countless helpful activities under its Red Cross, because, without centralized direction and regulation, there could be no system, no means of steadying and equalizing the flow of help in accordance with fluctuating demands and shifting centers of need. A single directing agency, informed at all times of the character and amount of help required, has been found an essential means of establishing satisfactory relations between this volunteer service and the military forces in the field. Without such unified control it is plain that the patriotic and eager efforts of thousands of unrelated agencies would lead to hopeless confusion and self-defeat. Indeed, some hint of this confusion has been recently witnessed in the United States in the multitude of unrelated and independent agencies engaged in war relief. In the terrible tests of efficiency to which the societies of the Red Cross have been subjected by war conditions in Europe and in the wasteful futility of uncentralized and uncontrolled relief agencies as observed here at home, is to be found a solemn warning to the American Red Cross of the vital importance of preparedness.

Up to this point I have spoken of that side of war relief which has to do with the care of sick and wounded soldiers. Turn now to war relief work in behalf of non-combatants. This consists in general of two kinds, first, that for families which have been made dependent by the loss of their normal supporters killed or disabled at the front; second, that for the people of territories which have been over-run by the contending armies. Every country at war has its own heavy burden of caring for the families of its dead and disabled soldiers, a burden usually borne by combined effort of governmental and private agencies, borne with pride and without complaint.

In the case of Germany and Austria at the present time, their inability to import food supplies because of the blockade maintained by the Entente Allies, very greatly complicates the difficulties encountered in supplying food for the civilian population. Their problem, in fact, goes far beyond the requirement that help be provided for the families of killed and wounded soldiers. They must so control and gauge the entire stock of foodstuffs within their boundaries that such supplies may be equitably distributed among all the people; that there shall be no hoarding

or cornering of foods and no speculating in the necessaries of life. Because of these abnormal conditions, the student of relief administration finds an unusually interesting field of observation in the Teutonic Empires.

Germany's foresight, her thoroughness, her paternalism and her strong, direct control of affairs which we in the United States are prone to regard as outside the realm of governmental interference, were never more strikingly shown than in the manner in which she has regulated the private affairs of her people during the war. An American observer of these measures is amazed at the uncomplaining docility with which the people accept the restriction of their liberties, and can but contrast it with the storms of protest which probably would sweep this country if similar restrictions were attempted here.

In the winter of 1914-15, regulation of the bread supply began in Germany. All the flour in the Empire was first inventoried and then taken over by the government, except that families might retain 150 pounds of any stock on hand when the new regulations went into effect. Step by step restrictive measures followed each other. The precise shapes into which bread might be baked were fixed by law. Prices were determined in the same way. All bread was baked by bakers who could obtain their flour only from the public stock. If a baker violated the law in the price charged, or the shape or weight of his loaves, he was subject to heavy fine and imprisonment and forfeited his right to buy flour from the government, which meant his ruin. Then the government decided that a certain percentage of all bread must consist of potato flour, made by drying and grinding potatoes and mixing the product in the required proportion with wheat flour. The next step was a limitation upon the amount of bread which might be eaten by the individual. The government issued a bread card to each family. Upon the card was indicated the amount of bread to which the family was entitled and the baker was not permitted to sell more than called for by the card. Guests at hotels were required to obtain new bread cards each morning, and before being served in the dining room were compelled to exhibit their cards to the waiter and permit him to detach coupons. Each person was permitted a daily allowance of 250 grams of bread (about one-half pound). Later the amount was reduced to 200 grams.

In similar manner the government placed a strong regulative hand upon the use of meat, milk and butter. At regular intervals a complete inventory is made of all food supplies in the Empire, and close calculations enable the authorities to tighten or relax

restrictions upon consumption as the reports warrant. These measures, at first interpreted as signifying that Germany's food supply was almost exhausted, proved to be simply precautionary and an illustration of the thorough-going methods of the country. In a speech in the House of Commons in the spring of 1915 a member of Parliament referred sneeringly to the fact that the Germans were already reduced to the expedient of eating potato bread. To this Lloyd George replied that it was the potato bread spirit of the German people which England had most to fear. Early in the war the German government urged the farmers of the nation to discontinue raising sugar beets, which are a great and profitable crop, and to devote their land to the production of cereals for foodstuffs, and this request was generally obeyed.

Supplementing its regulative and restrictive measures, the government resorted to a wide propaganda for economies in their homes. One of the first instances of this which I noticed was in a railway station near the Holland border. A printed sheet on the wall contained a series of advisory paragraphs. One, I recall, urged people to cook potatoes in their skins because peeling potatoes wasted part of their substance. Others urged that scraps and leavings be preserved and converted into other forms of food. With a great war demanding the full strength of the nation, the government yet found time to give attention to the minutiae of the lives of the people.

Whatever the student of warfare may think of the war policy of Germany, there can be nothing but admiration for the skill and courage with which she has preserved and protected her people amid circumstances of almost inconceivable difficulty. It is to be expected that the world will receive many valuable lessons in economics and administration as a direct result of Germany's masterly methods of conserving her resources during this war.

The plight of peoples who find themselves in the midst of the fighting is a chapter which stands alone in the terrible tale of warfare. The armies surge backward and forward as the tides of battle ebb and flow. Many thousand square miles of fertile country and many hundred villages and towns have been repeatedly swept by the advancing and retiring armies. A large part of Poland has been fought over three times and some parts of Poland and Galicia have suffered this frightful affliction as many as six times. Probably two-thirds of the entire area of Belgium has been fought over one or more times and this is true of substantially all of that section of northern France traversed by the German armies.

All the conditions of normal existence are destroyed under these circumstances. The people flee wildly, carrying such of their goods as they can bear on their shoulders, or if flight is impossible they hide in cellars or creep away into the forests. The armies seize all the food they find, killing the farm animals for meat and carrying away the horses for military uses. Houses are ransacked. All food supplies for animals are taken. Fences and outbuildings are torn down and used for fuel. In fighting, soldiers make use of the houses for protection, with the result that often entire towns and villages are burned or completely battered down by artillery fire. Civilians are killed or wounded, families scattered and entire populations left homeless and starving, to wander miserably through the desolated country, and to lie in the fields or beside the roads at night, the prey of disease and despair.

The economic losses which these war-torn regions have suffered are tremendous. They consist not alone in the houses and goods and animals destroyed or taken. There must be reckoned also the complete stoppage of industry and business for many months, much of it never to be regained, the depreciation in the earning capacity of people who have been broken by hardship, demoralized by the shattering of all the usual routine and discipline of life, and discouraged by overwhelming misfortune.

Of the people in the areas directly devastated by war operations, some have been completely impoverished, some thrown into temporary dependence through thir inability to earn food by their own efforts; some have fled to distant friends, while a few have managed to maintain themselves without help. An estimate, believed to be conservative, places the number of persons made dependent by direct war operations at more than 15,000,000, while the areas which have been actually fought over and desolated by the armies before the war contained a population of more than 35,000,000. It is as if one-third of the population of the United States were trampled directly under the feet of war, while one-seventh of all the people in the country were thrown upon charity for support. If all the inhabitants of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois were by some sudden catastrophe thrown helpless upon the charity of the world the resulting problem in philanthropy would be no greater than that which this war has created in Europe. It is as though the entire population of the seventeen largest cities in the United States were suddenly plunged into a state of dependence upon charity.

The measures of relief necessary to adequately meet this gigantic problem in normal times of peace would tax the resources of the world. In the midst of a world war, in which nearly all of the strongest nations are concentrating every resource upon a struggle for existence, it is obvious that adequate measures of relief are impossible. Such relief efforts as are undertaken by neutral nations and by the belligerent countries themselves are hampered at every point by blockades, by the obstacles set up at the frontiers of every country, by difficulties of transportation, and by restrictions upon the movements of those engaged in the administration of relief. It is, therefore, inevitable that a measureless amount of suffering and death from exposure, hunger and disease must have fallen upon the helpless non-combatant populations of countries such as Belgium, Poland, northern France, Galicia and Serbia.

Relief measures in behalf of these people must be divided into two classes: First, those intended to provide for the immediate needs of the destitute; and, second, those intended for the ultimate restoration of normal living conditions. The first must be immediate if they are to be of value. The second must chiefly follow the return of peace.

Those helpful measures which have commanded the active sympathy of the people of the United States and all other neutral nations have, therefore, had to do only with the question of immediate relief. The problem in its essentials is closely analagous, save in point of magnitude, to those which follow the occurrence of great natural disasters. All energy must be devoted to the obtaining, transporting and distributing of food supplies, of clothing, of medicines and hospital supplies, and to the collection and distribution of materials for the construction of shelters. It is not possible at this time to place any estimate upon the amount or value of the help which has been concentrated upon this work by the benevolence of the world. All relief operations recorded in history sink into insignificance when compared to those which have been undertaken in connecwith the European War. The expenditures of money and donated supplies by the Red Cross societies are already reckoned in hundreds of millions. Red Cross efforts, however, so far as the European societies are concerned are devoted primarily to the care of the sick and wounded of the armies. The civilian populations, prostrated by the operations of the contending armies, must, therefore, look chiefly to the assistance provided by neutral agencies.

As the richest and most populous of neutral countries, it was to be expected that the United States would become the chief source from which this help must flow. All are familiar with the tremendous wave of sympathy which has swept this country. The intensity of partisan feeling which has divided the interest of our people between the warring nations, while deeply to be regretted on many accounts, has unquestionably resulted in a greater and more generous volume of relief-giving than would otherwise have occurred. Thousands of associations and committees have been actively engaged in the preparation and collection of relief funds and relief supplies and from the sailing of the American Red Cross ship, with its burden of surgeons and nurses and hospital supplies, in the summer of 1914, down to the present time scarcely a ship has departed from New York for an European destination which has not carried its cargo of help.

The greatest single relief operation has been that through which the civil populations of Belgium and northern France have been fed and clothed through the agency of an American organization known as the Commission for Relief in Belgium. By reason of an agreement between Germany and Great Britain, this Commission has been permitted to carry on its work without interruption. It has built up and directed a gigantic business organization. At the present time it is distributing in Belgium and that part of France held by the Teutonic Allies about 120,000 tons of food per month. This food, contributed and purchased from every quarter of the earth, is carried in specially chartered ships to the port of Rotterdam, in Holland. There the supplies are transferred to barges, which are towed by tugs through the remarkable canal system of Holland and Belgium, and delivered among the distribution centers in Belgium and France.

It is not alone necessary to charter and operate many ships, but agencies in many countries must purchase food stuffs and have them shipped by rail to the proper ports of embarkation. The financial operations of the Commission equal in magnitude the revenues and expenditures of a nation. The sailing of the ships must be so timed that they will arrive at Rotterdam in regular and proper succession, and it is an impressive sight to see the arrival at this port of destination of an average of one great ship load of food every second day. From Halifax, from New York, from Argentina, from South Africa, from India, from China, from San Francisco, the ships follow each other in procession through the English Channel, guided by skillful pilots to avoid the mine fields, protected from attack by the great special

flag of the Commission, and plough slowly up the sluggish waters of the Maas river to the docks at Rotterdam.

The expenditures of the Commission for Relief in Belgium have already exceeded $130,000,000. The food purchased by this great sum is not chiefly distributed in charity, but is given freely to those who cannot pay, and sold to those who are able to buy it. The proceeds from the sales are turned back into the relief fund. It should be said that this vast expenditure is chiefly provided by the Belgian Government. The total outright contributions from the United States for the relief of Belgium have amounted approximately to $15,000,000. The organization by which these food supplies are promptly and equitably distributed in Belgium and France, the method by which the grain is gound into flour, baked into bread, and delivered to the local committees throughout the country cannot here be described in detail, but its efficiency may be summed up in the statement which was made by a prominent Belgian banker, who was probably the best informed man in that country, concerning the actual effectiveness of the relief work. In the spring of 1915 this man said to me with emphasis: "Today there is not a hungry man, woman or child in the Kingdom of Belgium."

Thanks to the work of this Commission and to the agreement between Great Britain and Germany by which it has been allowed to operate, the people of Belgium and northern France have fared much better than have the civilian populations in other sections which have been overrun by war. While the destruction of life and property in Belgium were great, the losses were not such as will seriously retard the restoration of Belgium when the opportunity comes. The Belgian Government is one of the most highly organized and the per capita wealth of the people is perhaps as great as that of the people of any country in the world. The industries which constitute the strength of the Belgian nation have been paralyzed, but not destroyed. When the opportunity comes for these to spring once more into activity, the country's recovery will be swift and thorough. It is not too much to say that the chief loss which Belgium has suffered is to be found in the curse of idleness which has settled down upon her, tying the hands of her people, and thrusting them into dependence upon charity. It does not seem possible that an entire population can be forced to sit with idle hands, fed and clothed by the charity of the world for a period of two years or more, without suffering some measure of moral and industrial deterioration.

Let us turn now to a brief consideration of the plight of Poland. The per capita wealth of Poland is much smaller than that of Belgium. The citizen of Belgium has been accustomed to a large share in the affairs of his Government. He is accustomed to organization, to participating in the political movements of his time, to freedom of speech and action. The citizen of Poland has had no voice whatever in his government. He has not been permitted to participate in the making of laws or the selection of those in authority over him. Every official of the government, whether of province, city or village, has been appointed without consulting his wishes, and has ruled him with little regard to his interests. He does not know from personal experience the meaning of self-government. His cities have been taxed and regulated, not with a view to his health or convenience or happiness, but rather with a view to the obtaining of revenues from his taxes for the support of the central government. The Polish city is governed by a president and council, all appointed from Petrograd. These officers cannot expend money in behalf of the cities which they govern without express permission from the national authorities. The city of Lodz, in Poland, with a population of about 500,000, has no sewers, no municipal fire department, few paved streets or street car lines, and a lighting system which would be intolerable in an American city of ten thousand population. The President and Council of Lodz had no authority to expend upon any project above $150 without special permission obtained from Petrograd, a permission which was often refused, and usually delayed. The city of Czhentochowa, with a population of about one hundred thousand, had no paved streets, no sewers, no public lighting system, no fire department and no telephones.

The Russian and Teutonic armies fought each other back and forth across Poland three times. The villages, composed of wooden cottages, with thatched roofs, burned like tinder whenever they were within the zone of fighting, with the result that thousands of small Polish villages were completely destroyed. The armies consumed the foodstuffs and virtually swept the country bare. Like chaff in the wind, the people were scattered, and by millions wandered through the desolated country, trying to make their way to the interior of Russia or to find some place of security in their own land. After the armies had departed, the greater part of the population slowly drifted back to its former habitations, where the people huddled among the ruins of their homes or camped in the open air, the victims of hunger and exposure.

Here must be recorded an interesting and notable fact, which played an important part in the existence of the Polish people in the months of winter following the devastation of their country. One of the chief industries in Poland was the manufacture of the drink called vodka. The cheaper form of vodka is distilled from potatoes. The vodka industry, therefore, required the production of vast quantities of potatoes. The Poland potato crop had been planted in the spring of 1914, but when the war came on, the Emperor of Russia issued his famous edict prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors, including vodka. At first this seemed a crushing blow to the industry of Poland, but after the country had been desolated by war and the ordinary food supplies had been exhausted, the people of Poland found themselves in possession of a vast harvest of potatoes, and these potatoes, no longer valuable for the manufacture of vodka, provided a supply of food which kept the nation alive during the winter which followed.

I trust I may be pardoned for a brief diversion at this point in order to speak of another direct result of the prohibition edict in Russia. Immediately after the taking effect of the edict, the savings bank deposits in Russia began to increase at a most amazing rate, and this notwithstanding the fact that Russia was in the midst of war, with her industries disturbed and all her usual business affairs depressed. A few figures may be given to illustrate this result of prohibiton in Russia. The savings bank deposits in Russia, including Poland, on January 1, 1914, were 240,000,000 roubles (a rouble being about fifty cents); on February 1, 1914, 233,000,000 roubles; on March 1, 1914, 266,000,000 roubles. It will be noticed that these figures refer to dates before the prohibition edict was issued and also before the beginning of the war. The deposits on the corresponding dates one year later, while the war was at its height, show the following savings bank deposits in Russia: January 1, 1915, 438,000,000 roubles, an increase of nearly one hundred per cent over the showing for January 1, 1914; February 1, 1915, 509,000,000 roubles, an increase of over one hundred per cent; and March 1, 1915, 737,000,000 roubles, an increase of almost two hundred per cent.

Americans living in Russia complained with jocular bitterness that the result of the prohibition edict had greatly complicated and intensified the servant problem in their homes. Since it had been common for workingmen to spend their wages regularly upon vodka, the wives had been accustomed to seek

domestic service. Soon after the prohibition edict took effect, a widespread exodus occurred on the part of these wives, who gave up their domestic service to return home, with the explanation that their husbands now had money enough to support them.

But to return to the conditions in Poland. Unlike Belgium, Poland is far in the interior and is inaccessible to the relief agencies of neutral countries without first crossing a wide stretch of belligerent territory. It was found impossible to obtain an arrangement between Germany and Great Britain which would permit the importation of relief supplies from neutral nations. The War Relief Commission sent to Europe by the Rockefeller Foundation for the purpose of investigating conditions among civilians, and organizing measures of relief, spent several months in an unsuccessful effort to procure and transport food supplies into Poland. The Commission, of which the writer was a member, after having traveled through Poland and having personally observed conditions, made an arrangement with Germany and Austria under which the Commission was authorized to create an organization for the distribution of relief supplies in Poland. These two governments further agreed to contribute in cash $500,000 per month, to be turned over to the Commission and expended in the purchase of food. They also pledged themselves to provide railway transportation for relief supplies and to give the Commission every facility for conducting its work. They guaranteed that no supplies brought in by the Commission should be used for any purpose whatever except the relief of the Polish people.

With this agreement completed and signed by the proper authorities, we undertook to purchase food. Germany and Austria had made it a condition that this food could not be purchased in their own territory, because, as a result of the blockade maintained by the Allies, they were unable to import food and were compelled to hold all supplies in their possession for the use of their own people. We thereupon undertook to obtain food from the neutral countries of Europe. In the pursuit of this object we traveled into Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Roumania and Bulgaria, the latter country at that time being still neutral. These countries, without exception, declined to sell the Commission food for Poland. Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland stated that they were themselves largely dependent upon imported food supplies for their own people, and that if they sold food to the Commission for Poland the

Allies would prohibit them from importing food from across the sea for their own use. They stated that they were permitted to import food for themselves only on condition that they would allow none of it to enter the territory of the Teutonic Powers. Roumania and Bulgaria both stated that food supplies in their territory were inadequate to justify them in allowing any to be exported. Both these countries at that time were contemplating the possibility that they might be drawn into the war, in which case they would need all the food supplies which they could command.

Finally, as a last effort, we decided to try to obtain food supplies from Russia, although these supplies would have to be transported direct from Russian territory into the territory of her enemy, Germany. We obtained from the German admiralty, a guaranty that food supplies brought in neutral ships from Russian Baltic ports to German Baltic ports would be given safe conduct by the German navy. The German government agreed that supplies thus brought into a German Baltic port would be immediately loaded into railway cars, which would be sealed and placed in charge of American agents of the Commission and carried directly into Poland, there to be distributed under our supervision among the destitute Poles. We then went to Stockholm, laid the matter before the Swedish government, and obtained from that government, a promise to provide as many neutral ships as necessary for the carrying out of this important project. Next we traveled to Petrograd. In order to reach the Russian capital from Germany it was necessary to cross the Baltic Sea from Germany to the southern point of Sweden, then to travel by rail to the northern point of the Gulf of Bothnia, on the Arctic Circle, there to transfer by sledges to the terminus of the Russian railway system in Lapland, and thence go by rail to Petrograd.

In Petrograd the Russian governmental authorities gave us a cordial welcome. When our errand was fully explained, the Minister of Agriculture, with whom the negotiations were carried on, assured us that we would be permitted to purchase as much wheat for Poland as we might need. We felt that our long and arduous quest was about to be rewarded by success. The next question, however, had to do with the actual purchase of wheat and its transportation to a port on the Baltic Sea. It was then learned that the wheat available for the Commission's purchase was to be found in the great wheat country of the Volga River valley, almost a thousand miles in the interior of Russia. The rivers and canals of Russia were ice-bound at that time—

early in May, 1915. We, therefore, turned to the Minister of Railways, who stated that the demands of the military establishment upon the railway system of the Empire were so great that he was unable to provide the necessary engines and cars for our purpose. He stated, however, that the Grand Duke Nicholas, then commander-in-chief of all the Russian armies, had final authority in all questions pertaining to the use of the railways, and suggested that the Commission's request be referred to the Grand Duke. This advice was followed, and the desire of the Commission was explained to the Grand Duke Nicholas himself, who promptly declined to grant the request, on the ground that the imperative needs of the army made such a concession impossible.

It has, therefore, not been possible to establish in Poland a comprehensive relief organization, capable of meeting the conditions of need in that unhappy country. A number of committees, however, have been organized in Poland, which have been able with more or less efficiency to distribute such supplies as they have obtained and to expend for food and clothing and shelter such sums of money as have been sent to them, chiefly from the United States.

As compared to the relief operations in Belgium, the work in Poland has been most inadequate, both in amount and in method. The return of peace in Poland will mark the beginning of a prolonged period of restoration and rehabilitation, probably requiring leadership and material help in generous quantity from the outside.

Conditions in Galicia, in Servia, in Turkey and among the refugees in Russia are similar in character to those in Poland. In Servia, especially, the situation has been complicated by one of the most fatal of typhus epidemics in history, an epidemic which was brought under control largely through the courage and skill of a commission of American Red Cross physicians and sanitary experts. It has been a cause for pride that in all the great works of relief in every belligerent country, America has taken a strong and active part. The American Red Cross alone has sent about four hundred persons for service in the war zone, and to date has expended in money and supplies approximately $3,000,000. Many other American organizations have given large and important service. But when the tremendous volume of need is considered, all the efforts of America and of other neutral countries as well are pitiably inadequate.

CONFERENCE SERMON*

Religion in Life, or Religion as a Social Ferment

Rev. Worth M. Tippy, Pastor, Madison Avenue Methodist Church, New York City

Before announcing my text I desire to say a word with reference to the situation of this hour. I find myself selected and honored by my friend and former co-worker in the social movement of Indianapolis, Father Gavisk, to give the religious message of this conference. I have been thinking of this incident as related to the religious solidarity of the nation. Beyond and above all the proprieties which would naturally influence such a choice, is something significant in which we may all rejoice, something which is prophetic of a new era of religious confidence and co-operation in social work.

In saying this I am not unaware of the powerful influences which are sowing discord between the religious groups of America. (How dangerous and anti-social it is to widen those cleavages!) Nor am I under illusions as to the gravity and sincerity of the points of view which separate us; but I wish here and now to sound the note of confidence in one another's integrity as Catholic, Protestant and Jew, and of whole-hearted co-operation in social work. Here is one field where our differences need not divide us.

We owe a debt of gratitude in this regard to Dr. Washington Gladden. Since the death of Dr. Josiah Strong, in New York, week before last, he is the Nestor of religious social workers in America. He has blazed the trail of a new brotherliness: let us walk in it. Let us stand opposed to anything that fans the flames of religious rancor, or widens the social cleavages of our people. Never before have we realized so keenly the need of solidarity in the national life, and our painful lack of solidarity, as in these hours of world conflict, and we cannot afford to tolerate the accentuation of religious differences.

It will take faith and courage of a high order to stand resolutely for an era of confidence and co-operation, but I shall not

* Religious service, Sunday, May 14, 3:00 P. M.

doubt any more since I saw the child caring agencies of Cleveland come together; and Catholic, Jew and Protestant sitting in conference on the religious education of the children of that city. I thank God that in social service we have a field in which we may work together without raising religious issues; and I personally hope that, as we come to know and respect one another by long association, we shall find ourselves getting nearer also in the things of God, where *mirabile dictu,* the differences have seemed insurmountable.

The Sermon

My text this afternoon is Matthew, thirteen, thirty-three: the Parable of the Leaven.

Leaven is one of the three symbols used by our Lord to represent the influence of religion upon the life of humanity. The others are the homely similitude of salt, and the splendid metaphor of light.

I desire to call attention in passing to the fact that in this use of salt and light, the significant words are "Salt of the earth," and "Light of the world:" carrying definitely the idea that the entire life of humanity, and the fabric of civilization itself, is the sphere of activity of the kingdom of God. The Parable of the Leaven must be interpreted in the same great way. The lump is the whole of human society, the leaven is religion, or the Kingdom of God.

That which stands out in the parable is the idea of religion as a social ferment, placed long ago in the thick of human life. It works from within outwardly. Its action is silent and unseen. It enters a man's soul and transforms him and his relations. It ferments in society, and behold agitation, upheaval, religious awakenings, social service, the struggle for social justice. But the leaven itself is forever invisible. As Jesus remarked of the kingdom, men cannot say, "Lo here! or Lo there! For behold the Kingdom of Heaven is within you."

The confusing element in religion is the fact that it builds outwardly into the visible organization of the Church, which tends to be confused by the people with its inner realities. It is almost impossible to speak of religion without being thought to refer to the church. I doubt if more than a small percentage of people have risen to the understanding that the Kingdom of God is a spiritual dominion, working everywhere, related to everything, using every human institution for its great purposes.

Therefore let us make a distinction, as we must, between the organized and visible institutions of religion, and religion as the

invisible force which Jesus compared to Leaven, and let us ask, What is the nature of this ferment which is quickening the world? In answering these questions we shall have to look deep into our hearts, deep into the life of humanity. We shall have to go back of institutions to hidden spiritual forces. We shall have to observe the outstanding ideas of the Bible as they rise above its confusion and detail.

As best I have been able to think it through, this ferment of the Kingdom is first of all a sense of God. It may have been originally a conjecture, or a shadowy impression of an Unseen Presence, rising in the midst of demonology and polytheism; but it has become a world conviction, a conviction which has risen into the present consciousness of the Divine Immanence. The people who have no belief in God are very, very few. Millions dimly sense that He is in the midst of us; millions more have risen to what they are assured is a relation of communion and fellowship with Him. The feeling of a Providence over one's life and over the world is a wonderful strength and inspiration; and a sense of responsibility and allegiance to Him a most powerful incentive.

The ferment of religion is next a power of love, which springs up eternally from the depths of the human heart, like the waters of a fountain coming up under pressure from distant elevations. Love is an amazing emotion, powerful even in dumb creatures. It glorifies the instinct of sex. It binds the members of a family together a thousand times more powerfully than they can ever be bound by all the laws that have ever been written. Love gave birth to the social movement; it is social passion. Love turns the heart of the settlement worker to the people of the tenements. It is love which brings to the social worker a call and a willingness for self denial, like that of the minister, the priest, the missionary. Love turns to God with a glow of gratitude and affection which expresses itself in obedience and service, and builds for itself endless sanctuaries of prayer. Saint John the Divine said that "God is love," and that "He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him."

The third element in the ferment of religion is the stirring of conscience. Beneath its intellectual factors, conscience is emotional: that is, it is a psychic force, a conviction of right, a will to do the right, a sense of responsibility to God, mingled with less worthy motives and fears. It is bound up with profound emotions of religion and rests upon the conviction of God as well as upon social experience. Out of this ethical impulse rises the

demand for social justice; out of love the passion for social justice.

I have yet to add a fourth and final element in this analysis of religion as a social ferment, one which some will think speculative, one to which so many social workers react unfavorably. It is what Wordsworth called, "Intimations of immortality."

Now I do not think the Unseen World and the continuance of life are speculations. I mean by this to say that they are not primarily objects of intellectual curiosity, but rather convictions, intimations, things which we sense or think we sense. I have in mind what Professor Harnack meant when he defined the Christian religion as "One thing and one thing only: eternal life in the midst of time, under the eye and by the strength of God."

When the President of the British Association could say, speaking of communication with the Unseen World, that we have as it were, securely landed on the shores of a new continent, he registered a belief which is vibrant around us. What I wish to emphasize is that the belief in immortality is a silent force, a ferment, profoundly active in the life of the world, and active for the hope and courage and comfort of humanity. Life for most people is hard, very hard, and for everybody incomplete. None of us gets more than a fair start here in the world, and we need heaven's infinite to complete earth's finite.

The time has passed in which any man may say that the belief in immortality is against the effort to improve the conditions of life here in this world. That might have been appropriate twenty years ago. It may have been that a former generation was content to endure remedial social evils because of the consolations of the future life; although I question very much whether the generation that fought the Civil War, was largely so influenced. The present generation needs such a faith, the future will need it more.

These silent forces, hidden deep in the souls of men, constitute the Leaven of religion. They give birth to faith and hope and the courage of social effort. This is religion in its last analysis, and as such it is the supreme fact of the social movement, its source, its power, its inspiration.

If it is contended that social service and the struggle for social justice are not necessarily a part of religion, I appeal first to these deeper facts of experience, and I appeal secondly to the Bible. In Saint James' definition of "pure and undefiled religion" he defines it first as social service,—the relief of "the widows and fatherless in their affliction." In Micah's statement the

requirements of Jehovah are, "to do justly," which leads straight into social justice; "to love kindness," which at work becomes social service; "to walk humbly with thy God," which is the religion of the inner life and the public worship of God. Our Lord's own summing up of religion is, the supreme love of God, and a like love to one's fellows, which he interpreted as social service by the Parable of the Good Samaritan.

My good friend, the superintendent of the Cleveland Associated Charities, contends in his addresses before churches, and rightly so, that he is carrying out the second great commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." To this extent all who are interested in the public welfare are religious. There is a spirit in the social worker like that of the religious worker, an unselfishness, a love, a willingness for self-sacrifice, an optimism, which marks them out as kindred. But the supreme element of the Leaven is the presence and power of God. He it is who makes religion glorious, whose absence leaves it like salt that has lost its savor; and it is the presence of God in the social worker which makes him vital. I do not know which is the more ineffectual, religion without social service, or social service without religion.

But now what of this ferment of religion in the world today? Has it done its work, or are the measures of meal still rising? To change the figure, is the tide going out or is it coming in.

"Too full for sound and foam?"

As we are met this afternoon the miracle of spring is working about us. Everywhere freshness, beauty, gladness, silent but unimaginable power. Something like this is taking place in the religious life of America and of the world. It is a spring time in religion, a time which reminds one of the days when the Savior began his work and the multitudes heard for the first time the thrilling words, "The time is fulfilled. The Kingdom of God is at hand. Repent ye, and believe the glad tidings."

I say this confidently, in the face of world conditions which many look upon as the breakdown of religion and civilization, but which I cannot so interpret. Christianity did not fail, nor did civilization in August, 1914. Rather they were not strong enough as yet, the organization of society was not far enough advanced, the western nations were still too close to the savage past of the race. We are witnessing a most powerful rebirth of the religious spirit in these belligerent nations themselves. It is cheap and superficial to scoff at them as they turn to the God who is the common Father of them all. What can men, and especially

women, do in the thick of overwhelming loss and sorrow, but fall back upon the Everlasting Arms?

This spring time in religion to which I refer, is showing itself powerfully in the churches themselves. They are readjusting to conditions. They are drawing together rapidly and permanently. They are pushing out to the ends of the earth in an immensely powerful missionary movement. They are arousing to the new internationalism and taking their place in its formation. They are achieving a community consciousness, and are federating to take their place in the co-operation for social uplift which is forming in every community and in the nation at large.

But what heartens me most is that religion is ceasing to be doctrinal and institutional, and is becoming once again a powerful spiritual ferment. To use another metaphor, it is entering into the very arteries, veins, capillaries and cells of humanity. The man in the street is becoming conscious of God, and conscious that God is accessible and free to him, like sunshine and air. Religion is manifesting itself outside of churches in a most bewildering and inspiring way.

Equally significant of the vitality of the religious ferment is the strength with which the conscience of mankind is forcing up the morality and idealism which have long been established within the domain of men's personal relations, out into industry, into the fields of municipal government, and into international relations. This ethical spirit is becoming insistent and immensely influential, so much so that rulers cannot disregard its voice, nor may captains of industry or labor leaders or revolutionary groups. It has lifted up ideals of social justice which will never henceforth be out of mind day or night, but which must ever enlarge and be progressively realized.

Before I close, let me say a final word about the Church. I would not contend that the church is the only or even the main source of the religious ferment. We shall have to look to God for that. No one who has witnessed the activity of this ferment as I have witnessed it for the last twenty-five years, who has seen it lift up an unwilling church and put it over into a new attitude, who has observed it select so many of its prophets from outside the church, could fail to realize how universally and independently the Spirit of God works in the world. Indeed I have come to think that the great issues of life are looked after from the Unseen; that faith, for example, is fed from eternal sources like the instinct of sex. In fact I do not know which I

believe most, that if there is social progress it is because we pay the price and make it, or that it is provided for.

Nevertheless, I come back to the fact, that as truly as the school is the organ of education, so is the church the organ of the religious spirit. On the whole it is an effective organ, as effective, I think, as other social agencies which are working about it. Personally I love the church. It is still to me the "bride of Christ." When I think of the imperfections of the religious organizations of my old city of Cleveland, for example, it comforts me in a way to remember the vicissitudes of the city government, of the conditions which have existed in the public schools over a long period of time, and of the inefficiency, incompleteness and lack of correlation which for so many years existed amongst the charities of that most advanced of American cities. I personally know that nearly all the social workers of Cleveland were trained in the churches and that most of the money which supports its charities is given by the people of church and synagogue. It is much the same everywhere, and the church can have no higher testimonial.

The church is a fundamental institution, absolutely essential to the power of the social movement: let us make it strong and effective. Its ministry to the inner life is a factor of immense social importance, probably its supreme contribution to the social movement. Social workers need the church, and the churches need the social workers. I have often felt grieved that I could count so little upon some of my social workers, when I labored so strenuously to socialize the spirit and work of my church.

I urge upon any who have dropped out of the life of the church, that you make your way back and mingle your prayers and divide your service with those who worship at its altars. Some of you may go from a sense of duty and not of inclination: but you will find there new life for your own soul, new power for your own task, new light for your own pathway; for the Lord God is present wherever two or three are met in His name.

THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS

PROGRAM

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Report of the Committee*

Graham Romeyn Taylor, of the Staff of The Survey, *New York*

While the promotion of social programs is a subject which this year for the first time has occupied the whole attention of a committee of this conference, there has been for several years increasing appreciation of the need for developing such programs and increasing effort to formulate them in one or another field.

Conference leaders of the early days could doubtless cite programs for the public philanthropies of a state, which set goals already reached and passed in many commonwealths. In such a list Indiana would be a conspicuous example.

And in the last half dozen conferences various other far-sighted plans for dealing with one or another social problem have been advanced. It is necessary to go back only one year to the Baltimore conference to find the presentation of a community plan in children's work, formulated by the chairman of the committee on children, Mr. Carstens. And at the same conference Mr. Clopper of the National Child Labor Committee outlined a children's charter for the nation. The work of the committees on unemployment both last year and this year has been devoted to long range measures for solving the problem of unemployment rather than handling it by emergency relief measures whenever it becomes acute. At the Seattle conference an effort was made to formulate a national policy with respect to immigration. And at the Memphis conference Amos W. Butler of Indiana set forth the fifteen essentials which he declared constitute the goal of prison reform.

The most thoroughgoing and important effort toward a social program is to be found, however, in the three years' work of a continuing committee, led by Paul U. Kellogg, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Owen R. Lovejoy, which in 1912 at Cleveland presented a platform of social standards for industry. No other document in the history of the Conference has marshalled with

*General session, Tuesday, May 16, 8:15 P. M.

such telling force the facts and human necessities which must be recognized in establishing a reasonable basis for living and labor, through minimum standards in relation to wages, hours, housing, safety and health, term of working life, and workmen's compensation.

There is no need to enlarge upon the importance of social programs. They bear the same relation to the everyday work of our philanthropic and social agencies that a comprehensive city plan for the guidance of a half century of community growth bears to the opening up of a new street or the location of a house on which work is to start tomorrow. To develop such programs and to point our daily effort by their guidance is the social statesmanship of which we have had so little in this country and which we so greatly need.

The work of the committee on the promotion of social programs has not been to attempt the formulation of such programs. As the committee name indicates, our concern has not been with their content but with their promotion. And two phases of the subject were suggested for our consideration: first, interpretation to the community; and, second, organization of community resources. Under the first we could have devoted some attention to the technique of such methods of interpretation as publicity. But publicity for the work and aims of philanthropic agencies is discussed at every conference and received the consideration of a committee in the conferences of 1908, 1909 and 1910.

We felt, moreover, that our purpose dealt not so much with the technique of telling to the public things which social workers think the public ought to know, as with the development of social thought and understanding by the people themselves—all elements of them in a community. It seemed evident to us that interpretation to the community and organization of the community are fundamentally one and the same thing. There can be no adequate interpretation without organizing the forces of the community; and any organization of a community, to be effective, involves understanding and expressing community needs.

The development of social programs, then, should be an outgrowth of community organization. A handful of social workers may formulate a program and announce it to the community. But the program that will be carried out must be based on public intelligence and sentiment which can only come through effective community organization. To put it concretely, a city housing association may scheme out a housing program. But, a housing program which represents the combined judgment of housing committees in the chamber of commerce, trade unions, local

business men's leagues, tenants' organizations, neighborhood improvement societies, and real estate bodies, with that of the housing association is much more likely to be a true expression of an educated community desire and thus more likely to be realized.

The same democratic process worked out within the group of a community's social agencies would call for long range study by each agency of its own function in relation to the community welfare and the activities of the other agencies in the group. The creation in every agency of a committee or bureau charged with such study, plus a central co-ordinating committee, might build up a community program which would have back of it the support of all the social agencies of the community.

This building up of social programs through the participation and social thought of all elements in the community, rather than their formulation by a handful of people who announce themselves as experts and undertake to tell the community what it should do, means that a broad basis of popular understanding and support is laid.

Around this emphasis on community organization and democratic expression, this committee has grouped its discussion at this conference. We thought that social workers must know, first of all, how their programs impress the community. Before proceeding to help in the development of community programs, we must learn to what extent our presentation of social needs and measures is or is not co-ordinated and intelligible to the people at large. To this end we invited a public official, a newspaper editor, a trade unionist, and a business man to give us their reactions to social workers' programs.

Social surveys have been conducted in many cities and towns and counties, since the Pittsburgh survey set the type for this sort of community study and interpretation. They have revealed community needs, and, particularly in recent surveys, have caused them to be understood by the entire community. This in turn has tended to develop community programs to meet such needs. The most effective of these surveys have been where community organization to undertake them has been most widespread and democratic. We therefore asked the head of the Russell Sage Foundation Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Shelby M. Harrison, to discuss community action through surveys, drawing particularly upon experience where there has been the most extensively organized co-operation by people of the city. Results from surveys warrant, the committee feels,

more thoroughgoing study in relation to the development of community programs.

The last few years have seen the rapid rise of various forms of co-operation among the social agencies of a city. There are federations of philanthropy, councils of social agencies, and representative committees for social legislation, to mention only three such forms. However inclusive these groupings may be, they do not represent all of the social forces which must be brought into co-operation if the effort of the whole community is to be focused upon its problems. Nothing is more fundamental to the development of social programs, and of the public sentiment and action to carry them through, than an understanding of the function of the various social agencies and their relationship to each other and to the community. A discussion along these lines we have sought from Allen T. Burns, former secretary of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission and now director of surveys for the Cleveland Foundation, who will speak on organization of community forces.

Many of you no doubt feel that it is all very well to emphasize the promotion of social programs, but that the crux of the matter is: Where can the money be found to carry them out? We come together once a year, learn of the ways in which community needs may be met, return with enthusiasm to our homes and butt our heads against the wall of inadequate funds, both public and private. This committee has found no golden egg-laying goose to provide an immediate remedy for this situation. There should be strong effort to educate more and larger givers and to make sure that sound public budgets provide all they can.

It is not enough, however, to urge that the community understanding and organization from which social programs will grow, will also increase contributions to private philanthropic funds and create public sentiment sufficient to secure adequate public financing. Most of the members of the committee share the feeling of one of their number who proposed the slogan, "Socially Created Values for Social Purposes."

How we may secure for social needs some of the community wealth created solely by the fact that people are living together, which now goes so largely into private hands, is a question to which social workers may well give increasing attention. We have asked the tax commissioner of New York City, Lawson Purdy, to discuss it tonight in the course of his paper on sources of public support for social programs. No man in this country has been called upon to deal in a practiced way with larger

problems of public revenue. For years he has brought social vision and knowledge of human needs to bear upon the proportionate distribution of the tax burden.

It so happens that Indiana affords a most striking demonstration of how much this community value amounts to and how rapidly it is created. In Gary, the most conspicuous example of a made-to-order industrial city, a comparison was recently made of the value of the land at the time the city was founded ten years ago with its present value. This indicates a dissipation among lucky private individuals, some of them non-residents, of nearly $30,000,000, which could just as well now be in the possession of the community which created it. This figure speaks eloquently enough on the subject of financing social programs from social values.

Community action flows, clearly enough, from thinking in terms of the collective welfare. With this habit of community thinking developed in a neighborhood, a ward, a town or city, a county, a state, or the nation, the soil is prepared for the growth of social programs and their fullfilment. What sort of social programs thus develop appears to be dependent on the nature of the stimulus to collective thought. Just at present, many of our citizens have suddenly done some collective thinking which, owing to the nature of the stimulus, expresses itself in terms of military preparedness. Yet on the other side of the water it is evident enough that even for the supreme test to which a nation can be put, military measures are only part of what is needed. The collective thought in every one of the belligerent nations discovered that a program for the social well-being of the whole people is essential.

Whether or not we become involved in the tremendous world struggle, or in trouble with our neighbor, the very possibility of it has led to greater consciousness of our collective existence. The question of how far the social thought and action which comes from the stimulus of national stress may be counted upon for permanent social progress is a question which concerns us, therefore, almost as vitally as it does the nations at war.

On this subject, we are fortunate to have the opportunity of hearing from the founder and for years the head resident of Mansfield House social settlement in East London, who for the last ten years has been a member of the House of Commons, representing one of the greatest workingmen's constituencies in all England.

In closing this committee report, which might more properly

be termed an introductory statement, I cannot refrain from calling attention to one of the words contained in the committee title. For it seems to me to convey something of the forward-looking spirit which characterizes this conference and which is inherent in the very conception of a social program. Prevention has been a key-word in all our discussions of social ills. May not promotion—promotion of social well-being—come to be a key-word of the future.

Something of this spirit is contained in a letter which came to me, as chairman of this committee, from Newton D. Baker, our new Secretary of War. Having already accepted the invitation of the committee to be one of the speakers this evening, he wrote to say that the duties so suddenly thrust upon him would prevent him from coming. And he went on to indicate briefly his broad social conception of the function of the war department. He said:

> I hope none of my old friends in social work will feel that my being in this department, either because of the name of the department, or its exacting demands upon my time, in any way obstructs my interest, or that I want to be left out in the future planning or doing. As a matter of fact I think the war department has, as its primary ideal, making America a strong and virile people. The accidental use of a part of that strength for war, when it is unavoidable, is an important aspect from the point of view of this department, but the primary thing is that we should be strong for the arts of peace, strong industrially, socially and morally.

The change from the preventive to the promotional emphasis is to be found in many lines of social work. We started tuberculosis sanatoria to cure the victims of the white plague and prevent the spread of the disease. We now are told that one of the most important results is the increased popular understanding of personal hygiene and fresh air as promotive of good health. We started playgrounds in congested tenement districts to make city conditions more tolerable for children and to prevent juvenile delinquency. But now we consider recreation as a great positive factor in the happiness of all, not merely preventive of evils but promotive of character and buoyant spirit and team play which are necessary for greater efficiency in work and larger success in the democracy of our community life. With the promotion of social programs, shall we not find a growing number of those forward-looking citizens with the habit of community thinking, to whom might be applied that characterization with which Morley, I think it was, described Gladstone, "He had a passion for working the institutions of his country."

NATIONAL STRESS AS A STIMULUS TO SOCIAL THOUGHT AND ACTION

Hon. Percy Alden, M. P., London, England.

It is extremely difficult while the shock of the earthquake is still being felt, to predict the shape, or the lack of shape, that Earth will take after the convulsions which have affected it.

The war in Europe has produced such profound emotion, such terrific changes in the contour of our national life that we can only prophesy in general terms. We do know that things can never be the same again. The belligerent countries have thrown everything they possess into the alembic of this war; what will emerge from the fiery crucible is beyond the knowledge of the ablest statesmen and the most experienced social investigators. In the words of Thomas a Kempis, "It is one of those dark and hidden things for ignorance of which we shall not be condemned in the day of judgment."

This much, however, is certain, that the slaughter and the carnage which we have witnessed, and are witnessing, will affect us for many generations yet to come. The booming of the guns in France and Flanders and on the eastern front will reverberate down the centuries. Our children's children will bear the marks of the wounds which are now being inflicted. Peace will come, but if we are not careful it will be the peace of exhaustion, and something more than that is required. When the men return from the trenches they will undoubtedly be tired and weary of war. You remember the story of the Bishop of Birmingham who, taking as his text the bestowal of the Victoria Cross upon a wounded soldier who was present, was suddenly interrupted by another man calling out, "Never mind about the Victoria Cross, give me the Victoria bus." It typifies the spirit with which our soldiers will return.

Nearly everyone who writes on war, points out that, with all its evil, there is a higher side to it; that it does produce certain heroic qualities which are only latent in the heart of men, that it does cause a vast output of moral and intellectual energy. For the time being class and caste disappear. Even our criminal population has disappeared. The national life is on the anvil and under the hammer of social stress caused by the war petty jealousies and petty differences disappear. The community feeling begins to emerge—the desire for a common ideal achieved through suffering and self-sacrifice. All this is true; but it

reminds me of what Balfour said of Winston Churchill, who in his speech had made the statement that during his few weeks in the trenches his mind had been clarified with regard to the aims, objects and methods of the war. Mr. Balfour in his reply remarked that "it seemed a pity that it should require a European war to clarify the Right Honorable gentleman's mind." And in the same way I think that it is a pity that it should require a European war to enable us to discover how great a calamity war must necessarily be.

I don't think that we must disguise from ourselves the fact that war is always a disaster and that this war is an appalling disaster. Of course, there is truth in the saying of Shakespeare that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil." Notwithstanding, I cannot think that the view which is sometimes taken of war as a "purgation of the passions," to quote Aristotle, in respect of the "play," is a correct one. It may purge some passions and it may evoke some good qualities very much as a famine or a pestilence would, but it brings to the surface the worst and most evil side of man and intensifies the brute in our nature. There may be some truth in the saying that "this war will help to end war," that all the belligerent countries concerned will be more inclined to settle their difference by arbitration and conciliation. It is quite possible that just as the circumstances of the war have unified our feeling in Great Britain, so the reaction which this war will produce will subdue the passions even of the militarists in each country and thus enable those who are laboring to create an international mind, to achieve some measure of success.

We must not, however, expect too much in this direction. The war will not solve the problem of nationality, or produce natural frontiers just where we want them, or abolish all the differences created by creed and race. The war won't work a moral regeneration because we want it to. It will only work a moral regeneration just in proportion as the democracies of the countries concerned awake to the fact that they *have not been governing but governed.*

If this great catastrophe does produce a desire to think strenuously upon the causes of war, if it does produce an effort to understand other nations and other races, then there is some hope for the future.

The real tragedy will be if following on this war we waste the opportunities which are now offered of building up a new national life. These opportunities have been wasted in the past. One cannot say that either the Crimean War or the South African

War, so far as England was concerned, did much good. The struggle against Napoleon did produce a sense of unity which was of value. Our own Civil War of 260 years ago caused the figure of Oliver Cromwell to emerge and in a sense made modern England possible. But in every case we had a reaction.

I well remember after the Boer War the chastened feeling that existed amongst our people. We were saying this was a foolish and bloody adventure. Let us now try to heal the wounds of South Africa, and let us also try to remedy the social evils which have too long been neglected in our own midst. An attempt was made, not altogether unsuccessful, by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman to reconstruct and rebuild our shattered ideal. What are we going to do when the period of national stress is over? Are we going to relapse into a stupid individualism? Are we going to relinquish our collective effort and once more leave everything to chance? I hope not, and it is that hope which enables social reformers to go on working in these dark days.

Let us for a moment look at the most immediate effects of the war in England. Amongst the best men there was a good deal of heart-burning. They knew that the narrow individualism of the past had made it difficult for us to rise to the emergency. Educationalists saw that Germany at all events, whatever may have been her motive, had done much to prepare the nation for an emergency—for any crisis that might come. We did not at first even see what steps ought to be taken to safeguard ourselves against a shock which threatened the stability of the nation itself.

You will remember the measures that were taken to maintain our credit, how that all bankers and financiers of the country were called to the aid of the Government. You will recall the steps that were taken to secure our food supply, and the large funds that were raised to help that section of the people which we felt would feel most of all the distress occasioned by the war.

Those who anticipated a considerable amount of unemployment began at once to organize to meet what they conceived to be the probable need. There never was a time in the history of the United Kingdom when measures, astounding in their magnitude, were devised and passed through the House of Commons in the space of a few days. All opposition to social legislation was swept away. Confronting a gigantic need, even the hide-bound Tory consented to a form of socialism which would have horrified him at any other time. Money was voted in millions, not only for specific purposes, but for all sorts of unspecified purposes contained in the various expenses arising out of the exist-

ence of a state of war, assisting the food supply, promoting the continuance of trade industry and business communications, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk or otherwise, and for the relief of distress. Not only was this money voted, but the Prime Minister said that the moment it became apparent that more was required that moment he would not hesitate to ask for a further grant.

A system of insurance for ships and cargoes was set up, the Government assuming eighty per cent of the risk. A series of committees were appointed to deal with the question of food prices, and all the existing traders' organizations were mobilized and called to the assistance of the government. A method was devised for fixing prices both for food and all military supplies, and the unreasonable withholding of food supplies was made illegal.

In fact, the Board of Trade had power at that time to requisition all food stuffs in the country, just as the War Office or the Admiralty requisitioned material for their own purposes. Every possible step was taken to prevent the big dealers from speculating in food, and in the case of sugar it was felt necessary that *the Government should create a sugar monopoly*, which it did by purchasing nearly a hundred million dollars worth of sugar in the markets of the world. In that way the price of sugar has been controlled by the Board of Trade and although it has gone up in price the profit is largely an Exchequer profit. The tradesman can be dealt with immediately simply because the actual price which he pays to the Government is known. Just at first the rich started the bad practice of buying large stocks of provisions and traders were told that if this practice were encouraged by them they would be dealt with as criminals. Since that time there has been no need even for such a threat. On the whole it is fair to say that what the Government promised, namely, an equitable distribution of food stuffs at fixed prices throughout the kingdom, has been accomplished.

In connection with this question of food, it ought to be mentioned that the co-operative societies of England, owing to their promises not to make any extra profits by the rise in prices, have secured an enormous increase of membership and there is no doubt that co-operation from this time forth is destined to play a much larger part in our economic history than ever before.

By this time the country began to feel its feet. The *Moratorium* was extended and all creditors were urged to treat their debtors with the utmost leniency until financial equilibrium had been attained.

Returning for a moment to the question of food and drink, it is interesting to note that the Government has pursued the same policy but on a still larger scale. It is now sole purchaser of practically all the meat consumed by the British and French armies, and Mr. Runciman when I saw him last had made purchases of over two hundred million dollars worth of meat. What is not required for the army is then sold to the dealers at the market price. This was not achieved without a great struggle. The railways had already been unified and placed under Government control, but the shipping had not been fully commandeered, although the Government possesses now nearly fifty per cent of all the mercantile marine. The shortage of meat owing to the enormous armies in the field made it possible for the foreign owners of cattle and of sheep to greatly increase their prices, and this price would have become prohibitive had not the Government commandeered or purchased all the cold storage ships in the British mercantile marine and as many others as were obtainable. New Zealand and Australia commandeered the supply of mutton. In this way it became quite impossible for the big meat producers in South America or anywhere else to charge exorbitant prices, because in that case the Government simply refused to carry the goods. An attempt to monopolize the whole of the meat producing trade on the part of a few companies was thus broken down at its outset.

Mr. Lloyd George was anxious to secure if possible a large measure of prohibition in connection with the liquor traffic, but this effort failed. Since then, however, choosing the line of least resistance, he has been able to place all the areas of the country that can in any way be considered munition areas (and that of course means the greater part of the country) under a Board of Control which has almost unlimited powers. It can, for example, in any munition area take over the whole of the public houses and saloons and close any that it chooses. It can run the rest itself, making them in effect Government concerns. It can start canteens of its own inside or outside the works. It can sell just what liquor it likes or, if it chooses, no liquor at all. By extending the area in each case, it has now succeeded in covering the thickly populated parts of England and Scotland, and the result will be seen in the diminished statistics of drunkenness and in the enormously increased output of the munition shops.

Added to that there is a recent decision to take over all the spirit distilleries of the United Kingdom and run them all for munition purposes. Spirits can no longer therefore be manufactured and only existing supplies can be used. The price will

be no doubt increased and it is hoped the quantity consumed will be very seriously diminished.

Side by side with this campaign against the evils of the liquor traffic in time of war is a limitation of the hours in all camp and troop areas during which saloons are entitled to be open.

May I now return for a moment to the question of unemployment which seemed to many to threaten at the outbreak of the war. Mr. Herbert Samuel, who was then President of the Local Government Board, urged all traders and manufacturers to keep their mills and factories going even at a loss. The Road Board which had some millions of money on hand was instructed to use any such funds for employing laborers in improving the condition of the roads and the Development Commission was urged to take action in the same way. The Development Commission had already made its plan for very big constructive and reclamation enterprises. Circulars were sent out to the municipalities and County Councils urging that their undertakings should not be curtailed but rather increased and the War Emergency Workers Committee was appointed representing every section of labor. The business of this committee was to co-operate with government departments in the efforts that were being made to reduce the distress from want of employment and later to deal with all questions of labor disputes and labor conditions arising out of the war.

Happily, the unemployment measures proved unnecessary, although they may be required after the war is over; but it is significant that such steps should have been taken and that a measure for building working class cottages in agricultural districts which had been suggested was put through both houses of parliament in a few days. That measure, Housing (No. 2) Bill, appropriated £20,000,000 for the building of houses and cottages for the working classes in the United Kingdom.

It is desirable that some of that money should now be used in certain areas in order to provide accommodation for the working classes who have crowded into these industrial districts. The Government has, however, already spent a very large sum in places like Woolwich where they have built large numbers of cottages for the extra workers attracted to the arsenal. The number of legislative measures put through parliament during the first six months of the war was beyond all belief. Many of them, of course, were purely military measures; but at least half were designed to meet the emergencies of the moment. It must be admitted that many of these measures have been successful; and yet, in the face of all this, I wish to urge that there is still

a great opportunity which ought not be wasted and it is with that thought I propose to deal for a few minutes.

Hundreds of thousands of my fellow countrymen are sacrificing their lives at what seems to be to them the call of duty. What is the business of those who remain? Surely it is a resolution, not only to prevent the recurrance of such a war, but to deal drastically with what we know must be the evil effects of the war after all this vast expenditure of blood and of treasure. We need some clear thinking. We need a vivid sense of social duty. For the danger will be that after the war is over we shall fall back into the usual rut, content ourselves with the gospel of self-interest and allow that stupid individualism which has been our bane in the past to once more assert itself. Individualists fail to recognize that the highest degree of individual welfare can only be attained by considering the welfare of the whole community.

The Britisher has been condemmed as a money grubber, one who cares nothing about the state and nothing about the nation as a whole. We are beginning to see that he has another side to his nature, that he *does respond to the call of self sacrifice,* that he can unite and that he can submit to discipline. But he lacks imagination. He fails to see for example the importance of spending money on education. In America there is far more real interest in the colleges and universities than there is in England. Rich men display a public spirit which is almost unknown on our side. Here there is no hesitation in giving millions to help research work or to strengthen one side or another of university life. The great universities of Oxford and Cambridge are suffering just now for lack both of men and money, owing to the war. If, when the war is over, combined with a great reform movement, there could be an increase in the funds available for these and other universities it would help us to recover some of our lost ground in the educational world. But there must be a real reform of educational method and our educational system must not leave out of account organized labor. Both the churches and the universities in the past have been far too apt to forget that after all the great mass of people are made up of manual workers. I sometimes say of the churches, "The paucity of Christians is astonishing considering the number of them," and the churches have very much leeway to make up if they are to be of use after the war. If you are to have a *true democracy* you must have an *educated democracy,* and I think I may be allowed to add a *religious democracy,* using religious in the broadest sense. The churches in England have perhaps failed

to see the possibilities that lie in an organized movement throughout the whole community in the direction of a better and truer education—an education which makes for citizenship.

When Robert Lowe extended the franchise and created a democratic electorate he said, now we must *"set to work to educate our masters."* From that time to this, either we have made no attempt or the attempt has been abortive. The people as a whole do not understand the problems they are called upon to solve—problems of economics, of administration, and of international policy; and for the matter of that, many of our legislators are equally ignorant though they think they know. And then we complain that they make mistakes. Lord Bryce said to me in an interview which he gave me some time ago, "Nations respond to the appeal that is made to them in a time of great national emergency when they have been trained to love truth and honor, to cherish justice and liberty." Have we trained our people to respond to the call of such high principles? Have we not rather given them a mean and materialistic and selfish view of what England and the Empire stand for? How can we expect the average working man to comprehend what is meant by the British Empire or, as I should prefer to call it, the British Commonwealth? How can we expect him to make sacrifices for that Commonwealth when he has no conception whatever of what it means, and when his interest in his own country has so often been destroyed by the lack of elementary justice? Knowledge is all important. Clear thinking is invaluable, and after this war if the effect is to create a public spirit and increase our social energy, knowledge may enable us to deal with many questions which up to the present have been neglected in whole or in part. We must not drop our interest in the housing question, the question of unemployment, or old age, the drink question, the declining birth rate, infant mortality, and the shocking frequency of diseases amongst the school children of our land.

These will be *social duties*, not mere matters of inquiry and statistics. These will be moral duties, for every well-ordered reform is the expression of the moral life of the community. Then again, just see what a change the war has wrought in our outlook on the railways, the coal supply, the food supply, the question of shipping, the government control of the manufacture of munitions of war! It is not improbable that after this war is over we shall continue to control all the railways of the country. It is just possible that we may control in the same way the shipping and the mines as being indispensable industries; and meanwhile the state is in almost complete control of thou-

sands of munition works, the largest of which are state owned. Look at the question of the liquor traffic! Why, we have made more progress in one month on the drink question than we had made for fifty years. It used to be said *"better England free than England sober."* There is no reason why it should not be both. Indeed, I am inclined to think unless England is sober she will never be free. If the state controlled the whole of the liquor traffic it would give the people a chance to discover their true selves.

This war is a terrible evil—so terrible that we are unable to conceive all its innumberable horror. Our imagination boggles at the picture of starving millions and the vast armies of dead and wounded men. Can it fail to be a mighty education for the future? I hope that amongst the lessons we have learnt is the lesson that there must be far more democratic control of foreign policy, less secret diplomacy. But that is only possible if the democracy has knowledge and training. We are so pathetically ignorant in these matters. Ignorance is the enemy of all true progress. True education is the stepping stone towards every pure ideal. I prophesy that party divisions will have much less effect in the future than in the past, that foreign questions and social questions will be, if only we take the right steps, treated as scientific problems, to be solved by all earnest-thinking citizens. And finally we shall give to the working classes the fullest educational facilities, so that democracy may be equipped for the responsible duties which have been committed to its charge.

I don't suppose that I shall live to see more than the slender beginnings of this new republic, but I find my comfort in the words of a great English poet

"For us the day lives only for a little and is gone,
Time and the fruitful hour are more than we."

SOURCES OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Lawson Purdy, President, Department of Taxes and Assessments, and President National Municipal League, New York City

During these last few days you have heard at many sessions of the value of social programs, and incidentally of their value, perhaps, translated into terms of money. It is especially my duty this evening to endeavor to translate those social programs, or some of them, into terms of financial welfare. To achieve what you wish to realize in its fullness, all that you seek, it will be

necessary for you to show to the communities of this country that what you seek is for the financial welfare of the communities for which you seek it. Most cities of the United States, especially the smaller ones, have chambers of commerce and boards of trade that spend large sums of money to advertise the city. They are booming committees to bring industries to the city. They want industries to come because with them come population. They want population because with population comes enhancement in the value of land, and, incidentally, they think it will bring to them an increasing general prosperity.

The value of land depends upon the productive power of the population. That means numbers, but it means much more than numbers. We have in the United States communities of large numbers where the value of land is small because the opportunities that nature affords are not great, or because the intelligence, education, or industry of the population gives comparatively small productive power. It is where we have great things from nature and where the people have the highest education, the greatest intelligence, the greatest industry, that we have the greatest land value. There is where men seek to come to do business, and are prepared to pay the highest prices for the privilege of being there to do business.

We are seeking all through this country—and we see the same thing in our neighbor, Canada—to attract population. Too often we forget that we may keep population by saving human life and thereby add to our population as effectively and at less expenditure of effort than if we bring strangers from afar. In the registration cities of this country the death rate is about 20.15 per thousand. In those same registration cities the death rate for children under five years of age is 58 per thousand. Contrast these figures with those for the colony of New Zealand where the death rate for all is less than 11 per thousand and for those under five years of age about 23.25 per thousand. Reduce your death rate in any community by 10 per thousand, and what does it mean translated into terms of money? Here in this country, in our northern states, on the average the value of land per capita is almost $1,000. In some communities it is more than that. Save ten lives per thousand and you add potentially ten thousand dollars per thousand to the value of the land of the community. In a city of one hundred thousand people that means one million dollars added to the value of the land of that community as truly as though you brought some strange industries that would attract to them one thousand persons.

We ought, in our cities, to prevent the waste of city money.

If we want the money for the things that appear to you to be desirable for the conservation of human life, for the making of human life happier, better, more intelligent, more profitable to the community, then if you can save in various ways by so much the more easily you will get money to achieve those ends. We waste an enormous amount in our cities because we have so seldom an intelligent plan. We are improving. There has been gain in the last twenty-five years, but we have much to do yet. Go home to your cities and put some energy into the idea of a comprehensive city plan. That does not mean a beauty spot in the center of the city; it does not mean pre-eminently aesthetics. Beauty comes from the highest utility and if you will look to the utility first, the beauty will come of itself. In our cities all over the country we find on the outskirts many streets laid out with no houses upon them. There are costly lamp-posts oftentimes, and paved sidewalks, but they serve no people. You say that perhaps is the fault of private enterprise,—it was less discerning than it should have been. That is true, but by community action you can prevent that waste. In every city we are policing more territory than we need, lighting more territory, paving more, doing more for a greater number of acres than there is any necessity for, and it comes from the lack of an intelligent city plan.

We cannot do in this country what they have done in some of the cities of Germany, but we do not need to. It will illustrate the idea, however, if I tell you the experience of a friend of mine in Essen. A man went to the person whom we would call the superintendent of buildings and attempted to file a plan for a new house. His plan was rejected. The official said, "The street is not finished yet, and it is not permitted to accept plans until the street is finished." That is the law there, and a good law it is. This man returned in a couple of months and again attempted to file plans. The superintendent still replied, as before, "The street is not finished." The man asked, "What is the matter with it? It looks finished to me." "Yes, but part of the curbing is not laid." That troubled the man, and he went to a friend and said, "I have been to the superintendent and tried to file plans and they are not accepted; he said the street is not finished." And his friend said, "Let me see your plans." He looked over them and then said, "That street never will be finished, I assure you. You would better go to some more competent architect, get him to revise your plans, and bring them back to the superintendent, and perhaps the street will be finished." My friend found the superintendent of buildings of Essen always left a little of the street unfinished, so that he would not be obliged to accept plans that

were not suitable. We cannot do quite that, but we can in manifold ways direct the building of our cities. We can, if we will, make provision as to the height of buildings, that they shall not be more than a certain height with relation to the width of the street, and that shall vary between the congested center and the outskirts. We can, if we will, provide that buildings shall not cover more than a certain portion of the lot.

Prior to 1901, in my city of New York, the tenement could cover about ninety per cent. of the lot. The congested conditions of our lower east side were worse than in any other city of the world. In 1901 we arranged that no tenement should cover more than seventy per cent. of the lot. It was not ideal but a compromise with existing evils. No city like Indianapolis needs to permit seventy per cent. of the land to be covered by human habitations. It is too much. It was a great step in advance for us, however. We may provide that no building shall be erected until the street is properly sewered. We may prevent this spasmodic and scattering growth that adds to the expense of carrying on public business of the city. And all may be done in such fashion that regulations will conserve the value of buildings and enhance the value of the land. It is only by showing people that these things may be so regulated that they shall be for private profit that you will get a proper ordinance enacted.

I am not arguing that this is the highest motive, but it is essential in our communities in this country that you shall show these things in order to accomplish your end. Our cities are very lightly taxed. The most heavily taxed per capita, I think, are Boston and New York, with a tax levy of about $30 per capita. If you take all the cities of thirty thousand to three hundred thousand, the taxes do not amount to $14 per capita. If I am correct, the cities of Germany before the war ordinarily paid about $50 per capita. We do not, in this country, know what taxation is, so far as its weight is concerned. You should not worry about our cities being over-taxed. Occasionally we have conditions such as those that confront the city of New York at the present time, where the debt we have created to transform a collection of one hundred country towns and villages into a great metropolitan city has placed a rather heavy burden upon the immediate present, and the immediate future. That is unusual. Even with this situation a few years of prosperous times would make that burden seem light.

I cannot come here and recommend to this audience any particular plans for raising money, because you come from many states. More than thirty of the states of this union unfortunately

have constitutions that limit the power of taxation and enforce a very crude system that we have outgrown. You ought, every one of you that comes from a state where the power of the legislature is confined by the constitution, to attempt to amend that constitution, and I would not, if I were you, try to get any particular amendment. The easiest, safest amendment to a constitution that limits the power of taxation is to take out all the limiting words. Amend with a blue pencil, then you do not have the danger that your amendment will be construed by the highest court in some way you did not intend. The old states, some of them on the Atlantic seaboard, are fortunate in that their constitutions were made one hundred years ago or more and are mere skeletons of government. In the middle of the last century the people became afraid of their legislatures and put many minor details into the constitution. In the constitution of the state of Connecticut the words "tax" and "revenue" do not occur. In the constitution of New York there is no limitation whatever upon the power of the legislature to select the subjects of taxation. I commend the simple Connecticut way to all the states of the middle west and west. The constitutions of the states of the middle west and west were made about 1850, or subsequently, and are great volumes of statutory law,--a very great misfortnue, which I hope will be outgrown. The constitutions of these states not only limit the power of selecting subjects of taxation, but in many cases they limit the rate of taxation. I do not object to a limitation upon the rate of taxation provided it does not limit. The City of New York is limited to a rate of two per cent. for all purposes exclusive of interest and principle of the debt. We could have a taxation rate of about $28 a thousand on full value within that limit. I hope we will not press upon it. Our troubles are sufficient as they are. We are nowhere near it at present. It is a safe limit. To limit the rate, as is done in some states, to one per cent. is to limit the power of taxation unduly. The people cannot have what is for their good and for the good of those who have the taxes to pay.

You can do much, however, even under these limitations. First, you can use to a very considerable degree the power of assessment for local improvements. That is a movement that has been developed in the United States, perhaps, more than anywhere else. In some of the western states the power has been exercised very freely and fully. It is founded on right principles. It relieves the general tax payers. You can help mightily to carry out programs of social betterment by using the power of assesment for local improvements. Where you have occasion to pave

new streets you can pay for the streets by assessing the cost upon the abutting property. You apply the principle to curbing, paving, and putting in sewers. You can lay water pipes, if you do it skillfully by the power to assess upon the property benefited. It is fair. Here you have a great territory not accessible because there are no streets, but as soon as the streets are open there is a demand for lots, though the people do not consider them ready for occupancy until there are sewers and water.

I read a little while ago of a survey of a certain city that scandalized me. I confess I am somewhat ignorant of the way in which the smaller cities of the country have developed, but when I learned that in a city of fifty thousand people and more there were a very large percentage of these people that were getting their water from wells and that in the territory where they got their water from wells they had no sewers, I was quite prepared for a death rate that was a great deal more than it is. There must be a special providence watching over that city. That whole situation can be remedied if the people wish to remedy it regardless of any tax rate. They can extend the sewers by local assessment. They can require the use of them and of the public water, and can abolish that disease-breeding condition if they wish. There are more matters than merely streets that can be dealt with by assessment for local improvement. Many times in some cities you need some public improvements for the carrying out of programs that have been discussed at this Conference for the health and welfare of the people, and you cannot get money to pay for them. A little while ago we invented a new way in the city of New York of paying for certain kinds of local improvements. Perhaps it is in use in some other cities without my knowledge. Before that time our assessments for local improvements were confined to small areas and had relation to something done in a street only. Then we came to the point where we found sometimes to get through a new street in a congested area of our old city would be a benefit that was much more widespread than anything we had theretofore paid for by assessment, and we provided that in such circumstances we could assess the property immediately benefited and could also assess the whole borough (we have five in the city of New York) or we could assess more than one borough if we pleased, and from that we could very easily go to an assessment for the whole city. I won't try to particularize, but suppose you want something necessary for the public good, and cannot get it out of taxation, and it is not convenient to borrow the money for a considerable period of time. It is perfectly prac-

ticable to assess the benefit that will come from that improvement and make it a city charge, or a charge against a section of the city, and you can levy the cost of doing that thing, as all assessments for local improvements are levied, upon the value of the land. Do not forget that when we make some improvement in a city that increases the population there is also an increase in the land value. You are not adding to building values. Buildings deteriorate, become obsolete, rarely last more than thirty years, but every new inhabitant creates additional demand for the land of the city. So such public improvements as serve to attract population add to land values and may properly be assessed, and that in part is what Mr. Taylor meant when he said social programs should be supported out of social wealth.

Again, even if you cannot change your taxation laws, if your constitution stands in the way, try to get the constitution amended. But you want something now. There is something that can be done in nine cities out of ten in the United States that will lighten the burden and make it more easily borne. In the old days, when taxes were very light and we had not waked up to our social needs, when our social needs were really less, we could get along with crude and inefficient administration. As burdens became heavier the machinery that worked fairly well when the burden was light created gross inequality and great injustice. In our growing cities in the United States land values are rising. I have known them to double and treble in parts of a city in a single year. New buildings are being erected, old buildings become obsolete and depreciate in value. The changes in our growing American cities of the value of real property are very rapid and yet we have in most of them the crudest methods of determining the value for purposes of taxation. It is not an occult science to assess real property as it should be assessed, but it is an art that needs for its satisfactory accomplishment experience and training, and it ought to be done annually. In too many of our states we have a system that provides for an assessment only once in a series of years. There is a theory that it is easier on the property owner. It is if his property is rising in value because of what the community is doing for him. It is a question of distribution. In Ohio only a few years ago they had a law by which there was a decennial assessment of real estate. There were communities where, in the period of ten years, the land value was multiplied by four or five, whereas the land in other communities had receded in value. You cannot raise money for social service purposes if you do it as unfairly as that. What you want in all your cities is development of your civil service

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laws. If you have not any such law, get one. Your assessors should be honored men of a profession. It is no easy task to assess real estate, but it is within the power of the ordinary man if he is trained to do it. Appoint your assessors, do not elect them, and let them hold office as long as they behave themselves. Require the assessment to be at full value.

We are hypocrites and liars about our taxes. The law in nearly every state in the union requires that real property shall be assessed at its market value and there is not a state in the union where there is throughout the state an effort to obey the law. That is partly due to defects of law in the method of raising state revenue, and I have not time to go into that tonight, but it is the fact. Do you know that when an assessor has taken an oath that his assessment roll represents in his judgment the full market value of real estate and then has made a compromise with himself to assess at 60 per cent, he dare not tell you so. He could be indicted if he did. There is an arbitrary assessment whenever the law is not obeyed. I have seen both conditions. For thirteen years we have been honestly trying to obey the law. I know what the condition was before. I know what it is today. I am not here to describe our conditions as the acme of perfection. We are trying to do our work rightly. We have a corps of men who cannot be removed except for cause, many of whom have been in the service twenty years and about whose work there is no whisper of political or partisan influence. That is the only condition out of which you can get proper results in any city. How does it affect you? Suppose you live in a city where the assessments are 60 per cent of full value,—and I will guarantee that ninety per cent of those in this room live in cities where the assessment is less than two-thirds of full value on the average, and those of you who live in such a city, if you will analyze the condition you will find that ordinarily there are classes of property that are assessed at no more than 30 per cent of full value and others that are assessed at 70, 80, or 90 per cent of full value. Ordinarily there are certain classes underassessed. You will find vacant land underassessed, and intentionally so, because there is a theory that it ought to be. You will find little cottages that cost one or two thousand dollars assessed higher in proportion than buildings of large cost. That is because the assessors can very easily find what the thousand dollar house costs to build, where as they find it difficult, not being trained men of long experience, to determine what the great factory cost to build or what the homes of the very rich cost to build. I can assure you that you will find in nearly every city certain

classes of proporty underassessed. I do not charge dishonesty. It is because of human nature. If you know it and try to guard against it, that is your only hope of success.

Every year I have the privilege of delivering a little address to the assessors of the city of New York. We have about 75 men, each of whom has a district, and once a year when they start out on the year's work, it is my duty to have a talk with them and I always say this: Do all you can to follow the advancing values, you cannot catch up to them. Follow them as fast as you can, because if you do not you will put too heavy a burden on the homes of the poor and on the property that is declining in value. Assessors can only follow; they cannot precede; and if property is declining in value you catch it further up than you ought to; you cannot help it. If you know you cannot follow it fast enough and try to follow as fast as you can there is some hope that you will arrive at a just conclusion.

If you get permanent, trained men, who cannot be removed except for cause, and an adequate number, and pay them enough money, then you can raise, oftentimes, twice the money you are raising now with half the friction and half the trouble. That is one of the ways you can get money to carry out social programs.

You would not think a little thing like getting proper maps would make much money. A man working in New Jersey obtained a law which required the making of tax maps in all the country towns. There was a town that was afraid of spending a little money, so it made a bargain with a surveyor to make the maps and be paid by getting all the money that came from the land that never before had been assessed. Presently so much money came in from taxes on land that had not been taxed before that it appeared he would be paid far too much. So he relinquished his claims and took a proper compensation. In a number of New Jersey towns they got more money the first year out of land never taxed before than the maps cost to prepare. When the city of New York was consolidated,—in some of the outlying territory there were no maps. Even Brooklyn was found to have several thousand acres that had never been on the map and never taxed. I will guarantee that half the cities represented here would show the same kind of thing. You can get money for social programs out of that means.

All these social programs that you wish to put through, if wisely planned, add to the health of the community, and add to the value of living in the place. As that value comes from social betterment that is the value that should pay the bill. I have tried to interpret the financial side of civic betterment. We have good

authority for doing that. Did it ever occur to you that in the Sermon on the Mount we have the text for doing just that very thing,—testing out in terms of money the things we ought to do? "Take no thought what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed, for after these things do the Gentiles seek, but seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Seek to produce all these things that make for human welfare, and out of them will come material welfare for the communities in which you live.

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COMMUNITY ACTION THROUGH SURVEYS *

Shelby M. Harrison, Director, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

In referring to the death of the editor of the *Kansas City Star*, a few months ago, the *New York Evening Post* made several interesting comments. A paragraph ran as follows:

> The civic advance made by Kansas City in the last thirty years has been brought to general attention by the death of William R. Nelson, but it is worth holding up to other municipalities in any connection. In 1880, we learn from the Missouri press, Kansas City lay among the hills and hollows of the Missouri River "content with its strategic importance, its mud, its filth, and its packing houses." The little group of public-spirited men whom Col. Nelson represented, accomplished what they did by holding an unmerciful mirror before the town. They described the defects of the streets, the untidiness of the business and residence sections, the wretched service of the street-car system the excessiveness of the gas and water charges, the need for parks and boulevards. The Union Station swarming with vermin, and the unsightly thickets of telephone and telegraph wires that ran above the ground were especial objects of attack.
>
> This candor had its effect in making aesthetic progress a consistent part of commercial and physical growth. Kansas City has today a chain of public parks that would be creditable to a city four times its size, its boulevards and models in construction and design, and it has utilized to the full the scenic possibilities of its location upon the bluffs. And the Union Station is among the four best architectural works of the kind in America.

Colonel Nelson's type of newspaper represents a social force illustrative of, and akin to, the social or community survey. Both are concerned with the practical, every-day issues of community life; both inquire into them, analyze what they find, formulate proposed courses of action, and seek wide currency for their data and proposals. In other words, both this type of newspaper and the survey gather facts, digest and interpret them, and seek

*Section meeting, Monday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

to reach the whole public with their information, conclusions and recommendations.

At the same time, there are differences between the two—some of them at the very points of similarity—which are also illustrative and suggestive. The survey, for example, collects its data through the agency of the investigator who, in addition to having a "nose for news" and an eye for facts, as the reporter has, is a specialist on social and community problems, trained in the handling of material on these subjects. He knows better than the reporter what data to look for, better how to collect and collate them.

An essential characteristic of the survey, moreover, is the careful and thorough study and evaluation of the many important elements of a situation before reaching a conclusion, whereas the newspaper often finds it necessary, partly because of the exigencies of daily publication, to handle questions piecemeal and in haste. Further, the reporter when his story is ready, has but one avenue to the ear of the public, his newspaper columns; while the surveyor, besides having the same newspaper columns open to him, may use many other means of spreading his information —among them the summarizing leaflets, the public address, the graphic exhibit, the educational play and the magazine and periodical press, and finally the full report in pamphlet or book.

But whatever their relative advantages, the comparison helps perhaps toward something concrete in describing the survey idea and in breaking it into some of its more important parts, among them, as already suggested, the investigation, the analysis and interpretation of facts gathered, the formulating of constructive recommendations, and the educational use of the facts and proposals with a view to providing a solid basis for intelligent community action. Let us look at these further.

Investigating the Facts

First, then, *investigation*—the securing of facts regarding community problems. Fact gathering is the A B C of surveys. But it is the facts of *current* problems and living conditions, not data that are remote or necessarily concerned with the historical past, except as they cast light on the present, with which the survey deals. The survey is an attempt in the field of civic and social reform to do what the civil engineer does before he starts to lay out a railroad, what the sanitarian does before he starts a campaign against malaria, what the scientific physician does before he treats a case, what the careful financier does before he develops a mining property, what the modern manufacturer does

before he locates a new manufacturing plant. It is, in short, an attempt to substitute knowledge for conjecture or mere belief.

Unconfirmed belief has sometimes been a very unreliable and socially expensive guide to action. It was once believed, for example (and not so long ago), that fumigation was one of our main reliances in preventing the spread of contagious disease; now a fuller understanding of the manner in which infection is spread and careful tabulations of statistics show that the emphasis belongs on much more important preventive measures. Again, it was once believed that spring water was always safe for drinking purposes; but facts collected regarding such water and investigation of the condition of people who drink it have shown that it is very often dangerous and usually to be regarded with suspicion.

On the other hand, it is true that many beliefs and opinions have ultimately found justification in facts. And many others have contained half truths of value. Thus, for example, the belief once held that malaria was produced by stagnant water and by swampy districts, has turned out to contain a half truth, although never of much preventive significance. But even these beliefs and half truths, although they at times may have served good purposes, really support our point since they leap into great practical usefulness only upon being proved. At best, untested belief, *a priori* theory, or conjecture are uncertain foundations upon which to build, whether in social work, industry, commerce or finance. They should be replaced as soon as sufficient data can be made available.

Analysis and Interpretation

The second survey characteristic is *analysis and interpretation of facts.* Once the data are in hand, what do they mean? Do they show satisfactory conditions or conditions calling for corrective action? If it is found, for example, in a given city that 5,000 persons, or let us say 18 in every 1,000 of the population, died in a certain year, what, if anything, does this mean? Is it either fair or significant to compare this death rate with those of other cities? Or is it more important to relate other facts to these death figures, such as the number of deaths of non-residents included in the total; the ages at which the bulk of the population are grouped; the division of the deaths between the sexes, races and nationalities; their classification according to the causes of death, and the proportions that were due to the well-recognized preventable diseases and accidents; their geographical distribution; the places of greatest concentration; local

conditions favoring their spread; the city's equipment for dealing with the problem in its various phases? And so on.

Obviously, the facts gathered in the survey, if they are to be of real use must be organized, and basic principles and general truths drawn from them. More than that, they should be interpreted in the light of as wide an acquaintance as possible with the factors entering into social problems; and interpreted also, as the word science itself implies, with an eye single to the truth regardless of the particular interests that may be affected.

Constructive Recommendations

After conclusions as to what the facts mean are reached, the third step is the working out of *recommendations for improvement.* The survey, of course, aims at results. It is diagnosis to the end that prescription may be written. Results very often follow the mere turning of the light upon unwholesome conditions, particularly in cases where conditions are notoriously bad. But in general, conclusions should be, and are, accompanied by recommendations as to the first and later steps to be taken in solving the problems that the community faces. The soundness of the recommendations depends in some measure upon the familiarity of the surveyor with the methods and experience of other communities in dealing with similar or related difficulties, and in new situations upon his ability to invent practical methods and procedures. Having gone deeply into the city's problems, the community will expect and want the surveyor's best judgment as to their solution but the community will also, and should, reserve the right to accept or reject the measures suggested according as the majority are impressed and convinced of their necessity and effectiveness.

Presentation of Survey Findings

That leads to the fourth feature of the survey as a measure for community action—*the presentation of the survey findings,* conclusions, and recommendations to the whole citizenship, the convincing of the public.

First and last the survey is an educational measure, spreading its information in the untechnical phrases of the street. It is a means to better democracy by informing the community upon community matters, and thereby providing a basis for intelligent public opinion. It is a school whose teaching is not confined to children and youth but which aims to get its facts and message, expressed in the simple terms of household experience, before the whole people. It utilizes as many channels of education as possible.

If the information and knowledge it has obtained are to become a part of the common experience of the community, moreover, it must recognize that the individual or organization who would speak to the millions nowadays has great competition. With the motion picture showing African jungles, Indian Durbars and scenes that formerly only the very rich could see, all now within one's reach for a few cents; with the newspaper brought down to one cent a copy, and at the same time made more pictorial and attractive and going into practically every urban home with the telegraphic news of all the world also on its pages; with the great increase in the number of popular magazines; and with other developing inroads and drafts upon the individual's leisure time, the social surveyor must also put his message in a way that is both interesting and quick, and easy to understand. These publicity agencies—just mentioned—the daily press, the graphic exhibit, the illustrated periodical, the public address and entertainment, the motion picture screen, as well as the printed pamphlet and book report—should be utilized, and utilized, moreover, with as great a command as possible of the technique of these different publicity mediums. This is merely saying that in the graphic spreading of survey findings, it is just as important to employ the highest technical excellence as it is to conform to high standards of accuracy in gathering and interpreting the facts.

An Illustrative Survey

So much for the survey in some of its parts. Perhaps I may take a few moments to show its workings in a specific case and to apply a few quick tests of results. The case is the Springfield (Illinois) Survey. I shall refer to the Springfield Survey with some freedom because it was no one organization's job. It was a co-operative undertaking joined in by many organizations and individuals. A little over two years ago, that is in 1914, a group of public-spirited Springfield citizens who had been giving some thought to social conditions in their city and had become dissatisfied with them, decided that the time had arrived to get out of their maze of conflicting opinions and beliefs and, if possible, on a basis of certitude in working for community advance.

There were some citizens, for example, who believed Springfield's public schools compared well with those of other cities; but there were others who believed the school work needed to be readjusted to the changed conditions under which the upcoming generation of school children must live and work. Some regarded their school houses with pride and satisfaction, while others

believed them to be far below modern standards of construction and equipment. Some boasted of the city as the most healthful place to live in the state, and others believed the number of deaths from preventable causes was higher than it should be and that the public health service was too meagerly financed. Some believed that their labor disturbances were due to the mere desire of the unions to kick up agitation, others that the disturbances indicated something wrong with wages, employment opportunities, and general working conditions. There were those who believed any treatment to be good enough for lawbreakers, but others were of the opinion that the treatment accorded offenders often contributed to the problem of crime instead of protecting the community, and that the offender himself was worthy of consideration. Some believed the welfare of the insane to be relatively unimportant, others that there must be a better method than to treat them like criminals. A few thought that playgrounds, sports and other recreation activities were among the frivolities, but others that they could be constructive and reconstructive forces. Some pointed with pride to the growth of the city as indicated by the recent building of apartment houses and multiple dwellings; others were of the opinion that Springfield should conserve the great advantage it had as a city of single family homes. Some thought relief work the beginning and end of charitable effort, others that something more constructive could be done, and so on; the opinions and beliefs were as conflicting and various as they are in every live, growing, American community. Fortunately a few interested citizens thought it important to give them the test of fact.

A Co-operative Community Effort

A survey committee of some 25 representative Springfield persons was organized. The chairman was a state senator, and among the other members were a former lieutenant-governor of Illinois, a state commissioner, the city superintendent of schools, other public officials, business men, labor leaders, clergymen, doctors, women's club leaders, editors, teachers, and social workers. The planning and direction of the survey was put into the hands of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, and that department in turn secured the assistance and co-operation of six other departments of the Foundation, together with that of five other national organizations, five Illinois state organizations, the co-operation of the social agencies of Springfield, and the assistance of over 600 volunteer workers in Springfield—including both the workers on

the survey investigations and those assisting in the survey exhibition. The five national organizations were: the United States Public Health Service, American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and the National Housing Association. The five Illinois organizations were: Illinois State Board of Health, Illinois State Water Survey, Illinois Conference of Charities and Corrections, Illinois State Food Commission, and the State Department of Factory Inspection.

The survey comprised nine main divisions, as follows:

I. The Public Schools of Springfield.
II. Care of Mental Defectives, the Insane, and Alcoholics in Springfield.
III. Recreation in Springfield.
IV. Housing in Springfield.
V. Public Health in Springfield.
VI. The Correctional System of Springfield.
VII. The Charities of Springfield.
VIII. Industrial Conditions in Springfield.
IX. City and County Administration in Springfield

The facts collected in these nine divisions in due time were analyzed and interpreted, and followed by the working out of detailed recommendations for improvement. All of the reports were fully summarized in the local Springfield press, the newspapers handling from 12 to 20 full column stories on each report. In addition, an exhibition of survey findings was held in the state armory—which was open for ten days and which attracted some 15,000 visitors, including many from distant parts of the state. Finally, the complete statement of findings is being published in ten separate illustrated volumes.

During two months preceding the opening of the exhibition, a special campaign of publicity and promotion was carried on which kept the subject of the survey before the people pretty constantly. A sufficient number of interesting things happened during the course of the campaign to furnish still other daily survey stories for the papers; and as the campaign grew, more and more people not formerly associated with social work became interested and lent their help. The exhibition campaign included public addresses before churches, lodges, labor unions, school clubs, and other organizations and societies. It also utilized the short educational play especially written for the occasion to drive home some of the important lessons of the survey.

As to follow-up work, the survey committee organized itself into sub-committees which were charged with carrying out the

recommendations for each of the main fields covered. These already have some accomplishments to their credit.

Results from Surveys

To this point I have tried to describe *how* the survey is designed to get community action, and *why* results should follow? But it may very well be asked: Do results follow? *Does* the survey really lead to action? An adequate answer would require a great deal more time and painstaking work than anyone has yet been able to devote to it. The answer will be worth the effort, however, and doubtless sooner or later will be sought. But in the meantime there are some very significant indications, even though they may not tell the whole story.

Community Education and Awakening

Recalling that the survey is *first and last* an educational measure aimed at informing the citizens on local conditions and public questions, and to stimulate thinking in terms of the whole community, a few public statements, which have come to us only incidentally and after their publication elsewhere in various localities, are illuminating.

For example, A. L. Bowen, Secretary of the Illinois State Charities Commission, in a recent address, said:

> In any campaign such as the survey has been and still is, we must always look for two classes of results. We must ferret out the intangible or abstract results. We must find the tangible or concrete result. Very often the intangible results of a great public welfare movement are by far the most important and far reaching. I think this is true in the matter in hand. The intangible results of the Springfield Survey are worth more to our community than those which we can actually see with our eyes or touch with our hands. I would say a new community conscience, or, perhaps more truthfully, an *aroused and stimulated* community conscience, is the most noteworthy effect of the survey. Our attitude of a community toward all questions affecting its well-being has radically changed. We see new meanings in them and react to them in a different manner. Our sense of duty in many cases where it formerly would have been dormant, now asserts itself and prompts us to action. There is a new spirit in our work.

Similarly, Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, a resident of Springfield, and an observer and writer of distinction, ended a magazine article descriptive of the survey exhibition with this paragraph:

> I at least feel that the picture of this survey exhibit will remain in the minds of the citizens as the general concept toward which they are all going. The spirit of that final dinner, with its new leaders springing up and its sober resolution will probably abide. We have the serious expectation that henceforth Springfield's graver rank and file and leading citizens of whatever party are enlisted for steady lifetime tasks, each in his chosen place.

Again, H. T. Chase, chief editorial writer of the Topeka *Daily Capital,* in an article on the survey recently made of Topeka, issued this statement:

> The survey has broadened the foundations of exisiting welfare organizations and awakened a larger and more sympathetic popular confidence in systematic and organized methods of welfare work, as well as a deeper consciousness of municipal responsibilities and capabilities, a profounder sense of the city's unity.

Specific Accomplishments

But the indications as to results are not limited to general community education; there are signs, at least, of specific results. I say signs, for it is not possible in most cases to be sure, as Mr. Bowen has pointed out, just what are the direct results of a given survey. The survey, as already stated, shows conditions and needs and furnishes a program of improvements; but after all, the program must be *carried out* very largely by other agencies than those that made the investigations, and they should come in for a good deal if not for most of the credit for results. Some time ago, however, we tried to list the events which pretty clearly had their beginning in survey recommendations—or at any rate, the advances made in the community since the survey, which had been specifically recommended *by* the survey, no matter what other agencies had also helped. In compiling the list, no special effort has been made to gather inclusive data.

Springfield Results

First, as to the Springfield Survey.

IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

1. The Rules of the Board of Education have been revised, reducing the number of committees to three, as follows: (a) Education, (b) Finance and Supplies, and (c) School Property.
2. The junior high school system has been adopted, and four junior high schools organized.
3. A new high school principal was elected, and the entire organization and course of study changed. A well planned system of supervised study has been introduced, and the very best of discipline is obtained without friction.
4. A new modern high school building is now being erected and will be ready for occupancy next year. It will accommodate about 1,500 pupils, and will cost, completed, nearly $500,000.
5. The lighting, ventilation, and general sanitation of all the schools has been given attention and greatly improved. Fire exit locks have been placed on all outside doors, and fire escapes on the high school.
6. A special supervisor of buildings is employed.
7. Patrons' clubs have been organized in every district of the city, and nearly every school house is now used as a social center. Public meetings and political discussions are held in the auditoriums of the several schools, and about one-third of the voting places of the city are now located in school buildings.
8. The number of teachers employed in manual training and household arts has been more than doubled since the survey, and pre-vocational training and guidance is promoted.
9. The school census has been revised.

10. A new salary schedule for teachers and janitors has been established on a basis of efficiency, and the required qualifications of principals and teachers have been raised.

11. Seven branch libraries have been established in as many different schools, and five other centers, the books being furnished through the city library

12. Finally the entire course of study for the elementary, junior, high, and senior schools, has been revised and modernized.

DELINQUENCY AND CORRECTIONS

1. The sheriff has pledged himself to turn into the county treasury approximately $7,500 per year of profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail. A first return has already been made. This money previously had gone into the sheriff's pockets. For his four-year term the total will approximate $30,000, an amount alone that exceeds the cost of the Springfield Survey.

2. The closing of the former large and flourishing redlight district of the city.

3. Appointment of policewoman and a woman deputy sheriff.

4. Improvements of the juvenile detention home.

5. Improvements made in conditions in the county jail and a beginning made in putting city and county prisoners at work in farming and gardening.

6. The Humane Society has abandoned its plan of subsidizing regular policemen for its work.

HEALTH

1. Infant hygiene work started.

2. Announcemeent made of a movement on foot for new contagious disease hospital facilities.

3. The Tuberculosis Association has reorganized itself and its work, placing more emphasis upon educational features.

4. Free dispensary established at St. John's Hospital.

5. Publication of the milk inspection scorings of milk dealers has been started by the Health Department.

CHARITIES.

1. A new Associated Charities secretary has been secured and marked improvements have been made in the society's methods. In fact, its work has been completely reorganized.

2. A county child welfare organization is planned.

3. Better co-operation between private charitable societies and between the public and private agencies.

4. Improvements have been made in bringing legal influence to bear upon non-supporting husbands and fathers.

5. Home for the Friendless has begun to initiate placing-out and other child welfare work along lines recommended. A trained nurse has been added to its staff, and the physical condition of the children is reported to be greatly improved.

6. A trained nurse employed to care for the tuberculous and other sick patients at the County Poor Farm, and food and rooms for them improved.

7. The attendance department of the public schools has been reorganized with a view to closer co-operation with the Associated Charities and other social agencies.

8. Central Council of Social Agencies organized.

RECREATION.

1. Employment by the Board of Education of a director of hygiene to take charge of playgrounds, athletics, and social centers.

2. Extension of athletic organization among elementary school children, and the holding of athletic contests for them and a play festival for all Springfield children.

3. Extension of park board's plans for equipment of play sections

of parks and an attempt to work out a plan of supervision in conjunction with school board.

4. Free public golf courses in two of the city's largest parks have been established.

5. Bathing beaches with proper protection and safeguards have been constructed in two of the parks.

6. Complete reorganization of Y. M. C. A. work and the extension of its physical department.

7. Clean-up of one burlesque theater.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in informal discussion: J. Byron Deacon, Walter A. May, Pittsburgh; Annie L. Chesley, Cambridge, Mass.; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Carol Aronovici, Philadelphia; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; A. R. Gephart, Spokane; T. B. Johnson, Springfield, Ill.; Mr. Bellfont, Richmond, Ind.

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REACTIONS TO SOCIAL WORKERS' PROGRAMS

At a section meeting, held Tuesday, May 16, at 11:00 A. M. devoted to this subject, the following named speakers participated: Henry M. Waite, Dayton; Louis Howland, James W. Lilly and Aaron Wolfson, Indianapolis.

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ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNITY FORCES FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS, OR SOCIALIZING SOCIAL WORK *

Allen T. Burns, Director of the Cleveland (Ohio) Foundation

Social programs are the plans to have communities conduct activities for the especially needy or for the welfare of all citizens. Such community action directed toward conditions or individuals in society is recognized everywhere as necessary, no matter how well exceptional individuals are cared for by voluntarily formed societies. The promotion of social programs might be called the indirect action of social workers as compared with the direct action in caring for the unfortunate. The aim is the action by all for all.

The best methods of promoting social programs may be discovered by a study of social workers themselves and their actual practices in securing action by legislatures or other public officials. How have we been trying to organize community forces for securing community or public action? To surveys we have pointed with pride in an earlier session as an effective method of accomplishing this. In particular the Pittsburgh Survey has been credited with helping to write on Pennsylvania's statute books the most progressive, or revoluntionary, according to one's

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*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 11:00 A. M.

viewpoint, tax law in this country. This law in Pittsburgh and Scranton gradually reduces taxes on buildings and adds them to land. The survey did have an influence in this legislation but the less said of it the better, so far as being an object lesson in organizing community forces. It fell to me to secure the introduction of the bill and watch its legislative career.

As an illustration of how to promote social progress, I speak very penitently and humbly of my part in the transaction. There was no attempt to secure general community support. What those interested in the bill did was to take into their confidence the few organizations which might otherwise oppose its passage. Outside of this nothing was done to create community intelligence or demand for the law. We did, however, convert the mayor of Pittsburgh and it was his favor which saw the bill through the legislature. Like most important measures it was held in committee until the closing days of the session. Then Jim McNichol and Ed. Vare, Philadelphia's bosses, and Billy Magee, Pittsburgh's mayor, met at the grab bag, so called, and each told what measures he wished pulled out. In this mutual agreement the tax bill became law. So worked the community will in Pennsylvania, aided and abetted by social workers.

Four years ago this conference heard an appeal for the support of a congressional bill to establish a Commission on Industrial Relations. A small group of leading social workers had decided that such a commission was the fitting national sequel of the McNamara trials, the Patterson silk strike, the Lawrence textile conflict, the West Virginia coal struggle and other labor troubles. These welfare agents secured the co-operation and support of an acquiescent president who was a candidate for re-election. Through the mailing lists of the great national organizations for social welfare, the reform element of the country was stirred to importune their congressmen. A persistent social lobbyist dinged the bill into the ears of the national representatives for six months. The measure passed and was hailed as a great example of what an aroused public could secure from its servants. How much was secured can best be judged by the actual effects of the bill, not by the bill's mere passage. It is my purpose later to apply this acid test of effectiveness to the industrial relations bill and other social measures.

In several commonwealths the "socially minded" have organized state-wide associations to secure social legislation. They are inevitably and justly controlled in the last analysis by those who support them. Many laws, some effective, all well intentioned, are the laurels of these state charity associations. You

know their typical methods. They devise a bill to standardize the county almshouses. The more progressive overseers of the poor are consulted, the associated charity bodies are enlisted, a sympathetic legislator from a silk-stocking district takes charge of the measure. Letters from the interested pour in. At the committee hearing a dozen backers speak and little opposition appears. The bill is passed as the easiest way to get rid of the petitioners. But in a government supposed to be controlled by the will of majorities, what right has such a law to be enacted? Is it in any sense representative of popular will?

So successful have these state associations proved to their backers that similar bodies are being formed in cities. They are not only to focus social interest for local legislation but also to guide the policies of the public and private welfare agencies. They are composed mostly of those giving full time to philanthropic work. These "welfare councils" will do much to prevent duplication and secure better correlation of community service. They promise to be so saving of our own time and thought that we are likely to think of them as the last word in the promotion of community programs. Can and should such a close corporation of benevolent individuals exercise a controlling influence upon the social advance of our cities?

We, as welfare agents, employ still another method of community organization. We have become so convinced of our sufficiency that we are now forming monopolies to control the charitable giving of our communities. These federations are useful, so far as they broaden the interests and social outlook of the many who give to only one pet charity. But can any single group of selected philanthropists be as broad as all the instincts in any community for giving to the less fortunate? The temptation of federations will be to think they are widely representative and so able to speak for the entire humanitarian interest of their cities.

This strong tendency of social agencies and agents to think themselves sufficient unto communities' social needs is finding many expressions. A recent associated charities report spoke of their work being too specialized and intimate to be understood or explicable to the average citizen. A backer of a federation in an eastern city has said, "I believe in democracy, but a democracy needs a small group to do its social thinking for it."

Recently I was present at the meeting of an organization devoted to promoting community programs. It had asked a committee of heads of national organizations to report on a certain subject. The report was read and then the chairman of the

organization announced, "We will now discuss the report, but I may state to begin with that my organization will not adopt the chief recommendation." Can this be the cap sheaf, the fine flower of our so-called "social" thinking? How soon will we welfare workers be parodying the prayer of the old Scotchman, "God bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more."

The truth is, our purposes in promoting community programs have been social, communal, collective, public, and our methods have been bureaucratic, aristocratic, autocratic and oligarchic. Leading citizens were asked yesterday to criticise our social programs. They gave no explicit estimate or even mention of our programs. Their implied criticism may be all the more pointed. Apparently our promotion of social programs has been done in so restricted a circle as never to have come to these gentlemen's notice. So long as the demand for social legislation arises from so narrow a group we are guilty of seeking special legislation just as much as any manufacturing, labor or political combine.

All that can be said for this unsocial method of promoting social programs is that it has biblical prototypes. We have counted like the heathen on our being heard for our much speaking. Or, like the poor widow, we count on the judge avenging us of our adversary not because of the justice of our cause but because our importuning wearies him.

If our unsocial methods of social work are wrong they will prove so from another viewpoint than that of democratic theory. These methods contain what an old teacher of mine used to call their own "imminent, innate, inherent criticism." More commonly we speak of a procedure containing the seeds of its own destruction. Our methods of promoting social programs are proving to be of this kind. They are breaking down because based on the organization of so small a part of the community forces.

Federations are finding that they do not and cannot comprehend all the giving that issues from the hearts of a whole city. Activities spring up which federations have not contemplated and are not ready to help finance. Such new needs may be juvenile protection, health centers, specialized care of delinquents and war relief. Such examples show how nothing less than the community in its organized capacity can ever be adequate to express the generosity of all its members.

So, too, our councils of social agencies are finding they have reckoned without their host. It has happened that a woman's

club has refused to be "organized" and has cried out, loud enough to be heard by city authorities better than is the Welfare Council. A new administration may come in that knows not the chosen people and proceed to set up its own welfare program. Labor with its influence on votes often breaks beyond the bounds set up by the social agencies.

But a more serious result of our methods is the ineffectiveness of the legislation we secure. Laws are often written on the statute books and that is the end of unrepresentative efforts. Familiar examples are the laws against selling tobacco on Sunday in Louisiana and against liquor selling on the same day in New York. The social workers' pet measures suffer the same fate. The hardly gained Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in neither its membership nor reports met the aims of its backers. Without discussion of the value of its work, no legislation accomlished fewer results intended by its sponsors.

In New York the hue and cry following the Triangle fire secured a Factory Commission and investigation. New laws resulted and an Industrial Commission was appointed to prevent such tragedies. In a few months the Williamsburg fire followed and the supposed commission of prevention is calmly continued in office though guilty of negligence. The securing of law was evidently not sufficient to meet the situation.

Ohio has an almost model child labor law. Our boys must stay in school until fifteen and girls until sixteen. But the law is evidently not enough. An investigation has found that in one grammar school one-half of the graduates who have gone to work and eighty per cent. of those going to work before graduation did so illegally. Over 8,000 boys and girls of fifteen to eighteen years are neither in public school nor have they the required working papers.

Recently a Massachusetts club woman complained bitterly that her state had a law under which cities were supposed to have adequate playgrounds. Yet her city, though voting to accept the law's provisions, had only a third of the playgrounds required.

We meet here under the cloud of Chicago's most recent social tragedy, the death of Dr. Sachs, head of the Chicago Tuberculosis Sanitarium. Illinois was pointed to with pride when her model anti-tuberculosis law was passed. Chicago voted to carry out its provisions. Yet here again we see the wreck of social workers' best efforts toward a community program.

Our method of organizing community forces has not only secured ineffective legislation in the past, but also at the present is almost entirely failing to secure any new laws. Note last year's

defeat of the child labor bill in Illinois. What have our legislatures given as a memorial of last year's unemployment and as a preventive of such future crises? Health insurance has been as earnestly urged as many successful bills in former years, but without result, except commissions to study the question further. Congress apparently will not hear our petitions for accident compensation to protect federal employes, or for a national regulation of child labor.

We have beaten up the bushes on our social preserves. Our usual appeals to the interested have continued. Postal card campaigns, telegram entreaties, social lobbying have been as untiring as ever, but we come back from our efforts for social legislation almost empty handed.

A worse calamity is staring us in the face than the fruitlessness of our present campaigns. The results of past ones are slipping from us. To be sure, the much vaunted Pittsburgh tax law was not repealed. This, however, was no credit to the social worker, or the result of any wide popular outcry. A politician saved the measure by his own influence and because of his own conviction of the law's justice. A similar law in Pueblo, Colorado, has been repealed. A few years ago a model vital statistics bill was passed in Illinois. It suited the socially intelligent and was so nearly perfect as to cause a political revolution among the ordinary mortals in the southern end of the state. The law was repealed and it became as much as a candidate's political life was worth to mention vital statistics in Illinois' "Egypt."

Last week we read that Denver's commission government, another council of perfection we are told, had gone by the board. Last year it was the county local option bill in Ohio that was repealed. And the latest news is that the law regulating women's hours of labor in New York has been scrapped by the legislature.

Why this reaction and loss? How comes it that our methods of promoting social programs have become so useless? Why are they so powerless to hold even the gains made? Lawmakers have discovered that our petitions for social programs do not represent the votes which elect public officials. In other words, social workers' demands are not consistent with representative government, as expressed at the polls. Many proofs of this can be cited.

As a newcomer in Cleveland, it was a surprise to me to see that the social workers had persuaded Mr. Baker to adopt for Cleveland the most advanced welfare policies; and yet the same citizens did not conceive it their duty in the least to secure votes for perpetuating the regime that had made the city's public welfare department famous. To judge from campaign talk and

results, Mr. Baker's welfare policies were wrong on the basis of representative government. They were not the popular will. Similarly, Mr. James Cox, father of the Federal Children's Bureau bill and sponsor for much of Ohio's social legislation, was defeated for re-election as governor of Ohio. Frankly, he was accused of not representing the voter in his advanced policies. Those who had urged them on him had no practical proof that these social measures were representative.

Could it be that Governor Whitman knew that the critics and opponents of his industrial commissioners did not represent nearly the voting strength that the supporters of the commissioners did? Was the demand for removal representative of any widespread public opinion? Evidently in the matter of women's hours the New York legislature felt surer of an effective public opinion coming from the canners than from the Consumers' League. President Wilson, in naming his Commission on Industrial Relations, apparently listened to such expression of community wishes as comes through the ballot box rather than through the organized social workers of the country.

All these facts prove that our present failures in promoting social programs are due to our unsocial methods. We have not felt it necessary to secure general community support. We believed our views of community good were sufficient. We have sought no adequate backing for our measures in the common consent of the governed. We have in fact been pseudo-democrats, hyprocites toward representative government, frauds as believers in popular rule.

If this situation has been adequately described the remedy is self-evident. As our present dilemma is the result of our methods, clearly a change of method is necessary. How are we to promote social programs? By nothing less than our subject suggests, the organizing of *community* forces. Our future programs must be based on a general social knowledge for all, a common understanding of a few present, pressing needs instead of the more comprehensive programs understood and vouched for by a few with the highest social intelligence. We must be willing to start with the crowd and go only so far as the crowd can be led. Numbers, not in laws passed, but in backers for legislation will be the changed policy of former social dictators.

How is general social intelligence as the basis for social programs to be secured? First, through a new conception and practice of public education. Were we a convention of school teachers, I might spend the rest of my time in emphasizing the

need and value of social education. Let a quotation from an eminent educator, Professor John Dewey,* suffice:

> Professor Beard has recently denominated our school books in civics "as colorless as chalk." This tepid characterlessness is not confined to text-books in civics. It permeates the atmosphere of the school wherever any social topic comes up. Our own past history appears as a drama between the angels of light and the demons of darkness, between forces of freedom and enslavement, where victory has ever been on the side of the right. Our constitutions and institutions generally are the embodiment of the achieved and final victory of good. If children ever suspect that any evil still exists, outside of their own as yet not wholly virtuous characters, such evil has no institutional or social embodiment. It is personal, like their own faults. The whitewash of indiscriminate eulogistic language covers the things which make social life difficult, uncertain—and interesting. We do not need courses in social slumming, but we do need some way of making intellectually clear that there never was a struggle between pure good and pure evil; and that there is now, as there always has been, a struggle between interests entrenched in law, institutions and social convention, and the requirements of further enlightenment and emancipation. A nation habituated to think in terms of problems and of the struggle to remedy them before it is actually in the grip of the forces which create the problems, would have an equipment for public life such as has not characterized any people. We have condemned the method of taking docile direction from our rulers; we have set up as judges on our own account. Shall we then expect something called democracy in the abstract to work miracles in our behalf? Shall we always drift without a definite policy, relieving our nerves in critical periods, as we are now doing, by treating mutual recriminations as if they were a substitute for a policy? Is there any meaning in the phrase "democratic control" of social affairs save as men have been educated into an intellectual familiarity with the weak places, the dark places, the unsettled difficulties of our society before they are overwhelmed by them practically? Our universities must indeed lead the way. But unless the methods of critical discrimination which they foster extend into our secondary schools and thence, indirectly at least, into the elementary schools, we shall find democratic control tied to a course of inert drift alternating with periods of excited explosion. To make our schools the home of serious thought on social difficulties and conflicts is the real question of academic freedom, in comparison with which the topic which we have hitherto dealt with under that head is indeed academic.

To show that Professor Dewey is not dreaming of an impossible educational revolution, let me read you the requirements for instruction in civics made by the National Department of Education in France for all public schools:

Seven to Nine Years:	In connecting with reading, an understanding of these ideas, citizen, soldier, native country, community, law, justice, public force.
Nine to Eleven Years:	Duties and rights of citizens, compulsory education, taxation, suffrage, government.

**New Republic,* May 6, 1916.

Eleven to Thirteen Years: The family, property, inheritances, production of wealth, material, labor, economy, capital, property, circulation, and distribution of wealth, luxury, expenses of the state.

What a basis for social programs such a course in our public schools would give!

But many community problems will not wait for a new generation to be educated and grow up. We, in our hot zeal for reform, will not rest in our attempts for social programs. Many naturalized voters never will attend our public schools. If social education stops with school its value and the habits of thought formed will soon be lost. We promoters of social programs must devise a means of our own to put common understanding and demand back of our proposals. How can this be done?

The social survey has been discussed in one of our section meetings as such a method. I believe it is the most effective means yet employed. But to be most effective for the purpose we are discussing, the survey must be modified. The general, inclusive surveys have had great value for the many varied groups of social workers in the community because they received suggestions for advance in their respective fields. The whole body of citizens, too, have been shaken into a greater civic interest. But has the general citizenship been informed and inspired to make a common effort for a few attainable community projects? No! Not noticeably. The disinterested citizen attends to about one community question at a time. Note the newspaper policy of single-feature campaigns in public affairs. This focused attention will be directed towards a need already somewhat appreciated. The everyday citizen cannot be persuaded to go to the ultimate goal of the social specialists whose chief interest has been social progress. He will take the next step only after being convinced it is in advance and on the road he cares about traveling. Our promoting of social programs must observe the principle of concentrated, short advances, along lines of community interest.

Let me illustrate this method from an experience in Cleveland. The Cleveland Foundation is undertaking to develop the social thinking and intelligence of the city by means of surveys. It was decided to study only one field at a time. Before choosing the first subject, two months were spent inquiring which of its problems the city, as a whole, would be interested in and think about. Officials, social workers, labor leaders, business men, women's club officers, were all consulted. Almost unanimously they indicated that public education was the city's chief

field of interest and sense of need. So the Foundation asked Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, of the Sage Foundation, to come to Cleveland to talk with various bodies about what a school survey would be like. He met the Board of Education, Federation of Labor, Chamber of Commerce, women's organizations and philanthropic associations. They were told what the survey would be and were asked to co-operate. Not until after all these preliminaries did the Cleveland Foundation decide to make a school survey and Dr. Ayres agree to conduct it.

Throughout this survey, in progress more than a year, the same effort has been given to carrying the community along with the work. Weekly luncheons have been held to which all interested persons are invited. At first the methods being used were described. Next the facts as gathered were presented. Finally, as the conclusions are being drawn, the interest is intense and intelligent because of the basis already laid. Talks have not been limited to these luncheons. Many invitations have been accepted to address other groups. But the weekly gathering has become so much the center of interest that it is being called the "town meeting." It is enough of an occasion to be the chief news item in the papers for a day or two each week. Often the reports back the war off the front page and sometimes little but the date and weather are left.

A great value of the method is the general education through publicity. Days have been spent in getting the newspapers informed about each discussion. The survey is issued in a form suited to newspaper use. Each chapter of the report is a little pocket volume in itself. One subject is presented at a luncheon, the newspapers review it, and the printed book is distributed the same day. These volumes make appeals to different constituencies and so avoid being monotonous as news. The health report brings out the doctors, the education of immigrants interests, the social worker. The vocational reports, such as Metal Trades, Commercial Work and Dressmaking, each has its own clientele. At least one of the many features of the survey is bound to appeal to some special interest of each citizen of Cleveland.

The result hoped for is a general intelligence and progressive demand for practicable steps in better education such as have never existed in any American city. This plan of meeting the community on its own ground, sharing with it the best social thought, and co-operating to secure its recognized demands, will be the method of the Cleveland Foundation in all its work. This method is the organization of community forces to promote

social programs. Some similar means of social education must be the basis of future social endeavor.

The Cleveland Foundation has peculiar need to develop this community-wide social thinking. The Foundation, by reason of its constitution, is dependent for success on the political expression of community intelligence. The majority of its board is appointed by public officials. Its usefulness, then, depends upon the voters giving consideration to social needs in selecting these officials, so that the officials in turn will appoint to the board persons conversant with the highest community aims. This political dependence of the Foundation suggests for welfare workers that more than the general spread of social intelligence is necessary. They must make sure that officials are elected who are responsive to community needs. Otherwise, some day Cleveland may have a board controlling a larger annual outlay than all the other social agencies; yet this board may be utterly in opposition to the aims of these societies. Can this surely be prevented in any way but by social workers helping to elect officials in harmony with their own purposes? While our organizations, with mixed constituencies, cannot enter politics, individuals from them must, if the utmost is to be done in making social knowledge effective. This local situation suggests another general method of promoting intelligent community action.

In America the big means of community education was originally intended to be political campaigns. Here it is that questions of collective action get the widest hearing and receive the necessary force for execution. Not until the social worker is willing to submit his proposals to popular decision, direct or through the election of men pledged to them, will the widest possible discussion and understanding be secured. Many signs indicate that social workers are rapidly coming to this most social and democratic means of organizing community forces to promote social progress.

Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, president of Chicago's Juvenile Protective Association, said at a recent public meeting, that conditions causing delinquency are worse under the present city administration than they have ever before been known to be. "They sound a ringing challenge to the moral energy, almost the maternal instinct, of the women of Chicago, that they may rise to protect these young people through the only method possible, the purification of political life."

The Pittsburgh Survey created a profound stirring of civic spirit, but this spirit asserted itself for *reforms* that the Survey had scarcely mentioned. The arousal of social interest had to

start changes at the point where the community cared to advance. That was the corrupt political control of city and school government. The Survey made its largest contribution in inspiring a group of young men to contest the control of the city with the politicians in power. These neo-politicians in consultation with all kinds of citizens framed a new plan of municipal government. For months they held hundreds of meetings in shops, churches, schools, clubs and streets. The papers would not give any notice to the movement. The workers went on just the same, convinced that they had the attention of the voters and were organizing an irresistible force.

As the new charter must be secured from the legislature these same men helped back an independent state ticket which, though defeated, came so near winning as to demonstrate the strength of this new element in politics. This excursion into the political field, instead of weakening, gave more power to the reform move. It illustrated the truth of a saying of an old Pennsylvania boss: "Remember, the opposition is always an influential part of an administration." For the new charter was secured from an unfriendly legislature and governor. Ever since, Pittsburghers have been prone to carry their social questions into the political arena.

Why shouldn't they? Who else ought to settle the next steps for community welfare except the whole community? Remember, however, that we must become satisfied with *next steps*. That means willingness to combine our aims with many less intelligent. Often we must accept only so much as comes from swinging the balance between two political machines. One faction will generally yield many points for the sake of support from the social workers. But while the combined issue will never be the counsel of perfection which we separately would urge, it will be much more truly representative of a majority opinion which is all we have a right to ask.

The struggle in Pennsylvania between the Brumbaugh and Penrose factions today offers such an opportunity. The reform group in Pittsburgh are lining up with Mr. Brumbaugh, because they see with him a chance to take several forward steps. In such a campaign they will present the issues on which they and Mr. Brumbaugh find a common platform. In this way our social programs will be gradually organized into the thinking and the voting which determine governmental action, and social politicians will lead the community along the lines of common interest and intelligence. So long as we work in the isolation of our thinking, insisting on our whole program, we are reversing the

old saying. The best becomes forever the enemy of the possible good. And possible good is the best that can be obtained by popular will.

One more method must be used in promoting social programs by community action. We must not rest satisfied with our educational and political campaigns. When once our policies are on the statute books, or our candidates in office, they need continued support and interpretation to the public. One reason for Germany's administrative efficiency is the enlisting and participation of many private citizens in volunteer counsel and activity. The charter of the city of Cleveland provides for advisory committees for all the principal administrative divisions. Here is a possibility of organizing the best of civic interest into defenders and interpreters of social policies. The erstwhile critic and onlooker becomes a fighter to maintain and develop the very programs which today we have seen falling in ruins.

One reason for the defeat of the Baker regime in Cleveland was the mayor's failure to realize and use these interpreting and defending forces. The wreck of Chicago's tuberculosis sanitarium has already been mentioned. No such slump came in the model County Infirmary upon the change of administration. Mr. Mulhenbach, the former superintendent, explains the difference by the advisory board organized for the infirmary. No such citizen interpreters and participators had been made a part of the sanitarium management. Strengthening what remains may be much more to the point than securing new social legislation for the immediate future. We may find our best chance to create community interest in social programs by untiring efforts to explain and put on an efficient basis what we now have. I predict that social advances for a while will be made along the line of administration, rather than of legislation. The former requires as much, if not more, community organization and education than the latter.

The world's most stupendous catastrophe should teach no greater lesson than the necessity of general social intelligence for the meeting of community needs. Germany has astonished the world in her ability to bend all her energies toward one common end. France has come a close second. The military idea does not explain Germany's success, for she has marshalled every resource even those most remote from ordinary military affairs. Such unity of action could not occur if war preparations were a unique and solitary field of collective efficiency. Nor can we happy-go-lucky Americans explain Germany's power of concen-

tration for common purposes by her autocratic government. France is democratic, and yet exhibits the same social solidarity.

Mr. Alden, at last night's meeting, attributed England's unpreparedness and scattering of strength to her long neglect of free schools. This would let us Americans rest in complacency and ease, for have we not had public schools for these last hundred years? I would hesitate to dispute Mr. Alden on my own knowledge, but it is so important for Americans to get at the secret of this collective ability that I have searched for other English thought on the question. Matthew Arnold wrote a book fifty years ago on *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany.* With the vision of an old testament prophet he foretold England's present unpreparedness and disaster. He gives the explanation. Let me read some passages:

> No one of open mind, and not hardened in routine and prejudice could observe for so long and from so near as I have observed it, the civil organization of France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, without having the conviction forced upon him that these countries have a civil organization which has been framed with forethought and design to meet the wants of modern society; while our civil organization in England still remains what time and chance have made it. The States which we really resemble, in this respect, are Austria and Rome. I remember I had the honor of saying to Cardinal Antonelli, when he asked me what I thought of the Roman schools, that for the first time since I came to the Continent I was reminded of England. I meant, in real truth, that there was the same easy-going and absence of system on all sides, the same powerlessness and indifference of the State, the same independence in single institutions, the same free courses for abuses, the same confusion, the same lack of all idea of co-ordering things, as the French say,—that is, making them work fitly together to a fit end; the same waste of power, therefore, the same extravagance and the same poverty of results, of which the civil organization of England offers so many instances. Modern States cannot either do without free institutions, or do without a rationally planned and effective civil organization. Unlike in other things, Austria, Rome, and England are alike in this, that the civil organization of each implies, at the present day, a denial or an ignorance of the right of mind and reason to rule human affairs. At Rome this right is sacrificed in the name of religion; in Austria, in the name of loyalty; in England, in the name of liberty. All respectable names; but none of them will in the long run save its invoker, if he persist in disregarding the inevitable laws which govern the life of modern society. * * * *
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> Who will deny that England has life and progress? but who will deny also that her course begins to show signs of uncertainty and embarrassment? This is because even an energy like hers cannot exempt her from the obligation of obeying natural laws; and yet she tries to exempt herself from it when she endeavours to meet the requirements of a modern time and of modern society with a civil organization which is, from the top of it to the bottom not modern. Transform it she must, unless she means to come at last to the same sentence as the Church of Sardis: "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead". * * * *

Then Arnold goes on to explain that this difference in civic

organization is due to differences in mental attitude and intellectual view of community affairs. He then continues:

> Judged from its bad side this cast of ideas is characterized by its indisposition and incapacity for science, for systematic knowledge.

By "science," as we shall see, he means social science, intelligence in collective action.

> The professions are on the Continent the stronghold of science and systematic knowledge; in England, they are not. * * * *

He describes the remoteness of English education from vital matters, a custom set by the aristocracy and followed by the business class.

> If this is true, then that our middle class does not yet itself see the defects of its own education, perceives no practical inconvenience to itself from them and is satisfied with things as they are, is no reason for regarding this state of things without disquietude. "He that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead;" sooner or later, in spite of his selfconfidence, in spite of his energy, in spite of his capital he must so remain, by virtue of nature's laws * * *
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> But the idea of science and systematic knowledge is wanting to our whole instruction alike, and not only to that of our business class. While this idea is getting more and more power upon he Continent, and while its application there is leading to more and considerable results, we in England, have done marvels by the rule of the thumb, are still inclined to disbelieve in the paramount importance, in whatever department, of any other. And yet in Germany every one will tell you that the explanation of the late astonishing achievements of Prussia is simply that every one concerned in them had thoroughly learnt his business on the best plan by which it was possible to teach it to him. * * * *
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> The French, who in the extent and solidity of their instruction are, as a nation, so much behind the Germans, are yet in their idea of science quite in a line with the Germans, and ahead of us. That is because there is in France a considerable highly instructed class into whose whole training this dea of science has come, and whose whole influence goes to procure its application. We have no considerable class of this kind. * * * *

Finally, Arnold comes to his clinching illustration of the unintelligent attitude toward community affairs:

> The very matter of public instruction suggests an illustration on this point, and an illustration at my own expense. It has been quite the order of the day here, for some years past, to discuss the subject of popular education. This is a subject which can no more be known without being treated comparatively, than anatomy can be known without being tried comparatively. When it was under discussion in foreign countries, these countries procured accounts of what was done for popular education elsewhere, which we published, found a public to study them for their bearing on the general question and went through two or three editions. But I doubt whether two hundred people in this country have read Mr. Patison's report, or mine, on the popular schools of the Contient; [sounds like the sequel of a survey] simply because the notion of treating a matter of this kind as a matter of scientific study hardly occurs to any one in this country; but almost

> every one treats it as a matter which he can settle by the light of his own personal experience, and of what he calls his practical good sense.
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> Our rule of thumb has cost us dear already, and is probably destined to cost us dearer still. It is only by putting an unfair and extravagant strain on the wealth and energy of the country, that we have managed to hide from ourselves the inconvenience we suffer, even in the lines where we think ourselves most successful, from our want of systematic instruction and science.
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>
> The result is that we have to meet the calls of a modern epoch, in which the action of the working and middle class assumes a preponderating importance, and science (remember he means social science) tells in human affairs more and more, with a working class not educated at all, a middle class educated on the second plane, and the idea of science absent from the whole course and design of our education.

Could the lesson be plainer for Americans, and especially those whose interest is in social preparedness? Instead of prejudices, shiboleths, class hatreds and demands, we need one mighty resolve to make social knowledge the possession of all, not the few. By widest propaganda, by political discussion, by co-operation and interpretation of official policies, we can accomplish the results. When De Tocqueville came to this country in 1831 he reported American self-government a great success. His explanation was that, through the town meeting, all citizens became acquainted with the details of governmental requirements. By this immediate contact they had an experience which they could extend to the wider fields of state and national affairs. We social workers must supply the modern counterpart of the town meeting.

This means we must be satisfied with partial results, slow but universal progress. Taking social intelligence where we find it we must be willing to advance only so far as the mass will go. This is reversion to type. Those we delight to honor as our country's founders subjected themselves to the hardships of public debate and political campaigning. They were willing to have less than their own way in order that the people be led some steps ahead. The ridicule, misunderstanding, enmities, of political life were all theirs, but we call them not politicians, but patriots. It is our task to restore this most democratic method of social education to its ancient and honorable position.

Some object that the social worker may lose his position because of such political activity. We have loudly denounced the political control of the workingmen by their employers. Are we to take any lower stand for our own freedom? Perhaps this is the way sacrifice is to be put back into the social service which may have become too nearly for our own moral health, a well recognized, well paid profession.

A few evenings ago we applauded Thomas Mott Osborne to the echo as he illustrated and championed the educational value of democracy for criminals. May such applause mark a deep sense of wrongdoing on our part, a confession of undemocratic social efforts, and a high resolve to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. This renewed faith must be translated into action. The next task of the social worker is to extend these advantages of democracy to social action of the whole community.

DISCUSSION: Those who partcipated in the informal discussion which followed were: Charles F. Weller and Thaddeus Sleszynski, Chicago; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Robert K. Atkinson, Sag Harbor, N. Y.; Karl de Schweinitz, New York; Cheney C. Jones and Charles Whiting Williams, Cleveland; F. Emory Lyon, Chicago; J. Bruce Byall, Philadelphia; William J. Norton, Cincinnati.

INEBRIETY

PROGRAM

Alcoholism and Industry, general session, p. 79.
Education and Temperance, section meeting, p. 112.
Roundtable: Rehabilitation of the Inebriate, section meeting, p. 121.
Alcoholism and Mental Stability, section meeting, p. 137.

Introductory Statement by the Chairman*

Bailey B. Burritt, General Director, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York

Social workers have not as a group assumed their full share of responsibility for dealing with the problem of alcoholism. We have had conferences that have dealt with the difficult problems centering around the treatment of the inebriate. We have often pointed out the futility—the utter social waste, of dealing with the inebriate through repeated arrests, fines and incarcerations under conditions that deny all of the necessary things in the treatment of a body diseased with alcohol, viz., light, fresh air, wholesome food and, above all, an opportunity for wholesome, creative work and occupation. We are accepting or have accepted the fact that the physician and not the policeman is needed; that a farm colony, not a jail, is a requirement; that infinite patience in understanding and dealing with the personal and psychological factors involved is essential, rather than force, repression or preaching.

As a group, however, we have not yet fully made up our minds what to do about the preventive side of this complex and socially difficult problem of alcoholism; or, having made up our minds, we have not done much about it. This is accounted for in part by the fact, I fancy, that we have felt it was our first duty to render first aid. But just as in the tuberculosis field we began by placing emphasis upon hospitals and the cure of tuberculosis, and later upon prevention, until now the emphasis upon prevention bids quite fair to outrun the emphasis upon the hospital and therapeutic side of the problem, so in the field of inebriety we have begun to turn our attention increasingly to the preventive side of that problem.

*General Session, Sunday, May 12, 8:15 P. M.

One reason that social workers have been slow to enter the preventive and educational field has been a consciousness of the lack of a well authenticated body of facts upon which judgments could be based, and which could be used for educational purposes.

We have been given, on the one hand, monstrous facts in our educational text books. and charts about the inflamed and burning tissues of the stomach after drinking; and on the other hand we have been regaled with the equally unscientific and even more malicious information that there has been a steady decline in the death rate from tuberculosis at the same time that there has been a steady increase in the per capita consumption of beer.

But we are progressing. The medical men and the public health agencies, on the one hand, are rapidly developing a body of undisputed scientific fact. The insurance men, with their inexorable logic, based on mortality statistics, are providing facts that must be dealt with in forming social judgments and in making and executing social programs. The business man, with no particular moral interest, but only the cold, hard matter-of-fact interest of business efficiency, is developing another body of facts.

The material, in other words, is now at hand or rapidly becoming available, upon which sound social judgments with regard to the problem of alcoholism can be formulated. Social workers must, as a group, make up their minds and translate their conclusions into action. It was with a view to assisting in this that the Committee on Inebriety of this conference arranged its meetings this year, including the meeting of tonight. We are presenting no program. We are simply presenting a fact basis for programs.

LIFE INSURANCE AND DRINKING HABITS

Arthur Hunter, Actuary, New York Life Insurance Company, New York City

The attitude of individuals and corporations towards the consumption of alcoholic beverages is generally based on their experience with users of these narcotics, or with the financial effect of the use of alcohol. Most persons have definite opinions regarding the advantages or disadvantages of using alcoholic beverages, those at one extreme believing in the complete pro-

hibition of the manufacture, sale or consumption of alcohol, and those at the opposite extreme believing in the complete freedom of the individual to manufacture, sell and use such beverages. There is a wide middle ground, embracing many proposals, such as (a) the prohibition of the sale of distilled, fermented or malt liquors containing more than a very small percentage of alcohol; (b) a graded tax depending upon the percentage of alcohol in the beverages, such as the following: a very small, or no tax on beverages containing 2% of alcohol, a substantial tax on those containing 5% of alcohol, a heavy tax on those containing 10%, and a practically prohibitory rate on beverages containing 15% or more; (c) the adoption of a system similar to the Gothenburg system, which would put the sale and control of alcoholic beverages into the hands of the community.

The extremists in favor of the complete liberty of the individual as regards the consumption of alcohol are usually connected directly or indirectly with the manufacture or sale of alcohol. The statistics and statements made by them are therefore interested and *ex parte* to the highest degree, and have not usually been accepted with confidence by the public. There is also a strong tendency to question the statistics prepared by the prohibitionists, on the ground that one side only of the story is presented. The frame of mind of the impartial observer is generally that the liquor party and the prohibitionists are in the position of lawyers presenting before the court of public opinion the best statement for their clients.

Until comparatively recent years the only statements which have been accepted with confidence by the public were those made by scientists and other unbiased investigators. Painstaking experiments on a scientific basis have been made by men of reputation, the intention being to determine the effect of small doses of alcohol on physical strength and on the mental processes. It has remained for the life insurance companies to deal statistically with the very important phase, the effect of alcohol on longevity. These companies cannot be charged with bias in the matter, because their whole object is to determine the facts in order to conduct their business safely, soundly and equitably. So that there may not be injustice in the treatment of applicants, many prominent companies have tabulated their experience and have thereby found what types of cases may be accepted, what types should be declined, and on what types an extra premium should be charged. It is from these records that the most reliable and the least biased information may be obtained.

Attitude of Life Insurance Companies Towards Alcohol

Before dealing with the experience of life insurance companies I intend to give their views as expressed by a number of the leading medical directors. These men have had an extended experience with medical and actuarial statistics, and have been engaged for many years in the work of determining the relative value of lives for insurance. To obtain a consensus of opinion I have asked them to answer five questions, dealing with the principal types which come before the insurance companies:

1. What is your opinion regarding men who drink moderately each day, but who never take alcohol to excess?

The general opinion is that it is not necessary to discriminate against persons who take alcohol daily, provided it is in very moderate quantities. Great care, however, is taken by all the companies to find out in these cases whether there has been excess in the past. It is difficult, of course, to lay down a definite rule as to the maximum that would constitute a moderate use. Two glasses of beer per day might be considered by a total abstainer as an excessive use, while a proprietor of a brewery who allowed his employes twelve ordinary glasses of beer a day would consider six glasses a very moderate use of that beverage, though the insurance companies would not think so. Speaking in general, life insurance companies, consider that the person who takes daily more than Anstie's limit of one and a half ounces of alcohol is not a moderate drinker. This is equivalent to about two glasses of whiskey, or about six glasses of beer of the size of a kitchen tumbler, assuming that American beer contains about 4% of alcohol. If only beer is taken, many companies consider that Anstie's limit is too large a daily consumption.

2. Are total abstainers considered very favorable risks for insurance?

The opinion of all the medical directors is that total abstinence from alcohol in the past is a very favorable feature in considering longevity. This opinion is based on statistics showing a lower mortality among abstainers than among non-abstainers, and also on the personal observation of these medical directors in their daily work. It is also the testimony of practicing physicians that a larger percentage of abstainers than non-abstainers recover from serious illness and from major operations, and that the former recover more speedily than the latter.

3. Do you consider that a long-lived family history, a healthful occupation, or other favorable feature should offset a fairly free use of alcohol daily?

The general opinion is that a fairly free use of alcohol is a distinct detriment to longevity, and that any credit for exceptionally favorable features, such as an outdoor life in a healthful environment, should be very slight. One medical director points out that apart from the detrimental effect on longevity of imbibing alcohol liberally each day, there is a strong danger of a marked increase in the daily consumption, followed by inability to restrain the appetite. The feeling exists among medical men that while there is a markedly favorable effect on longevity through a first-class family history, it is not an offset to a habit of three glasses of whiskey daily, which in a goodly percentage of the cases will be exceeded in the future.

4. What is your opinion of the longevity of those who drink very moderately each day, but who occasionally drank to excess several years ago?

The factor of age is of considerable moment in such cases. If the applicant were 55 years of age and had drunk occasionally to excess until ten years ago, most companies would charge an extra premium or decline to grant insurance. If, however, he were 35 years of age, and prior to his marriage ten years ago occasionally drank to excess, the companies in general would accept him at the regular rates of premium provided his home life is satisfactory. The latter represents probably the best type among the men who occasionally drank to excess in the past, as the falls from grace were largely youthful indiscretions. Taking all types together, the opinion of medical directors is that there will be an extra mortality among very moderate drinkers, who occasionally exceeded the bounds of propriety several years ago, and this opinion is based on statistics, as will subsequently be shown. One medical director says, "We have considerable fear about such cases, and only accept those who show by their conduct that they are earnestly striving to use alcohol in the greatest moderation." Another states that the risk of returning to old habits in case of severe trials adds a distinct element of danger in insuring such people, the opinion of practically all the medical directors being that the class under discussion has manifested a weakness which may appear in stronger relief if a time of stress should arise. To put it in another way, the chance of a moderate drinker imbibing to excess

in the future is very much greater if he has had a history of excesses in the past.

5. What is your opinion of persons who have taken a cure for alcoholism several years ago or more and have been total abstainers since that time?

The opinion is that men who have taken a cure for alcoholism and have been abstainers for several years will be as a body poorer risks than the normal, and that they should be charged a substantial extra premium, or that the granting of the insurance should be postponed during a long probationary period. When there have been ten years of total abstinence, the practice of the companies depends upon the nature of the previous excesses and the age of the applicant for insurance. One medical director states: "Certainly men who have drunk over a number of years to excess, though they have been abstainers for five or ten years, will show a high mortality in direct ratio to the past history of excess." Another, holding the same opinion and speaking from a wide experience, adds: "No graduate from an alcohol cure * * * should ever taste liquor again." His opinion is significant when taken in conjunction with the fact that the available statistics indicate a high death rate from cirrhosis of the liver among those who have been total abstainers for five years prior to date of application for insurance but had taken an alcoholic cure. This disease is generally ascribed to a free use of alcohol.

We shall now consider some of the statistics which form the basis of the foregoing opinions. There is, of course, a mass of other statistics, accumulated over many years, which cannot be quoted at this time.

MORTALITY AMONG TOTAL ABSTAINERS

There has not heretofore been published much information regarding the mortality of American insurance companies among total abstainers. This is partly due to the fact that only in recent years has it seemed to be to the interest of the companies to make a special class or to deal with abstainers as a group. There are now sufficient statistics available, based on actual mortality, to make it certain, in my judgment, first, that total abstainers from alcohol are longer lived than non-abstainers; and, second, that total abstainers have a lower mortality than persons who stated at the date of application for insurance that they took alcoholic beverages in moderation. The principal evidence in favor of the abstainers has been drawn in the past

from the records of British insurance companies. Defenders of the liquor interests question these statistics on the ground that the conditions which prevail in Britain are not the same as those in this country. I have therefore directed my efforts toward obtaining the experience in the United States of American insurance companies. But, before giving a synopsis of the results of my investigation, let me mention briefly the facts regarding three British companies. For many years these companies have placed abstainers in separate classes. Only applicants who had been life-long abstainers were eligible for these classes; they had to continue to be total abstainers in order to obtain the advantages of the Abstainers' Section. Dividing the experience of these British companies and of one Australian company into the two classes, (a) abstainers, and (b) non-abstainers, the mortality among the former was from 25 per cent to 40 per cent less than that among the latter. The experience of the American companies is now presented.

New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. In 1910 Dr. E. W. Dwight, the Medical Director of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, gave the statistics of his company for the preceding sixty years, dividing the policy-holders into four groups with respect to their use of alcoholic beverages, (a) Abstainers, (b) Rarely Use, (c) Temperate, (d) Moderate Users. The following is a synopsis of the results:

RELATIVE MORTALITY

Abstainers 17% less than "Rarely Use."
Abstainers 29% less than "Temperate."
Abstainers 53% less than "Moderate Users."

The above expresses the difference in mortality according to the habits at the date of application for insurance. It was not feasible to trace the changes in habits after that date.

Mutual Life Insurance Company. The Mutual Life have published their experience on two occasions with regard to the mortality among abstainers and non-abstainers. Mr. Emory McClintock, while Actuary of that company, gave the experience for the fifteen years from 1875 to 1889, from which it appeared that the relative mortality was 23% less among abstainers than among non-abstainers. He investigated separately the non-abstainers who stated that they drank *beer only*, and came to the following conclusions:

> The difference between those who drink beer and those who drink water is unmistakable, while the loss on beer drinkers has been almost the same as among wine and spirit drinkers.

The second investigation was prepared by Dr. W. E. Porter, Medical Director of the company, and covered the policies is-

sued in the years 1907 to 1912, the experience being carried to the anniversaries of the policies in 1913. The investigation covers a short period of time, each case being under observation on the average about three years. I shall deal with the number of applications for insurance, treating one or more policies issued on the same application as a single case. The mortality experience was prepared on the basis of the amount of death losses as well as on the number of applications, but when the amount of data is small and when the period covered is short, the experience by amounts insured is open to wide fluctuation and is not reliable.

The policy-holders were divided by Dr. Porter into three classes, (a) Total Abstainers, (b) Temperate, and (c) Moderate Users. Applicants who admitted they drank or were found to drink to excess were not accepted. It was considered that those who drank more than one and a half ounces of alcohol daily came within this group of declined cases. The relative mortality among the *Total Abstainers* was 17% less than among the *Temperate,* and it was 26% less than among the *Moderate Users.* These figures, however, represent the mortality within a few years following the application for insurance, and should not be considered as representing the entire working years of life.

Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. Mr. Percy H. Evans, the Actuary of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, informs me that they have not prepared any statistics on abstainers for fifteen years. The last investigation covered the mortality to the end of 1900 on policies issued during the years 1886 to 1895. The mortality among the abstainers was relatively about 10% lower than that among the non-abstainers. A division of the non-abstainers into two groups shows interesting results: (a) beer or wine drinkers; (b) whiskey drinkers, and a few large users of beer or wine. The mortality among the beer or wine drinkers was only about 3% higher than among the abstainers; while among the whiskey drinkers and the few large users of beer or wine it was 25% higher than among the abstainers. The earlier experience of the Mutual Life Insurance Company was not as favorable with regard to beer drinkers.

The difference between the mortality among abstainers and non-abstainers in the Northwestern is not so marked as in the experience of some other insurance companies, but that may be partly due to the influence of two points: first, that the policies contained a clause reserving to the company the right "to cancel the policy for intemperance during the life-time of the insured";

second, that no attempt was made to determine whether the abstainers continued their mode of life.

Equitable Life Assurance Society. In 1900 the Equitable Life Assurance Society created an Abstainers' Class, and admitted new entrants to it until the end of 1906. Applications for admission to that class were not limited to life-long abstainers from alcoholic beverages: persons who had been total abstainers for a number of years, using alcohol very moderately prior to that time, were also eligible. In all cases the dividends were deferred ten or more years, and depended upon the mortality in the Abstainers' Class. Under policies issued with 10 and 15 year deferred dividend periods the dividends have been considerably higher than in the General Class. The cases coming to my notice indicate that the mortality in the Abstainers' Class has been at least 25% lower than in the General Class.

American Temperance Life Insurance Company, now the *Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company.* In 1851 a company was organized in Hartford, known as the American Temperance Life Insurance Company, and until 1861 it issued policies only to persons who stated that they were total abstainers from alcoholic beverages. No attempt was made to require them to remain abstainers after the policies were issued, and there is evidence in the statistics of the company that some of them afterwards became non-abstainers. In July, 1861, the name of the company was changed to the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, and non-abstainers were thereafter accepted, although for a few years following the change in title abstainers probably predominated.

Through the kindness of Mr. A. A. Welch, the Vice-President and Actuary of the company, I have been allowed to examine the mortality experience on policies issued during the period between 1851 and 1861, and to compare this with the mortality which was experienced on policies issued subsequent to that date, which were written on abstainers and non-abstainers. Tracing this experience down to 1913, it would seem as if the mortality on the total abstainers had been about 15% less than that on the group which comprised abstainers and non-abstainers, and while we have no evidence that all of this was due to abstinence from alcoholic drink, it is fair to assume that a certain portion of it, even a large portion, may be ascribed to that cause.

Security Mutual Life Insurance Company. Through the courtesy of Mr. D. S. Dickenson, President of the Security Mutual

Life Insurance Company of Binghamton, New York, I am in a position to give a synopsis of the hitherto unpublished experience of that company among total abstainers.

A Total Abstainers' Class was commenced in the year 1900, and has been continued to the present time. Applicants were eligible to that class if they had been life-long abstainers, or had been total abstainers for one year prior to the date of application for insurance, having used alcoholic beverages in extreme moderation before that time. On the basis of the number of policies issued during these years, the mortality in the Total Abstainers' Class was relatively 30% less than in the General Class. The significance of these figures may be seen by reference to the number of cases involved in the General Class. There were 1,255 policies in this class which became claims by death on contracts issued during the years 1900 to 1915 inclusive; but had the mortality been as favorable in that class as in the Total Abstainers' Class, only 917 policies would have become claims by death—an excess of 338. There was an undue proportion of large-sized death losses in the Total Abstainers' Class, but, notwithstanding, the cost to the company was relatively 20% less in that class than in the General Class.

All the policies in both classes were issued to persons resident in the United States, and, accordingly, this is a modern American experience, as the statistics cover sixteen years prior to January 1st, 1916.

Manufacturers Life Insurance Company of Canada. During the last twenty-nine years the Manufacturers Life Insurance Company has had an Abstainers' and a General Section. The majority of the policies were issued to persons resident in Canada, the greater part of the remainder being issued in the United States. The experience of the company is sufficiently large to justify confidence in the results. Applications accepted on persons who have been abstainers for at least a year prior to the date of application are placed in the Abstainers' Section, the other applicants accepted being placed in the General Section. Practically all those in the former section have been life-long abstrainers. The same standard in the selection of risks is maintained for the Abstainers' Section as for the General Section, i. e., no attempt was made to be more stringent in the selection of risks for the Abstainers' Section than for the General Section. About one-half the business is in the Abstainers' Section. The following indicates the mortality experience of the company for the last ten years:

YEARS	MORTALITY IN ABSTAINERS' SECTION
1906-1910.....	40% less than in General Section
1911-1915.....	35% less than in General Section

It might be well to mention that the mortality experience of the General Section of the Company is very favorable, and that in the opinion of the Actuary the remarkably lower mortality among abstainers than among non-abstainers is due in great measure to the difference in their attitude towards alcoholic beverages: it is quite possible that occupation may have some effect in producing the lighter mortality.

Peoria Life Insurance Company. The Peoria Life Insurance Company of Illinois has had a Total Abstainers' Section for the last seven years. Persons who have been total abstainers for one year prior to the date of making application for insurance and who have not had a previous record of drinking are eligible for that class. The mortality in the Total Abstainers' Class has been about 25% lower than in the General Class.

Reasons for Difference in the Mortality Experience of the Various Companies

The foregoing records of the seven American companies and of the Candian company show that the mortality among total abstainers is distinctly lower than among non-abstainers, the difference varying in the several companies. Such variation is partly due to the conditions under which the business was done, and partly to the method of classifying the types of cases. One company, for example, did not consider a person as a total abstainer unless he had abstained from alcoholic beverages throughout his life; while another company put persons in that class who had been abstainers for several years but had taken alcohol moderately prior to that time. Again, one company based its experience on policy-holders who were total abstainers at the date of application for insurance, while another company required that the insured abstain from alcohol so long as they remained in the Abstainers' Class. Whatever the basis of the statistics or the practice of the company, the significant fact remains that the mortality in these eight companies was lower among abstainers than among non-abstainers. There has been no attempt to select the records of companies which had a favorable experience among abstainers. It is confidently believed that the foregoing synopses comprise the entire available statistics compiled from the records of the American and Canadian companies.

Cause of Low Mortality Among Abstainers

The relatively low mortality among abstainers is not due solely, in my judgment, to abstinence from alcohol. Other factors, such as abstinence from tobacco, are involved. It requires self-control to be an abstainer, and the strength of mind which has made abstinence a habit may affect other habits, such as eating, in which there should be both moderation and discrimination. The low mortality among abstainers may be said to be due to "temperance in all things and total abstinence from alcohol."

USERS OF ALCOHOL

In 1914 there was published the experience of forty-three of the leading American and Canadian companies with regard to persons who used alcohol freely at the date of application for insurance, or had used it to excess in the past. Statistics were given of fourteen of such groups. The results were questioned by certain defenders of the liquor trade on the ground that the data were not homogeneous as the companies had different methods of determining who were entitled to receive policies. I do not consider that such a criticism has much weight, as the experience of the company with which I am connected confirms the combined experience of the forty-three companies. For the purpose of comparison the mortality of several groups in the New York Life Insurance Company is now given.

Steady Free Users of Alcoholic Beverages.

The data of the forty-three companies were divided into two groups, depending upon the individual company's interpretation of "a steady, free use of alcoholic beverages." Some companies considered that applicants who drank two glasses of beer or one glass of whiskey per day came within that class, and the mortality among their insured in that group was 18% in excess of the normal among all insured lives. Other companies considered that it required from four to six glasses of beer or two glasses of whiskey per day to constitute a steady free use of alcohol. Although these companies rejected men who were known to drink to excess, the mortality was 86% in excess of the normal, and the death rate from cirrhosis of the liver was five times the normal. In the New York Life Anstie's limit was used in determining who were steady, free users of alcohol, and the relative mortality experienced among such lives was double that among the entire body of policy-holders accepted at the regular rate of premium. It must not be assumed, however, that the company lost money, because provision had been made to cover the

higher mortality. During the last twenty years applicants who drank freely or who drank occasionally to excess have been placed in a special class as to dividends, or have had a lien imposed on their policies, or have been charged an extra premium. The company has expected and provided for an extra mortality, and its experience has shown that a heavy extra mortality has occurred, but that these provisions have amply protected the company. While the methods of covering the anticipated extra mortality have varied, the point of view of the Medical Board in determining the eligibility of applicants for insurance has not materially altered, and the statistics of the company are therefore reasonably homogeneous.

Drinking Occasionally to Excess

The policy-holders of the New York Life who had occasionally drunk to excess but who were temperate in their habits at the date of application for insurance have been divided into groups. The statistics cover policies issued since 1895 in the under-average classes. The *extra* mortality in two of these groups and in the entire class is now shown:

APPROXIMATE EXTRA MORTALITY

Excessive use of alcohol a short time prior to date of application	80%
Excessive use of alcohol not recently, but within five years prior to date of application	45%
Entire class, irrespective of time elapsed since last excess, including besides the above groups, those whose last excess occurred more than 5 years before application for insurance	60%

It will be seen from the foregoing that those who drank occasionally to excess, even though several years had elapsed since over-indulgence, were distinctly poorer risks than the general policy-holders. This may be due to the results on health of the previous drinking habits, or to the inability to remain permanently temperate. The effect of alcoholic beverages may be traced in the causes of death: there was a high death rate from apoplexy, Bright's disease, suicide, and cirrhosis of the liver.

The combined experience of the forty-three companies showed that there was an extra mortality of 40% among the policy-holders whose last excess had been at least five years prior to date of application for insurance.

Policy-Holders Who Took a Cure for Alcoholism

The experience of the New York Life Insurance Company showed an extra mortality of about 70% among the policy-holders who had taken a cure for alcoholism but were *temperate* at date of application for insurance. There was no correspond-

ing group in the combined experience of the forty-three companies, but there was a group of policy-holders who had taken a cure for alcoholic habits, and had been *total abstainers* from the date of the cure to the date of application for insurance. As might have been expected, the mortality was lower among the abstainers than among those who were temperate at date of application for insurance, yet there was an extra mortality of 35% among the the former.

An interesting class in the combined investigation was that of the policy-holders who had formerly been intemperate, but had reformed without treatment. These would probably be men of stronger will than those who had taken a cure for alcoholism, or they may not have been so intemperate in their habits as the latter. The mortality, however, among those who had reformed without treatment was 32% in excess of the normal.

The foregoing results prove clearly that drinking to excess, even when followed by a return to temperate habits, is prejudicial to longevity. There are, of course, many exceptions to this rule, especially among young men who have occasionally taken alcohol to excess in a spirit of fun; but, on the other hand, there are others who, although total abstainers for a few years, thereafter lose control of their appetites. The fact remains that, taking account of all those who drank to excess at any time, there is a marked extra mortality in that group.

No reliable evidence has been obtained by the apologists for the liquor business to prove that moderate drinkers are longer-lived than total abstainers. The advertisement which shows that Bill Jones lived to 100 years because he used a certain brand of whiskey is a very specious form of argument. No mention is made of the thousands who might have lived to an old age but for the same brand of whiskey! Another favorite argument is that there are more persons living at age 90 and above who are non-abstainers than abstainers, hence the consumption of alcoholic beverages has been an advantage to them! This does not take account of the fact that when these persons were young, total abstainers were looked upon as freaks, and there was probably not one total abstainer to several hundred non-abstainers among men; hence there should be, say, 500 non-abstaining men now living above age 90 to one who has been a life-long abstainer. It should also be remembered that many persons who were total abstainers until reaching an advanced age have been advised by physicians to take alcohol, under the impression that it would be good for them in old age, as a so-called stimulant.

Conclusion

The opinions of the medical directors show that the life insurance companies look with disfavor on applications from persons who drink freely although not to the point of intoxication, and on those who have taken alcoholic beverages to excess in the past but are temperate now. The statistics already submitted, and others to which reference has been made, prove conclusively that this attitude of mind is based on facts, and that a higher mortality must be expected on these types of users of alcoholic beverages. On the other hand, it is conclusively proved that total abstainers are longer-lived than non-abstainers, even excluding from the latter those who drank immoderately at the date of application for insurance or prior to that time. The experience of the seven American life insurance companies has proved that abstainers have from 10% to 30% lower mortality than non-abstainers, and there is no good reason for believing that if the other companies compiled their statistics there would be any different result, provided the companies exercised the same care in accepting abstainers and non-abstainers. The American statistics, now published, corroborate the British data in indicating the unfavorable effect of alcohol on longevity, and in showing that total abstinence decidedly increases longevity.

THE ATTITUDE OF LARGE EMPLOYERS TOWARD THE USE OF ALCOHOL BY THEIR EMPLOYES

Alexander Fleisher, Ph.D., Supervisor, Welfare Division, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York.

Has industry taken a stand in regard to the use of alcohol by its employes? If so, what is it? If it is opposed to its use, why has it taken this attitude? The interest of the National Conference in the welfare of the workers of the country has broadened. There is developing a growing feeling for preventive and constructive work, as opposed to remedial. The working life is receiving more and more consideration at these meetings. These facts make proper a discussion of one phase of the problem of employment and tenure of position: what are the drinkers' chances of getting a job, of holding it, of securing promotion, in comparison with those of the man who does not drink?

In order to secure answers to these questions, we made an analysis of other studies of this subject; we sent a letter and questionnaire to one hundred of the largest employers of labor in the United States; we studied the benefit funds of some twenty corporations; and we reviewed all publications that might throw light upon the subject.

Other Studies

Only two studies have previously been made in this identical field. The first to be considered is the 12th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor (1897-98) on the *Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem.* One chapter of this study deals with the experience and practice of employers relative to the use of intoxicants by employes. It was based upon the answers to a schedule sent to 30,000 employers. About twenty-five per cent replied. These 7025 establishments employed one and three-quarters millions persons. Of 6976 employers answering the inquiry, 5363 reported that, in employing new men, they took into consideration the use of intoxicating liquor. The largest percentage of employers considering this question was among the transportation companies. There were four methods used in ascertaining the employe's drinking habits,—personal knowledge, appearance, the questioning of the applicant and outside inquiry. In some establishments the rule existed that no one using intoxicating liquors would be employed. In other cases this applied only to certain limited occupations. One thousand seven hundred and ninety-four plants reported on this point. The reasons given by two-thirds of them can be grouped under two headings,—because of responsibility of position, and in guarding against accidents. Of these 7025 firms, 3527 had some regulation as to the use of alcoholics by employes: 855 demanded that no employe use intoxicants while on duty; 696 that no employe use intoxicants on or off duty; 692 that in *certain occupations* no employe use intoxicants while on duty; and 1284, in *certain occupations* placed a complete restriction on the use of alcohol either on or off duty. It is interesting to note that at this time 138 of the 708 transportation organizations reporting had no requirements in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors.

The second study, though smaller, is more recent. It was made during the past year by the Research Department of the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This study covers the iron and steel companies of Pennsylvania, Ohio,

Illinois and West Virginia. Information was secured from 140 companies, many of which have more than one plant. Of the one hundred and twenty concerns replying to the question as to whether it was a custom among their workmen to send boys out for beer during working hours, only six stated that at the time this was still permitted. Ten concerns not only prohibited drinking during working hours, but prohibited it absolutely at any time. Eighty-three of the 120 concerns replying discriminated in employing and advancing men against those who used alcoholic liquor.

One of these studies was made two decades ago; the other was limited to one industry. In making our own study we sought to cover as wide a field as possible. Obviously the material that we have to present is impressionistic. With the time and equipment at our disposal, it was impossible to make a study in which the results could be presented statistically. We received fifty responses to our one hundred letters. These embrace a considerable variety of occupations and cover three-quarters of a million employes. Although the number of employers is 50 as compared with 7025, the employes considered are forty-three per cent of the number comprised in the government study.

That our efforts were appreciated by employers can be judged from the fact that practically all the returns received were from the presidents or other high executive officers of the organizations with which we communicated. The returns were carefully worked out and were, in almost all cases, accompanied by a letter expressing interest in our attempt, in the problem as a whole, and in the attitude and approach of other employers.

Railroads and Use of Alcohol

We received answers from ten railroads having over 400,000 employes. All of these have rules in regard to the use of alcohol by employes, of which the following is typical:

> The use of intoxicants by employees subject to call is prohibited. Their use by any employees or the frequenting of places where they are sold is sufficient cause for dismissal.

The wording of this prohibition varies with the railroad company.

Two of the railroads mention only the habitual use of alcoholic drinks as being cause for dismissal. In each case these rules are printed in the general rule book of the organization. According to the statements made by the railroad officials, they are strictly enforced.

These companies make an effort to determine a man's habit before he is employed. Should any facts in regard to his use of alcohol be disclosed, he would be debarred. This information is obtained by inquiry, observation, references, and, in the case of two of the roads, by a medical examination of those seeking positions.

The efficiency of this ruling is not questioned by the railway executives. One official reports to us that

> The policy of the company as expressed by its chief officers in their personal lives and influence is to eliminate entirely the use of intoxicants whether on or off duty. With that idea in view the sale of intoxicants has been taken off dining cars and out of all eating houses where the company is in absolute control. This has been done so as to show the employees an actual example of the desire of the company to remove intoxicants from its premises and to let those who wish to use them obtain them off the lines of the road rather than on railroad property.

This is, however, more definite than the position taken by most railroads. One company, for example, states that

> This rule (similar to the one just quoted) is strictly enforced but we, of course, cannot control the individual actions and habits of our employees so long as they do not interfere with efficient service to the company.

But it is fair to conclude that the railroads are opposed to the use of intoxicants by their employes, whether on or off duty, and that they will continue their present method of "careful observation and investigation and discipline; discharge in case practice is continued."

Foreign railroads are also beginning to take a definite stand against the use of alcoholic beverages by their employes. The Saxon State Railways have issued instructions that officials are to employ non-drinkers exclusively. The Dutch railways provide for a medical examination at the time of employment and urge all employes to join abstinence societies. The German Trade Association of Private Railways advocates the employment of sober men only. The Swiss railways insist on sobriety.

An interesting development among common carriers is reported in the monthly bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Institute for June, 1915. At the suggestion of the captain and engineers of the lake carriers' association, a rule was adopted providing that temperance be made a consideration of promotion between men of equal merit and that no person be allowed to carry liquor aboard a vessel.

Judging from these returns, representing a large percentage of the railway mileage in the United States, there has been a

marked change in attitude among these corporations since the government study of twenty years ago. At the time there was a large number of railroad organizations that had no rule in regard to the use of alcohol and made no attempt to reduce its consumption among their employes. Now, apparently, it is difficult for a man to secure a position in the operating branches of the railroads unless he is a teetotaler; and any employe is liable to lose his position if he indulges in intoxicants or frequents places where alcoholic beverages are sold.

Public Service Corporations

We received replies from six public service corporations employing about 200,000 persons. The results from this group are for the most part unsatisfactory. In few cases was the questionnaire filled out. The responses came principally in the form of letters. One exception was a metropolitan traction company employing over 8,000 men. This corporation has a strict rule against the use of intoxicating liquor and forbids the visiting of saloons. Among the questions to be answered under oath by an applicant for position is: Do you, or have you ever, used intoxicating liquors? The information obtained is checked up by reference and by inquiry of persons not referred to by the applicant. If he uses intoxicants, he is not employed. From other statements in the letter from this corporation it would seem that, in the case of those already employed, only a resulting accident or an instance of an employe's being "notoriously intoxicated in public" would ordinarily be considered ground for discharge. Persistent use of alcohol by any employe would be a matter for serious discipline.

The general conclusions that can be drawn from the replies of telephone, gas and electric companies, are that, although they have never had the problem seriously presented to them, intoxication on duty would result in discharge; that the use of alcohol is not permitted during working hours and that if its outside use interferes with an employe's work, he will be discharged. The vice-president of one of the largest of these corporations wrote to us that "the general character of our employes is such that such rules (in regard to the use of intoxicants) seem hardly necessary."

Dr. Alvah H. Doty, Medical Director of the Employees' Benefit Committee of the Bell Companies, in a publication dated June, 1914, has summarized the attitude of these corporations.

> It is generally accepted, however, that it is their abuse (the abuse of alcoholic drinks) rather than their use, which is injurious

not only to the individual but in a way to the public also; therefore, it is logical and fair to assume that much may be gained so far as the betterment of this condition is concerned if temperance as well as prohibition is preached, for drinking is very much a matter of habit and is increased largely because the danger of over-indulgence is not considered.

These organizations seem to emphasize temperance rather than prohibition.

Retail Stores and Mail Order Houses

We received returns from three large mail order corporations having about 25,000 employes, three department stores in three different cities having 15,000 employes, and a chain of retail stores having 3,600 employes.

The mail order corporations in two cases have no definite rules on the subject of the use of alcohol. One, however, has the following regulation:

> Absence from work because of the use of liquors is cause for immediate dismissal. For the protection of minors and women working for us we feel it necessary to prohibit employees from patronizing saloons within eight blocks of our store. Violation of this rule will place the offender in a position where his services are no longer desirable.

This rule is given to new employes and is strictly enforced. The use of intoxicants during non-working hours, if it does not affect the individual's work, is not considered. In all three corporations a person who is shown to be, or admits that he is a user of alcohol to any extent, is not employed. This is determined by questioning the applicant, by general observation and in one case by physical examination of applicants for employment.

Two of the department stores have rules against the use of intoxicants during business hours. In the case of one store, if it is known that alcohol is used by an employe outside of working hours, such knowledge will not directly affect his standing in the company but will work against his advancement. The general statement on the part of these concerns is that drinkers will not be allowed to continue in their employ.

One of the regulations of the chain of retail stores questioned is that intoxicating liquor may not be carried into, nor used in its place of business.

These organizations, with one exception, have considered the question of the use of alcoholic beverages by their employes, only in so far as it relates to their contact with customers. The retail stores which deal directly with the customer do not tolerate their use during business hours.

Sales Organizations

We communicated with two life insurance companies in order to determine the attitude of employers whose fundamental problem was in the handling of a large number of salesmen. In such companies supervision is necessarily less close than in factories or stores. One of these companies, employing almost exclusively commission men, many of whom do not devote their full time to the business, has no rules at all in regard to the use of alcohol by employes.

In the other case the employes receive salaries and commissions and are consequently under more rigid discipline. This organization has an unwritten rule that employes shall not drink during business hours. Men whose references show that they drink to some extent are not employed. This corporation holds numerous meetings of salesmen at which, according to its printed book of rules, the serving of intoxicating liquor is forbidden.

Mining Companies

We received answers from three mining companies, one of which is located in a state in which a prohibition law became effective January 1st of this year. Before the passage of the law this company had made numerous efforts to lessen the amount of alcoholic beverages used by its employes. On December 22, 1915, it issued a general statement to its employes that every effort would be made to assist in the enforcement of the prohibition law, and it urged employes to observe it in letter and in spirit. A second company forbids drinking on its premises, but places no restrictions upon an employe's habits outside of working hours. A third follows a similar practice but is seeking to lessen the use of alcohol by educating its employes, most of whom are foreign born, to an American standard of living. This, it states, would of itself reduce the desire for intoxicants and the amount of money available for them.

These three companies take precautions against allowing employes under the influence of liquor to enter their shafts, and enforce the prohibition that liquor should not be carried under ground.

In employing men none of these concerns raises any question in regard to the use of alcohol. In connection with the growing practice among these companies to seek to affect the habits of their men outside of working hours, it is interesting

to note that the United Mine Workers have a rule which forbids members to sell alcoholic beverages even at picnics.

Steel Companies

Replies were received from two steel companies. We have, in addition, information in regard to the regulation of two others. One of these companies prohibits the use of alcohol by employes at any time. Three of the four companies do not forbid the use of alcohol but have issued notices to their employes that they hope they will refrain from the use of intoxicating liquor, that any person using intoxicating liquor while on duty will be discharged, and that the non-drinking man will at all times be given preference in promotion and in continuous employment. All four corporations have been very active in the organized safety movement. Two of these companies have urged total abstinence repeatedly through their employes' magazines. Another company provides for medical examination as a test in addition to the inquiries usually made of applicants.

In connection with this group it is perhaps appropriate to repeat the opinion of C. L. Close, Manager of the Bureau of Safety of the United States Steel Corporation, recently quoted in the *Technical World Magazine,* that in ten years, through the combined efforts of American industry, the manufacture and sale of liquors will be at an end in the United States.

Manufacturers of Steel and Wooden Products

Seven organizations that manufacture steel and wooden products sent us replies. Three of these have a general requirement concerning the sobriety of employes. In another company, while there is no written rule, it is understood that drinking is considered a disgrace. In a large measure this requirement is enforced by the employes themselves.

In one of these concerns the matter is carefully considered in employing men. No mention of this precaution was made to us in the other replies from this group.

One company has introduced regular physical examinations and requires all employes to report to the medical dispensary after absence. If absence can be attributed to the use of intoxicants, the physician in charge seeks to show the employe the advantage of total abstinence. This plan is said to have decreased the use of alcohol among this company's employes.

In addition, mention might be made of the recent discharge of thirty employes of a large steel manufacturing plant for signing a liquor petition.

We have information about three automobile manufacturing companies. Two of these have unwritten rules forbidding the use of alcohol. They will not employ men who drink. In these instances a careful effort is made to check up references, and there is an attempt to eliminate the man who, previous to employment, has been accustomed to drinking. One company has begun an educational campaign on the value of total abstinence by the distribution of literature and by talks to employes.

In the third concern we find the usual practice reversed. The fact that a man drinks does not necessarily stand in the way of his appointment. Continuation of this habit, however, affects his becoming a profit sharer in the organization, and his promotion. According to the procedure of this company, an employe is placed on six months' probation. During that time efforts are made to educate him in the proper use of his wages. One of the things that is insisted upon is sobriety. Here the pressure comes after he is employed rather than before.

Miscellaneous

In a miscellaneous group, hard to classify, representing eleven different industries, such as printing, oil, tobacco, all the corporations responding to our inquiry stated that drinking was forbidden in their plants. Three of these have printed rules to this effect. In one case this rule is signed by the applicant. Those who reported upon restrictions on employment stated that although they would much prefer the man who does not drink at all, they rely, however, entirely upon questioning the applicant and upon the references that he gives. It is generally understood in all these plants that the employe must be "in good working condition" during working hours.

One concern with practically no regulations on this subject has, nevertheless, through its employment manager, made a determined effort to eliminate drinking among its employes at any time. He is the first person with whom a new employe comes in contact and from whom he receives his earliest impression of the concern. This manager impresses upon the new man the importance of the elimination of drinking, not only during working hours, but at all times. This plan is said to be raising the grade of men employed.

Another corporation has adopted the following rule in regard to this subject: "All employes of the company must refrain from using intoxicating liquors, and all officers shall refuse employment to men known to frequent saloons." But this is exceptional severity.

Use of Alcohol in Plants

To the questionnaire of the Research Department of the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, previously cited, six of the 120 firms replied that employes were permitted to have alcoholic beverages brought into the plant. These are the exception. They have probably always been the exception in American industry. The usual practice has been to forbid the use of intoxicants in workroom or on corporation property. In Europe, however, the canteen is in general use in industrial establishments. But the recent study made by Dr. William H. Tolman, of the American Bureau of Safety, indicates that many foreign employers are trying to eliminate brandy from their plants and to substitute coffee and milk for the beer and wine in common use. The efforts made since 1908 by the Allgemeine Electrische Gesellschaft among its 10,000 employes have resulted in a marked reduction in the sale of alcoholic drinks per individual and an even more marked increase in the sale of non-alcoholic beverages.

Employes' Benefit Associations

In the endeavor to secure further light upon the attitude of employers, we examined the regulations of a number of employes' benefit associations. In these the final control is usually vested in the employers, although the management is by employes and employers jointly. Ordinarily the corporation makes a lump sum contribution, pays overhead expense, or shares the premium of the insured. The rules of these organizations may be said to indicate the attitude of the employers represented. Among 20 examined, 18 have a statement in regard to intemperance or to sickness or accident induced by intoxicants, somewhat like the following:

> No member shall under any circumstances be entitled to benefit when sickness, injury or death was, in the opinion of the Board of Trustees, caused or occasioned directly or indirectly by the use of intoxicating liquors.

Several of the clauses only refuse to pay benefits for accidents directly resulting from intoxication.

One of the largest of these funds, however, goes further and states that "if sickness of or injury to any person insured hereunder is due to violation of the law by, or to malicious and unlawful acts, or culpable or intentional negligence, or intemperance or immorality of such persons," benefits will not be paid. The by-laws of another fund make the following provision: "Superintendents shall have authority to cancel membership upon receiving reliable information of habitual or frequent drunkenness."

Advertising

Although it does not lead to any positive conclusion, it is nevertheless interesting to learn that the two leading general business men's magazines in the country do not carry liquor advertisements. Whether this boycott exists in the various trade journals we had no opportunity to ascertain.

Reasons for Opposition to Use of Alcoholic Beverages

In our investigation we were interested not only in rules but the reasons for their existence. Our questionnaire sought to obtain statistics of the relation of alcohol to efficiency, accidents, and sickness. We received no replies to these questions. Evidently the answers must come from the laboratory, rather than from the shop or the factory.

A number of organizations did make the statement, however, that rules against the use of intoxicants had resulted in a noticeable reduction in the number of accidents. But none of these furnished us with figures to substantiate such statements. The basis for establishing a connection between alcohol and accidents is usually the statistics reported by the German sickness societies. These show that the accident rate is highest on Monday; that it decreases towards the middle of the week, with a marked increase on Friday and Saturday. It is usually claimed that the greater frequency of accidents at the end of the week is due to increased fatigue, but that the Monday accidents can only be explained by the heavy drinking of the working classes on Sunday. Other explanations of these facts, however, are possible. There are few American figures. The Lucens Iron Company has declared that there was a decrease of fifty-four per cent in the number of their accidents in the first six months after the closing of the saloons in Coatesville, where their plant is located.

At a meeting of the National Safety Council the statement

was made that "it is recognized that most industrial accidents are brought about with the use of alcoholic stimulants." As an answer to this statement an analysis of accidents appears in the *Year Book* of the United States Brewers' Association for 1914 and again for 1915. To quote the conclusion of this organization, "The loose statements in regard to the part played by drink as a factor in industrial accidents is without foundation." But the effect of alcohol upon the reaction time of workers has not been given adequate consideration in this controversy.

The dearth of statistics has not deterred industry from taking a definite stand in regard to the question of alcohol and industrial safety. A round table meeting of the National Safety Council in October, 1914, adopted the resolution:

> Whereas, it is recognized that the drinking of alcoholic stimulants is productive of a heavy percentage of accidents and of disease affecting the safety and efficiency of our workmen;
>
> Therefore Be It Resolved, That it is the sense of this Round Table Meeting at the Third Annual Congress of the National Safety Council that it place itself on record as being in favor of eliminating the use of intoxicants in the industries of the nation.

The National Safety Council is composed of 1,800 members found in over one hundred and fifty industries and represents the employers of upwards of two and one-half millions of people.

Moreover, in practically all the workmen's compensation laws it is stated that the employer shall not be responsible for accidents due to intoxication. These clauses indicate a general conviction that there is an important group of accidents for which employers are in no way responsible, and for which they should not be charged.

In our questionnaire we asked if alcohol had a place in the problem of irregularity of attendance. Here again the answers, though unaccompanied by statistics to bear them out, were without exception in the affirmative. Foreign experience frequently cited—for instance, that of the Leipzic Sick Benefits showing that drinkers lose two and one-half times as many days as non-drinkers—must be seriously discounted, because, in this case, the definition of drinkers is those who show signs of chronic alcoholism. It fails to consider that much larger group of occasional drinkers.

Combating the Use of Intoxicants

In addition to the rules previously summarized, efforts have been made by some employers to discourage the use of alcoholic beverages among workers. This is particularly true of the in-

dustries in which the employer is still in close touch with the individual employe. A typical example is shown by the following quotation from a letter of the president of a large corporation:

> We will not tolerate any one in our establishment who makes noticeable use of intoxicants. On one or two rare occasions when one of our men has made excessive use of liquor and it has come to our attention we have personally talked to them, helped them to get back on their feet, and on several occasions have sent them to physicians.

Efforts to educate employes are in force in a number of organizations. Publications of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, the Commonwealth Steel Company, the Avery Company, the Illinois Steel Company, have contained messages to employes against the use of intoxicants. A number of concerns have issued special leaflets bearing upon this, and in two instances that have come to our attention, addresses are made to the employers on this subject.

In addition, the weekly bulletin of the National Safety Council has in a number of instances mentioned the use of alcoholic beverages. These statements are posted on shop boards by many employers.

An interesting development is that of the "water wagon club" of the Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad. Almost half of the employes are members of this club.

Parenthetically should be mentioned the assistance given to employers by employes themselves in emphasizing the importance of sobriety. In this connection the lake carriers' association and the rule of the United Mine Workers have already been discussed. It is also interesting to note that the Order of Railroad Conductors and the Order of Locomotive Firemen provide that a member may not engage in the liquor traffic. The telegraphers go farther in their provision:

> The use of alcoholic liquor as a beverage shall be sufficient cause for rejecting any petition for membership.

In isolated instances employers are endeavoring to develop substitutes for the saloon. We find, for example, a statement of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company that clubrooms have been erected at its depots and terminals in order to combat the saloon. This is also being done by other traction companies and by a number of railroads. Housing conditions are being improved in various corporation communities and many factories are providing lunchrooms with this object in view.

Conclusion

To come now to the summary of our study. We have returns from the employers of 750,000 individuals. This is four per cent of those engaged in trade, transportation and the mechanical and manufacturing industries of the United States. These employers forbid alcohol in their plants. In many instances its use is considered in the promotion and retention of employes. Its use at any time is prohibited in such industries as transportation, and this practice is being followed by some industrial establishments.

This analysis indicates that a number of employers are making up their minds on the use of alcohol by their employes. By whatever reasoning they are arriving at their conclusion, whether they feel it is in the interest of the public, of the employe, or of good business, they seem to be taking a stand against the man who uses alcohol. They are not considering the intricate question of the effects of alcohol on the mind and body; this preliminary step has been ignored. They find the non-drinker the more satisfactory employe.

THE RELATION OF THE WORKINGMAN TO THE ALCOHOLIC PROBLEM

Rev. Charles Stelzle, New York

A recent study of how one thousand workingmen spend their spare time and their spare cash indicates that by far the largest amount of spare cash is spent for beer—23% of the total. Including beer, wine and whisky, the amount of spare cash spent by workingmen for intoxicating liquor amounts to 34% of the total. These percentages are not of the total amount earned—they represent the items over and above what is required for the necessities of life. The expenditure for beer shows a steady decline as wages increase. For example, men earning $35 or more spend 7.6% of their spare cash for beer. Those receiving less than $10 per week spend 39.9% of their spare cash for beer.

It has also been discovered that the man who works the longest hours per day spends the most time in the saloon. This proves conclusively that the workingman who is most fatigued at the end of the day's work is most likely to crave artificial stimulant. Of those between 17 and 24 years of age 17.8%

patronize the saloon; of those between 25 and 35, 32.6% patronize the saloon; of those between 36 and 45, 42.7% patronize the saloon; and of those 46 years of age and over, 30.4% patronize the saloon. It will be seen, therefore, that the most perilous period, in so far as saloon patronage is concerned, is that of middle age.

The following percentages indicate the popularity of the saloon with the various occupational groups: transportation, 56.9%; building trades, 48.8%; metal trades, 40.7%; domestic and personal service, 38.8%; merchants and dealers, 36.6%; professional and public service, 17.4%; clerical, 16.2%; textiles, 9.7%.

No one can study with an open mind the relation of the workingman to the alcoholic problem without being forced to the conclusion that a program which is purely negative and destructive is totally inadequate. The fight against the saloon should have the hearty support of every social worker. But it must not be forgotten that in ending old abuses we simply create new problems. To close the saloon is not sufficient. Something must be opened to take its place.

For a certain class there probably never will be an altogether satisfactory substitute for the saloon, because to these men many of its most serious objections constitute its chief charm and attraction. A substitute minus all these features cannot be a success insofar as they are concerned. The best that can be done is to distribute the good features of the saloon among a group of already existing agencies or organizations, and develop others which may be needed for special kinds of work. There is no doubt that the moving picture show is up to the present date the most successful rival of the saloon. When saloon keepers organize to fight motion picture houses it is a sign that they are either so very much worse than the saloon that even a saloon keeper cannot stand for them, or else they are so much better than the saloon that they threaten to injure the saloon keepers' business. There is no doubt that the latter is actually the situation.

Married men spend more time in the saloon than do single men. Can it be that in many of these cases the home has failed to function? For let it be said with all the emphasis possible that in the last analysis the home must be the best substitute for the saloon. It is very generally true that men fail to do their part in making the home what it should be from the social standpoint, and perhaps too much has been said about wives failing to make themselves and their homes more attractive, thus "driving their poor husbands to drink." But the fact remains—a careful study reveals that about twice as many married men go to the

saloon as do single men. This may be due to the higher idealism of the younger men; and it may also be attributed to the fact that unmarried men spend a good deal of time in the company of their sweethearts, who naturally would not visit the saloon with them. If the workingman's home is to be made more nearly what it should be, then social workers, in particular, should see to it that these homes are improved in point of ventilation, light, space and general outlook. This task must be undertaken by men and women of large social conceptions. It may be taken up by the municipality or the state—somebody must do it. For it is unfair and short-sighted to charge up to married men and women social sins and omissions for which they are only in part responsible.

It has already been pointed out that the man who works the longest hours per day spends the most time in the saloon. It is probably true that low wages and long hours are as responsible for the maintenance of the saloon as any other factor. Any industry which drives men to the point where every nerve and muscle cries out for artificial stimulant, and then pays these men a totally inadequate wage is as great a curse as the saloon, itself.

The relation of the workingmen to the alcoholic problem from the economic standpoint is being much discussed, particularly by the liquor men, themselves. According to the defenders of the saloon, one million workingmen would permanently be thrown onto the labor market following the introduction of national prohibition. This argument is based entirely upon the absurd proposition that if the *liquor dealers* fail to get the money now spent for beer and whisky *nobody else* will get it. It is assumed that if a man does *not* spend a dollar for "booze" he will throw that dollar into the sewer or into some kind of bottomless pit, instead of using it to purchase some other commodity which will do good instead of harm, which will have a permanent value, and which will give the workingmen of the country more work, more wages, and greater prosperity every way than if the same amount of money were spent for beer and whisky. According to the Statistical Abstract of the United States census, if the money now invested in the liquor industry were invested in the average industry in the United States substantially four times as much raw material would be required; four times as much would be paid in the form of wages; and four times as many workers would be employed as is the case in the liquor industry.

Let us take five leading industries in the United States, and compare them with the liquor business, with reference to the number of wage earners employed. For every $1,000,000

invested in each of these industries the following number of wage earners are employed: Liquor, 77; iron, steel and their products, 284; paper and printing, 367; leather and their products, 469; textiles and their finished products, 578; lumber and its manufactures, 579. These figures prove that the iron industry employs nearly four times as many, paper and printing nearly five times as many, leather six times as many, textiles seven and one-half times as many, and lumber seven and one-half times as many workers for every $1,000,000 invested as does the liquor industry.

What is the ratio of wages paid to the workers to the amount of capital invested in the liquor business, as compared with each of the industries noted? Here are the figures: Liquor, 5.6%; iron, 17.6%; paper, 21.3%; leather, 23.5%; textiles, 23.9%; lumber, 27.1%. A quick glance at these figures shows how comparatively little the laboring man gets out of the liquor business. The liquor business suffers at every point when it is compared with the average manufacturing industry.

If the $2,000,000,000 which we now spend for intoxicating liquor were spent for bread and clothing—the two staple needs of man—it would give employment to nearly eight times as many workers, who would collectively receive five and one-half times as much in the form of wages as those who are engaged in the liquor manufacturing business now receive. Besides this, it would require, in addition to what the liquor industry now uses, $600,000,000 worth of raw material. It would not be necessary to spend all of the $2,000,000,000 for bread and clothing if the liquor industry were destroyed. The transfer of this money into the legitimate industries mentioned would produce the results described. Then is it not fair to say that substantially the same general results would be achieved if the total sum now spent for beer and whisky were distributed among all the industries? Is it not fair to say that these industries would receive the benefit of increased business were men to spend their money for the necessities of life and its legitimate luxuries instead of for beer and whisky? If this were done, the men who make glass bottles, barrels, automobiles, signs, printing material, cabinet work, and other products for use in the liquor business would find jobs in turning out these same materials for other industries.

The figures given by the liquor interests as to the number of men who would be affected by the abolition of the liquor traffic are greatly exaggerated. The census for 1910 tells us that in all the manufacturing industries there were then employed 6,616,046 wage-earners. The liquor industry employed 62,920, or just one

per cent of the total. But of this number only about 15,000 were brewers and the remainder of the 62,920 were employed as engineers, carpenters, machinists, teamsters, etc.—occupations which are not at all peculiar to the liquor business. There were more teamsters employed than there were brewers, and maltsters, distillers and rectifiers. The figures already given refer exclusively to the manufacture of intoxicating liquor. When it comes to the matter of its distribution and sale a large number of persons are involved. But it must not be forgotten in this discussion that practically every person who is now engaged in the distribution and sale of liquor will find employment in other industries and commercial enterprises which will grow out of the transfer of the money from the liquor business in its various branches to other legitimate business enterprises. Take, for example, the one hundred thousand bartenders in the United States. What will become of these when the saloon is abolished? What is it that makes a successful bartender? It is his ability as a salesman, and a man who is a good bartender will make a good clerk or salesman in many other kinds of business. But what about the fifteen thousand or so brewers and maltsters, distillers and rectifiers? These will of necessity be compelled to adjust themselves to changed conditions. But this does not mean that they will either go adrift or cause a labor panic. The constantly changing situation in the industrial world in this country, involving the introduction of new mechanical operations, often compel men to transfer from one occupation to another, many of them being required to learn entirely new trades.

As a matter of fact, however, more workingmen lose their jobs because saloons are *open* than would be the case were the saloons to be *closed*. As somebody put it, "When liquor puts a man out of a job it unfits him for another job. When no-license puts a bartender out of a job it makes him a wealth-producing workingman, instead of a wealth-destroying workingman. It is better that the bartender should lose his job and get a better one, than that dozens of his patrons should lose their jobs and be unfitted for any job!"

The exponent of the saloon is telling the workingman that it isn't the saloon that makes a man miserable—it's his poverty. This is often true, as has already been stated. It is folly to underestimate the influence of poverty in the creation of drunkards. But you never heard of a saloon that relieved a man of his poverty! Every time a man comes out of a saloon he is much poorer than when he went in. He's poorer financially. There never was a saloon that made a customer richer in cash. He

is poorer in self-respect. The longer he remains in a saloon the less he carries away with him. He is poorer mentally. He thinks less clearly. His views of life are distorted. The more time he puts in in a saloon the less others will be inclined to trust his judgment, and he, himself, finally begins to distrust his judgment, too.

The workingman who goes to the saloon is poorer economically. He becomes less efficient. Whatever there may be in the argument that the boss always gets the benefit of a man's superior ability, it is dollars to doughnuts that the saloon-patronizing man never gets any benefits out of his own inefficiency. There never yet was a saloon that made a workingman richer in the ability to do things.

The saloon makes a man poorer physically. It doesn't improve a man's health. He becomes more susceptible to disease. He cannot stand the strains of life so well. He gives in just when he should stand up to the fight. The life of the man who patronizes the saloon is shortened, because of his saloon associations—ask the insurance man.

If it is poverty that makes a man miserable, then he might better keep away from the saloon—for the saloon never made a man richer in the slightest degree in any particular. It is a striking fact that the saloon keeper always gives preference to the bartender who doesn't drink. If drinking whisky is bad for the man behind the bar why isn't it equally bad for the man in front of the bar?

The advocates of the saloon who carefully tell us that drinking beer and whisky is good for a man remind us of the chap who would have us patronize the undertaker because he needs the money. The workingman is facing a good many difficult problems. His home isn't all that it should be. His wages are lower than they ought to be. He doesn't have all the joys that he deserves and needs. But when he puts his home and his joys into the safe keeping of the saloon interests, then it's "good-night" to the best things in human life.

The saloon, as such, never helped the workingman make a clean fight against child labor, in favor of higher wages and better shop conditions. When a strike for these and other reforms is in progress the wise labor leader orders his men to keep away from the saloon, for he knows from his broad experience that open saloons usually result in lost strikes.

It may be put down as an axiom that the interests of the saloon are always opposed to the interests of the workingman.

WHAT MAKES MEN STOP DRINKING?*

Elizabeth Tilton, Poster Campaign, Associated Charities, Boston, Massachusetts

What makes men stop drinking? That is the question. Now there is only one way to find out, namely, to study tables of drink consumption and then ferret out what the marked declines work back to. The answer that came to me from a survey of the falls in national drink consumptions was this: "Many things make men stop drinking, but the two main things that bring about marked falls in consumption are *education* and *prohibitions*, measures that make liquor much harder to get." And these two things have behind them, of course, a state of mind. So may I put it in this way? A state of mind makes national consumption decline, the state of mind that begets live propaganda—supplemented by prohibitions, measures that make liquor much harder to get.

It sounds trite, but the whole liquor fight, year after year, centres about the above proposition.

Now I should like to give two instances supporting the above principle.

The best places, in one way, to study the drink problem are Sweden, Norway and Finland, because there the anti-alcohol movement has been a first-class race-hygiene movement. The people have cared and, the best minds being centred on the subject, records have been kept for about half a century. For lack of space I will focus on Sweden, merely saying that drink records in Norway and Finland also prove what Sweden proves, that education and prohibitions bring the marked declines. Sweden, like Norway and Finland, was exceedingly drunken at the beginning of the century. Beer was almost unknown, the bulk of the people drinking a heavy brandy. In 1829 Swedish spirits consumption stood at the astounding figure of 46 liters per capita.

Education and live agitation arose, and under this Sweden's consumption fell thus:

1829.....46 liters per capita
1850.....22 liters per capita } mainly due to education.

But here a real truth came to the people. They said, "The virile have responded to this race-hygiene call for abstinence from

*Section meeting, Thursday, May 11, 1916, 11 A. M.

branvin, but the pleasure-loving and the weak need the temptation removed, need inaccessibility of the evil."

So, in 1855, Sweden prohibited home-distilling and allowed the country districts to vote themselves dry if they wished. This soon placed about four-fifths of the population under spirits prohibition, and consumption under these two prohibitions behaved thus:

1850.....22 liters per capita
1860.....9.5 liters per capita } mainly due to Prohibition Laws.

The cities, where one-fifth of the population lived, were still wet. Between 1865 and 1870 they began to allow supposedly disinterested companies of men to buy the spirits for the town and sell it in saloons, supposed to be run for the public needs rather than for private profit. This is the Gothenburg System, and perhaps it helped a little; but it did not make liquor much less accessible, and there was no decline in consumption immediately following its introduction.

But under this system, supplemented by prohibition in the country, and live government-aided education everywhere—a splendid thing, consumption in Sweden did not rise, but fell slightly, during years when several countries were showing a rising tendency, thus:

Sweden's distilled liquor consumption:
1860.....9.5 liters per capita.
1906-1910.....6.8 liters per capita.

Sweden's consumption as a whole in terms of pure alcohol:

1861-1865	5.3
1906-1910	4.9

Of course, other causes were always at work; better living conditions, more intelligence, and so forth. But Sweden—and Norway and Finland, too—show marked declines resulting from education and prohibition. And that the people in a way recognize this may be shown by the fact that in Norway and Sweden the government readily gives money for alcohol education and that an unofficial plebiscite taken in 1909 in Sweden on national prohibition gave the following vote:

For prohibition	1,884,298
Against prohibition	16,715

That Finland lays her main decline partly to prohibition is suggested by the fact that her parliament twice passed national prohibition. Norway, also, has a large prohibition party.

In short, I believe it is true to say that the good showing made in these countries concerning drink consumption is mainly due

to the state of mind about drink that begets live propaganda against alcohol, supplemented by prohibitions.

Coming to our country, we find the same law at work. In 1800 men drank as they ate, as a matter of course. To show you the attitude about drink, in 1812 the Methodist Episcopal conference refused to pass a resolution asking that ministers who carried on during the week a retail trade in liquor should be debarred from the pulpit. The ministers we are told made merry with this quaint proposition. That same conference in 1916 voted $100,000 to temperance and prohibition propaganda.

About 1820 a temperance movement began. At first it was against distilled liquor only, but soon it was decided that efficiency meant educating men to become total abstainers. Liquor was banished from thousands of homes, and there came unto being what we have never lost, a great middle class that abstains, a tremendous health asset to our nation. But soon it was seen that it was not enough to talk total abstinence. The virile would respond, but the weak needed the temptation removed. Then followed a wide "dry" movement, towns and whole sections refused to grant licenses, and our per capita consumption fell from about eight gallons per capita in 1810 (according to Hon. Samuel Dexter, formerly Secretary of the Treasury), to 4.08 in 1850. It fell under a *state* of *mind*, that state of mind being that the influential people believed in total abstinence supplemented by prohibition measures that make liquor less accessible.

In the fifties several states went "dry," but before state prohibition could get its bearings, the slavery question filled the whole horizon and all other social reforms fell to zero for years; for war is no respecter of causes!

After the war, everyone was tired out. Crime statistics rose everywhere, and the whole attitude towards alcohol relaxed. Harvard professors, doctors, boards of health and encyclopedias declared that those virile forbears of ours in the thirties were fanatics: alcohol was a healthful agent—like beef tea, said one Boston doctor; prohibition and total abstinence were overwrought. Temperance was the thing, and license at least for cities—open saloons. In short the war tired out the state of mind that brings down drink consumption. Maine is the tail-end of that ante-bellum prohibition movement. It alone kept its prohibition law. But with many of the influential advocating moderate drinking and license, the enforcement at times ran low.

Now note, under this changed attitude our drink consumption turned about and went on rising until 1907.

DISTILLLED SPIRITS, WINES, MALT LIQUORS, AVERAGE ANNUAL PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION IN UNITED STATES (STATISTISCAL ABSTRACT, 1915.)

	Distilled Liquors	Wines	Malt Liquors	Total Consumption
1850	$2.24	$0.27	$1.58	$4.08
1860	2.86	.34	3.22	6.43
1870	2.07	.32	5.31	7.70
1900	1.28	.39	16.09	17.76
1907	1.58	.65	20.56	22.79
1915	1.25	.32	18.24	19.80

In short, not until we got enough people back into the state of mind of our total abstinence and prohibition grandfathers, did our consumption, per capita, stop rising. Everybody is not there yet. The *Atlantic Monthly* and the *New York Nation* are still back there, thinking with "father" all the tired-out, moderate drinking thoughts that followed the war. But the West, the South, the manufacturer, the athlete, and the scientific man are gradually getting "grand-father's state of mind," the state of mind that believes in live alcohol education for total abstinence, supplemented by prohibitions measures that make liquor much harder to get.

Kansas today has this prohibition state of mind, and a careful survey made by the state university shows Kansas' drink consumption (1913-14) 86% less than that of the country at large.

Now what can you do about it, you social workers? You can do this. Rise up, form alcohol committees that shall ask your Board of Health to carry on alcohol educational campaigns; and where they are unable to do it, do it yourself. The Poster Campaign of the Boston Associated Charities has the material,—has posters, lantern slides, pamphlets and every sort of device for educating the public, teaching them what alcohol is, a life-destroyer; what it costs the community—and teaching them also the working of prohibition, what it can do when enforced.

We beg you to take up an alcohol education campaign, remembering that preventive work is quite as necessary as palliative work, and that alcohol is, roughly speaking, responsible, directly and indirectly, for 25% of our poverty, 42% of broken homes, 45% of children annually deserted or neglected, 50% of our crime, not to mention its contributions to disease, feeble-mindedness and immorality. Act! Educate the educated,—the lawyer, the business man, the doctor, who swing great movements; it is the educated who are holding back the anti-alcohol movement by thinking with their unscientific temperance fathers, rather than with their virile total abstinence grandfathers.

THE DUTY OF HEALTH DEPARTMENTS ON THE ALCOHOL QUESTION

Haven Emerson, M.D., Commissioner of Health, New York City

The state laws under which health boards or departments of health operate in most cases allow very general powers and broad jurisdiction over all matters affecting the health of the community. Any such delegation of authority to a small body of experts for the protection of all the people imposes by the same act proportionate responsibilities.

The community looks to its elected and appointed, salaried servants to protect the whole against the results of thoughtlessness, ignorance or malice of any individuals or groups, even at the cost of restraining personal liberty or appropriation of property. Not only is a high death rate quite properly a reflection upon the administration of local government and a gauge of the intelligence and social standards of a city or state, but it brings with it certain, though not generally observed commercial disadvantages and burdens expressed in an increasing tax rate.

Similarly certain types of disease are accepted as indices of a community's success in obtaining social justice and the advantages of a gregarious manner of life. The incidence of typhoid fever, the presence of rabies or smallpox, the tuberculosis sick rate and death rate, the infant mortality rate, are looked upon as truer measures of civilization than the number of churches, banks or libraries in a town. The economies of civil government require the saving of lives and the prevention of sickness to be accomplished at the minimum of expense.

The bookkeeping of public health administration demands two kinds of balance sheets, one kept by the statistician, the registrar of morbidity and mortality, the running account with sickness and death, the other the financial statement to the tax payers expressing in analytical form the end product of per capita cost stated in terms of community health. To do this honestly, the health officer must point out to the taxpayer what kinds of diseases can be controlled by exercise of the police power of the state, and what disorders and disabilities and deaths can be diminished only by the voluntary acts or agreements of the individuals concerned. We have a fairly logical division of diseases into three classes from the sanitarian's point of view.

First in importance up to the present time have been the communicable diseases. The elimination of these has been the

object of health officers throughout the world, and a cursory glance at the results will show that the disappearance of many and the great reduction of all has followed the discovery of the specific cause of the disease in a few instances, the method of transmission in many and in several instances of a specific preventive or curative therapy. The technique of control of this class of diseases amounts almost to an exact science.

The second group are the diseases of occupation,—the poisonings, the effects of dusts, the disturbances of health due to insanitary environment of working places. Poisoning by phosphorus, lead, acids, the dusts of animal and vegetable products, are well recognized, and admirable results have followed intelligent application of suitable preventive measures. Education and tactful enforcement must combine to accomplish results.

The third group includes the disorders of development and function resulting from peoples' habits in their home or personal life, their habits of housing, eating, clothing, exercise, recreation. As can be readily seen this last group is hardly amenable to other than educational treatment, for however exacting the building and labor laws, an uninstructed populace can bring about unsanitary and unhygienic conditions in excellent buildings and under generous conditions of employment.

Among the habits which bring individuals and communities to harm is the habitual use and abuse of alcohol. Its use is almost always a habit and a harmful one, and its abuse invariably leads to rapid mental and physical degeneration. Section 1169 of the *Charter of the City of New York* specifies among the other duties of the Board of Health the following:

> The Board of Health shall use all reasonable means for ascertaining the existence and cause of disease as peril to life or health and for averting the same throughout the city, and shall promptly cause all proper information in possession of said board to be sent to the local health authorities of any city, village or town in this State which may request the same and shall add these to such useful suggestions as the experience of said board may supply.

Section 181 of the *Sanitary Code* states that:

> No person shall knowingly or carelessly or negligently do or contribute to the doing of any act dangerous to the life or detrimental to the health of any human being, nor shall any person omit to do any reasonable and proper act or take any reasonable or proper precaution to protect human life and health.

What more authority or direction is required to oblige the Department of Health of New York city to collect facts as to the cause of any disease, to state the results publicly and use all means to warn and protect the people against their danger?

What are the facts? The deaths from the epidemic of infectious colds, improperly called an epidemic of grip, during the winter of 1916, resulted in 2,000 deaths and probably was responsible for ten times as many serious cases of sickness. This epidemic aroused widespread interest and was the subject of much discussion and attempts at education of the public by the Health Department of New York and other cities.

From the records of the Department of Health of the City of New York it appears that there are annually at least two thousand deaths admittedly due to the excessive use of alcohol. It is a matter of record that eight thousand cases of acute alcoholism are treated annually at Bellevue Hospital, New York. Anybody familiar with general medical practice or the service in the general medical wards in any hospital in the large cities of this country where the use of alcohol is common, will be willing to testify to the very considerable, if not determining role that alcoholic habit plays in the course and termination of a large proportion of the diseases which come under observation.

Is this not sufficient to justify the use of such powers as the Board of Health has to prevent the use of alcohol in the community?

Alcohol, a consistently depressing, habit-forming drug, causes characteristic, easily recognized diseases of the brain, nerves and special senses. Alcohol causes definite damage to the heart, kidneys, blood vessels and organs of digestion, especially the stomach and liver. When alcohol is used so moderately as to cause none of the special diseases due solely to its effects, it is known to damage the unborn babe, the nursing child and the grown man and woman in such ways as to render them peculiarly susceptible to the infectious and communicable diseases to which all people are exposed.

Certain types of permanent damage to mentality and various psychical disorders in children, are accepted results of the use of alcohol in parents.

Alcohol can be used as a food, but at a cost both economical and physiological, which causes bankruptcy of pocket and health. In a few diseased conditions it has been found useful, but not indispensable.

Alcohol is a protoplasmic poison, like ether and chloroform, with slower but more enduring effect.

Alcohol has the physiological effect of gradual anesthesia acting upon the powers of perception, judgment, self-control, reasoning and intelligence until the human being is gradually

stripped of all capacity for conscious direction, and becomes a reflex animal responding automatically and without choice to gross external physical stimuli.

The weary human, suffering from the misfortunes of his own creation or harrassed by the injustices of an artificial social order, turns for separation from his environment to the dullness and unrestraint which alcohol brings. Then is he not only unprepared for effective effort, competition or responsibility, but he is exposed particularly to the every ready infection, of which acute pneumonia is the most striking example.

These statements are not personal opinions. The world admits them, and then says: "What then! Shall we give up this happy thoughtlessness for the chance at a bit longer and bit healthier life?" And up to the present time the answer has been all but unanimously, "No."

It is, as I conceive it, the duty of health departments to change the answer. How? By the use of the police power of the state, that broad and powerful arm of law under which so much of the authority of boards of health has been exhibited? By legislation, that hope of democracy, the mythical voice of the people acting through their elected representatives? Or by education and example, the weapon of the teacher, the physician, the friend?

What the church has failed to do, the factory and the shop have undertaken. What laws and police repression have failed to affect, the spoken and written word can accomplish.

If a flagon of alcohol were offered to a student of pharmacology to test as a curiosity, and he applied the standard methods of physiological experiment to it, he could but come to the conclusion that he was dealing with a more dangerous chemical than any now available in the whole range of materia medica, not second to opium or its derivatives as a destroyer of character, a disturber of function and a degenerator of tissue, and he would be quite justified in advising the prohibition of its manufacture and use as a beverage.

Social custom and national habit have so sanctioned the use of this particularly anti-social drug that study, judgment and education have to win their case against a vast inerita.

Is the task harder than teaching the world that it may conquer tuberculosis or the nations that they cannot live if they waste their baby life?

Is not the goal as splendid, and shall our hopes be less than those of the crusaders against tuberculosis and the waste of child life, who have saved more lives annually than the armies are costing this very year in Europe?

It is, as I conceive it, the duty of health departments to teach, teach, teach, persuade, demonstrate, exhibit, exhort, prove that alcohol as a beverage or in patent medicines is a menace to personal and community health, is a common source of sickness and death, is blocking the path of preventive medicine and is a menace to the physical and social development of the nation.

The mayor of the city of New York has indicated his approval of the methods of the Department which have been used in combatting insanitary conditions or harmful practices in the city of New York, and in his annual address on May 2nd he spoke as follows:

> The basis of efficient public health work is public health education. As you are aware the Department of Health is now not only through the public press and special bulletins but with cooperation of churches, local civic and other community organizations, carrying on day by day helpful educational work in public and personal hygiene. In this work the Department is not undertaking a crusade against the personal habits of the people of the city, but is calling attention in popular form to scientifically established facts which affect community health and personal efficiency.

Dr. Abbot of Waverley, Massachusetts, a recognized authority in insanity, has recently stated in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, in an article on "Preventable Forms of Mental Disease," that the most important of the toxic psychoses and brain diseases are the alcoholic.

> Alcoholic insanity is a wholly preventable psychosis. One-eighth of all admissions to hospitals for insane are due directly to this cause and an indefinite number of other psychoses, of which alcohol is an important contributing factor. * * * Movements which seek to educate the public as to exact facts, without prejudice, exaggeration or sentiment, are the best. * * * An intelligent and educated public sentiment will support restrictive measures aimed at wholesale protection against evils of alcohol, by rigidly restricting the sale of that which causes them. * * * If everyone knew what the effects of alcohol really are, its internal use would almost be limited to the prescriptions of physicians.

Within the limits of this brief presentation it is impossible to avail myself of the mass of reliable and important contributions to the social and medical aspects of the use of alcohol. The employers of labor, the teachers of industrial efficiency, the workers among the poor, the physicians in health departments and in private practice very generally agree that alcohol causes a large amount of preventable disease, accident and disability, and that its use should be discontinued.

In closing, I can but repeat my conviction that it is the duty of health departments to inaugurate and carry on by all available means persistent campaigns of education, to the end that the

community which they are called upon to protect may be in a position to judge for themselves as organized social groups and as independent members, whether they are willing to ignore their own interest, their safety and their health by permitting the continued unlimited manufacture and sale of alcohol.

I venture to predict that no advance in the control of preventable disease of bacterial or infectious origin in the future could accomplish such reduction of the morbidity and mortality of the community as would undoubtedly follow the elimination of alcohol as a beverage.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates participlated in informal discussion: Rev. A. J. D. Haupt, St. Paul; Mrs. D. M. Matthews, Chicago; Mary M. Ogilvie, Indianapolis; Robert A. Woods, Mrs. W. H. Lothrop, Boston; J. M. Hanson, Youngstown; Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn.

SYMPOSIUM: WHAT WE DO WHEN THE BREADWINNER IS INTEMPERATE*

Frederic Almy, Secretary, Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, New York

It is obvious that direct relief must seldom go into a drunkard's family. Money given to a drunkard does not feed him, but his drunkenness. Probation on good behavior, under promise of support, is better than imprisonment with its stigma and waste, if the probation officer is a good one and makes the probation mean something. Drunkards who promise to do better may often be helped by medical advice, by church connections, or by enlarged recreational opportunities. What might be called the current bad practice was described by Mr. Burritt more than five years ago, when he spoke of one particular case where the wife had sufficient courage to have the husband arrested, whereupon the judge, instead of sending him away, fined him $5.00, which the wife promptly paid, and as soon as she reached home her husband gave her a severe beating. The subject is what to do, and let me say emphatically that in Buffalo we care less for relief than for cure, but that we also care less for cure than for prevention. For this reason, I am not so much interested in cure at sanatoria or by moral suasion, as in radical measures. The modern temperance work is good, since the temperance cause became less intemperate. It is interesting that after prohibition has done what it could on the moral argument, it is making fresh headway on the efficiency argument.

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*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 11 A. M

We are hard at work today in Buffalo to get the benefit of a state law which we procured in 1911, following Mr. Burritt's lead for New York City, which allows a board of inebriety with a municipal hospital and a county industrial colony. These seemed impossible until now, on account of cost, but now seem near. The object of the law is to do away with the short term commitments to the penitentiary for drunkenness, which involve public cost, stigma, loss of character, and non-support for the family, and to substitute for these a warning without even court appearance for the first offense; probation or probationary fines; and as a last resort, commitment to an institution or farm colony where drunkenness is scientifically treated as a disease. Such a law would relieve the courts of at least one-third of their inebriety cases; would relieve the C. O. S. from the support of many families, and would do something to cure the evil of drunkenness, which is increased rather than cured by the present short term commitments. We have a record of one man who has been in court for drunkenness more than 160 times.

Ruth A. Bent, Superintendent, Central Association of Charities, Evanston, Illinois

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I wish that it might be my pleasure to suggest some new and illuminating plan, which would not only alleviate the problem of the inebriate, but which would ultimately effect his cure. As it is I can merely give you the conclusions that have come to me as a result of my own failures and partial successes in dealing with this particular problem. My experience has made me realize how impossible it is to put forth any general rule to be followed in the treatment of the alcoholic. Each case is a separate social problem, which has to be worked out in a personal and human way with those most interested and with those mostly to be affected by any plan decided upon.

In spite of long continued efforts we find that we are still reaching for a wise and far-reaching program. In the past the inebriate was considered a voluntary subject of vice and crime by the public, which may account to a great extent for our failure to cope with the situation more adequately.

Physicians now tell us that drunkenness is a disease, not of the physical body alone, but of the spiritual and mental nature, and with that realization has come a change in our attitude toward this type of unfortunate. The old theory that punishment

was a cure-all for the evil is gradually being supplanted by theories that involve more kindly, humane and constructive methods of treatment. Instead of sending a victim to the workhouse we first make a special effort to appeal to his pride and help him to regain confidence in himself, for when a man's self-respect has been destroyed there is little left upon which to build.

At such a time the kindly interest and encouragement of friends and relatives is invaluable, as is also the religious stimulus given by the church if an active affiliation can be made. If there has been no previous church connection there are usually religious organizations in a community well suited to supply these needs.

Drink cures have been successful in many cases, especially when the patient has applied for the treatment himself and assisted with his own will in its application. Without his absolute co-operation success cannot be hoped for, as each case is complicated and medical treatment alone is not enough to restore the alcoholic to social usefulness. He must undergo a mental as well as a physical change, so it is here where religious and other friendly interests may be most effective.

Social adjustments, which are as numerous as the cases involved, offer great possibilities in the treatment of the inebriate. Careful study and a painstaking analysis of the conditions of environment together with the patient's mental makeup are invaluable. There is the man who is absolutely governed in his conduct by his environment; he is employed at good pay in a business where the tendency of the men is toward heavy drinking. Securing employment in another line of work and moving his family to an entirely different part of the city will often effect the result desired. Then there is a type of alcoholic that can be influenced very definitely by the signing of a pledge if witnessed by a clergyman and a court official.

Often through sickness, sorrow or overwork the valuable citizen yields to alcohol, but with the proper remedial effort he is usually reclaimed to society. The man naturally irresponsible, who has achieved nothing up to the period where he has become excessively alcoholic, is a more hopeless proportion and requires all of the community forces to be effective in his cure.

It is with genuine satisfaction that we look back upon certain cases where splendid results have been obtained in saving men to their families and to society by social adjustments alone, unaccompanied by the more drastic measures. Such experiences serve as an impetus to making a greater effort toward reaching the class which the most part has passed beyond the limit of

responsibility; a class from which the degenerate and the criminal classes are so largely recruited. From this group originate, in a large measure, the criminal, the pauper, the epileptic and the insane that fill our penal and charitable institutions. The public has more or less willingly recognized its obligation toward these groups, but with the inebriate it is different.

It is for the care of this group that an appeal should be made to public sentiment, as the utterly hopeless alcoholic will be found a fit subject for colonization. This offers an opportunity of arresting the degenerate tendencies of the inebriate, with a possible chance of a large average cure.

James F. Jackson, Superintendent, Associated Charities, Cleveland

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The principles of the treatment of this problem are fundamentally the same as those for the treatment of all problems,—study of the facts and their causes, and the finding of a solution based on the elements of strength and weakness, not only of the breadwinner but of the whole family.

At the very outset the worker must learn the reason for the inebriety,—whether it is due to hereditary weakness of resistance, habits of early life, neighborhood forces, health, type of work, the wife's housekeeping standards, the wife's disposition, or a mixture of two or more of these causes.

Good case work naturally begins with the elimination, so far as possible, of the environmental factors stimulating inebriety. A visiting housekeeper not infrequently is a first step.

Very roughly we may divide the intemperate into three classes:

1) Those who perhaps have not gone far, have not too seriously weakened their stamina and are concerned about their situation or can be brought to concern. The removal of the removable bad environmental factors and the centering of personal interest and friendship frequently accomplishes the end.

2) Those who want to quit when their imagination is stimulated, but who have too seriously weakened their powers of resistance. For these we are inclined to favor the use of a drink cure. It makes a starting point,—makes a break in old habits and removes the unendurable nervous craving.

Cleveland is not very well equipped with facilities to combat the drink habit. We have the following:

(a) The City Hospital, which has for years made intermittent attempts at giving a cure. Under the present plan the

patient must be committed by the probate court for this particular treatment, which is good medically. All types of drinkers are treated in a group and although the official relationship is considerate, the physical and social surroundings are little calculated to be helpful.

(b) The State Hospital for the Insane. The situation there is similar to that of the City Hospital, the advantage of better physical surroundings being offset by the unhappy stigma which that type of institution carries in the public mind.

(c) The Freedom League Sanitarium, a private institution, which adds physical upbuilding to medical treatment. It has for its distinguishing characteristic the strong personal influence of the physician and the pleasant home surroundings developed by him and his wife. Moreover, this institution has distinct plans for retaining a personal interest in the patients long after they have left. The personal element before and after is an outstanding feature in the success of this institution, to which the charge is $75 for three weeks. We can sometimes secure special money to make use of this institution. It is not financially strong and cannot take patients on promise to pay after return to work.

(d) One or two expensive commercial institutes, which we never use.

3) The third group of intemperate breadwinners contains those who tell you they "can quit if they want to," but who apparently do not want to; and those who will not face the situation at all, who refuse to talk about it. When they continue to neglect and abuse their families, we have no recourse but to use the court for their commitment, usually on a non-support charge, to the City Correction Farm. The farm occupies a large tract of land ten miles from Cleveland's center. There the patients have outdoor work and enforced regularity of living, which are at least useful in getting the liquor out of their systems so they can think. The physical surroundings are excellent and are body-building, though the associations are not helpful.

The Cleveland police follow the policy of "Golden Ruling" the resident "plain drunk." The value of this treatment is essentially lost because no record is made of the fact and there is no follow-up work to avoid recurrence of the difficulty. It is unfortunate because the underlying principle of the Golden Rule has possibilities of much good, if use were made of this knowledge for the individual's benefit.

You will see that we are limited in special equipment when we are in need of something to supplement the forces of per-

sonal friendship. In Cleveland there is no provision for the permanent care of the incurable inebriate. We put great confidence in the persistent use of purposeful friendly contacts and believe in the judicious multiplication of them. The church connection, or possibility of church connection, is especially appreciated by the case worker as a means of multiplying the friendly, helpful associations.

William Kirk, General Secretary, United Charities of Rochester, New York

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The social worker rarely meets intemperance as a single problem in any one family. Out of 754 families in Rochester, for example, 147 presented intemperance as a serious problem, and in two-thirds of the families, combined with intemperance was the problem of unemployment; while tuberculosis, desertion, epilepsy, and feeble-mindedness each appeared in about 15 per cent of all the families. Moreover intemperance frequently results in improper guardianship not only on the part of the man, but on the part of the discouraged woman who no longer seems able to maintain proper standards in the home. Improper guardianship in turn often produces juvenile delinquency. Two illustrations may be given, the one a failure, the other what seems at the present time to be a success.

Family A has been known to United Charities since December, 1912. From October, 1906, to February, 1916, the children had been reported neglected, to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, twelve times. In 1907, in 1909, and in 1911 the children had been committed to the Children's Aid Society through the Children's Court because of neglect, and returned to their home in each case after a few months. From August, 1899, to July, 1915, the man had been arrested seven times for intoxication, in most instances judgment being suspended, and in addition he had been arrested for assault in the third degree and for carrying concealed weapons. In 1908 he was sent to Auburn State Prison from Monroe county on the charge of burglary third degree and petit larceny for a term of two to four years. In 1912, his maximum sentence having expired, he was discharged. A little later the family came to the attention of United Charities.

The man is strong and able bodied, a painter by trade. During the past year he has been peddling shoe strings and perfumery most of the time, besides sending his children out to peddle at frequent intervals.

From February 1st to September 1st, 1915, United Charities made 80 visits to the home and in behalf of the home. This number of visits does not include the volunteer services of a neighbor who is a member of the church which the family attended at this time. In addition to these efforts, constant telephone calls kept the case worker in daily touch with the family. Ably assisted by a friendly visitor from the church, a cooking teacher to help the woman prepare the right kind of food, a doctor, and a dentist, she made a determined effort to improve the standards of the home. One hundred and fifty dollars was spent in relief while the man was ill from drink or confined in the penitentiary, but at the end of several months' struggle on the part of the visitor and her volunteers, abusive language was still being used in the home and the neighbors were still complaining of disorderly conduct, the children were being sent out to beg, the father was drinking heavily, the mother seemed little less indifferent than before, and Robert, the oldest boy, had recently been arrested for intoxication and dishonesty; so the only thing left to do was to break up the home in order to save the younger children if possible.

Family B came to United Charities in September, 1914. The man, a heavy drinker, had deserted his family, leaving his wife to provide for herself and her four children. As the relatives were weary of aiding the family, the home had been broken up. We decided to take the woman's furniture out of storage and give her a home. Work was secured for the woman, who received additional aid from United Charities. A warrant was issued for the man and he was placed under bond to pay his wife $5 a week. Three months later the man and woman were reunited and the volunteer visitor, who had been intensely interested in the problem, was able to secure a good position for the man after he had promised to leave liquor alone.

The friendly visitor had succeeded in establishing very friendly relations with each member of the family. The man and his wife frequently visited the volunteer's home and began to attend her church. The man joined the men's class of the Bible School. Drink did not bother the family again until the following October, when the fifth child was born. Then the man left his position and drank heavily while his wife was in the hospital. The friendly visitor with unusual courage sought out the man and brought him home. A well recommended "cure" for the drink habit was then tried, as the man seemed anxious to get back upon his feet and he professed great benefit from each treatment he received. At the present time the man declares he

has lost all taste for liquor, but some of us feel that the reform is due more to the influence of the visitor than to the "cure." There may be some virtue, however, in a medicine which the patient believes has the power to cure him.

Since September, 1914, there has been but one lapse on the part of the man. Conditions in the home are steadily improving and the man's wages have advanced from $12 to $15 a week. The family on its own initiative have moved into a better house, and have continued their interest in the church. Recent reports indicate that the man steadfastly refuses "treats" and is often called upon to face deliberate attempts on the part of fellow workmen to get him to drink again. The friendly visitor's confidence in the man is undoubtedly the most potent factor in keeping him straight.

In the absence of a suitable institution in which the intemperate breadwinner may receive adequate care, no general rules can be laid down to guide the work of the family visitor, and the treatment in each case must be left entirely to the judgment of the person in charge.

What our community needs is a farm colony for inebriates. It is a well known fact that intemperance is either a primary or contributory cause of dependence in at least 20 per cent. of the families under care. To rehabilitate these families is a most difficult and discouraging problem, for as long as the father is in the home, the children are generally underfed, and the family is in need of material aid. To supply this aid only tends to lessen the sense of responsibility already dulled by intemperate habits. Statistics show conclusively that incarceration never cures, but adds the disgrace of imprisonment to that of drunkenness.

A study of the records of the Monroe County Penitentiary shows that for the past five years the average number of men committed for drunkenness from the city of Rochester has been 537. The total cost of keeping these men at the penitentiary has been over $35,000.00. Many of them are sent to the penitentiary year after year, frequently for long terms. To illustrate: One man has served 13 terms and 47 months in five years. Another man has served 9 terms for a total of 36 months in all, in the last four years.

The statistics indicate that about one man in five is married. In 1912 and 1913, 263 married men were committed to the penitentiary for drunkenness. Of this number 63, or about 24 per cent, had families who were aided by the City Department of Charities, while the wage earners were in prison.

Several of our leading doctors have expressed the belief that medical treatment alone is not sufficient, and that after-care on a farm is essential to strengthen the will of the man and make the cure permanent. With the man under proper care, it is the general belief that some really constructive work could be done in the home, and the children given a fair chance to become good citizens.

To get the best results such a farm must be located away from public centers of all kinds. Isolation is the great object to be sought. As Dr. Gilmour of Toronto has well said, "Contiguity to public centers will keep the inmates in a condition of continual unrest. Plotting and scheming to obtain liquor will be prevalent. The management will be embarrassed by curiosity seekers visiting the place. Such a location will make it comparatively easy for the pals on the outside to plant whisky and dope for the inmates. Inmates previous to their release will form a conspiracy with those remaining as to how they will supply them the contraband goods."

When Rochester establishes a farm colony for inebriates, then the treatment of the families in which the breadwinner is intemperate may be made more uniform. If the woman is willing to have her husband placed on the farm under proper treatment, the visitor has the opportunity to rehabilitate the family in the man's absence; a tactful dietitian will often solve the problem. On the other hand, if social workers found it to be an unwise policy to send relief into the deserted home, where no legal steps have been taken to bring the husband to a sense of his responsibility, it is equally unwise to ease the conscience of the intemperate breadwinner by helping him to support his neglected family.

Eugene T. Lies, General Superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago

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Canvassing recent tendencies among workers in our eleven district offices, in their dealing with the problem of inebriety, I have found an interesting situation. The philosophy of these workers embodies three main ideas:

1. That the direct personal method of dealing with the inebriate calls for great persistence, and very often leads to disappointing results, although it should not be absolutely set aside, since it can never be predicted when results may be entirely favorable. These workers, therefore, first analyze the case when

they come in contact with it in order to understand the degree of inebriety present, the home conditions as they affect the situation and the physical, mental and moral qualities of the victim.

Among the direct methods used may be mentioned the following: Admonishment and appeal in the interest of family, society and the individual's own future; getting the mediation of priest or minister, who often secures the signature to a pledge (although pledging is not resorted to nearly as much as formerly); removal to a new neighborhood, where saloons are few and relations to drinking pals cut off; medical aid applied with the help of nerve specialists, or at a special institution. Often two or three, sometimes all of these means are employed in the same case.

2. A newer development is seen in the more frequent use of the indirect method. One of the most important is the application of our non-support law, on the fairly sound theory that a drinker is usually a non-supporter. The inebriate is brought before the court on the charge of non-support and is then put under probation. The rules of the adult probation officer call for at least curtailment in drinking and require that the man shall work and apply his earnings to his family's needs. Here is a triple discipline which is bringing excellent results in many cases. When the man violates probation rules he is sent to the city workhouse, where he gets medical treatment and is forced to work. The period of incarceration is, however, too short to make permanent results certain.

3. While personal work and the above-mentioned indirect method are resorted to, we find that in the minds of our workers there is considerable stress laid upon the important results that are accruing to society from current wholesale methods of approach to the solution of the inebriate problem. They have in mind the legal restrictions put upon the liquor traffic; the insistence in many great industries upon at least temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages, and in many of them insistence upon absolute abstinence; the increasing provisions for larger community life which are shifting the interests of people from the less wholesome to the more wholesome activities of life. Reference is had to the neighborhood playgrounds, gymnasiums and assembly places with their attractive features. All these it is thought are having a deep effect upon the lives of working men and the population generally in the poorer neighborhoods of the city, and call for active backing.

The conviction is strong among social workers in Chicago that there is needed a farm and industrial colony of the highest

type, in which shall be incorporated the best features of similar institutions in other parts of the United States and in Europe. The ideas upon which such an institution would be founded are that the inebriate needs above all else training, in the deep sense of the word. He needs training physically, nervously and in self-discipline. His deepest psychical tendencies need long continued attention. He needs the discipline of work in a cheerful, healthful and encouraging environment. His unfortunate tendency is to be looked upon as an ailment, rather than as a moral dereliction, one of such peculiar tendency as to call for persistent and sufficiently long treatment to really rehabilitate the unfortunate individual.

W. Frank Persons, Director of General Work, Charity Organization Society, New York City

All social workers understand the discouraging difficulty of helping a dependent family when the breadwinner is intemperate. No forward-looking plans can safely be made while his disturbing conduct and influence are present in the home life.

To deal adequately with such problems, we need laws and institutions for the involuntary commitment of drunken husbands to farm colonies under indefinite sentence. When committed, they must be held until, under proper medical treatment and social discipline, they have been rehabilitated physically and morally.

Many habitual drunkards have weak minds or wills due to bad heredity. When this condition is suspected, the advice and help of a sympathetic alienist is indispensable. It is obviously impracticable to depend upon the will power of a nervous, vacillating addict when the necessary basis of a stable will is absent. In such cases institutional care is the only means of real help.

Suitable institutional care is meagre. In general, the case worker, if she undertakes to keep the family together, must do her best to inspire a desire for reform and depend largely upon her own personal influence to keep alive that ambition and to strengthen it.

It behooves the case worker carefully to select those with whom to attempt such personal reformation. She must have in mind that there is no "cure" for drunkenness. A relapse is possible at any time. The will and the character of the man, himself determine the outcome finally, in every instance. This the case worker must fully realize and this she must deeply and

persistently impress upon the subject of her care. Neither she nor he can afford to allow any excuse for failure, or entertain any timid expectation of failure if sucess is to be attained. The plans for the family's support and for the man's reform in all their aspects must be carefully considered and there must be mutual understanding of the fact that, if there is a relapse, nothing more will or can be done by the case worker to keep the family together. Help for the family then must depend upon his separation from the problems involved.

In short, in any such case the case worker has but one real chance with the subject of her treatment. Success must depend upon the confident conviction of both parties that success is to be attained. The case worker cannot simulate such confidence after failure. The man himself cannot derive that moral support from the faith of the case worker to which he feels no longer fully entitled.

G. M. Pfeiffer, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Kansas City, Kansas

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When this subject was suggested to me by the committee my first impulse was that my testimony would be incompetent, immaterial and irrelevant, by virtue of the fact that I was from prohibition Kansas. My second impression was that the committee purposed heaping some stigma or opprobrium on our prohibition state and that, too, was very vital to me. My third and lasting impression was, that by virtue of our geographical relation and close proximity to Kansas City, Missouri, such a discussion might be of general interest and profitable.

About ten years ago a certain lady, who made the hatchet famous by wielding it with such precision, purchased a ten thousand dollar home in our city, and conditionally deeded it to the Associated Charities. The one condition was that certain wards of this home (known as the Carrie Nation Home) be held in reserve for the wives or widows of drunkards. Ten long years have come and gone and not one wife or widow has made application for admittance. The only cause we can assign is that they do not care to bear the distinction of being the wife or widow of a drunkard.

Another and more successful plan has been worked out in dealing with inebriates through our Federation of Charities and Corrections, which is composed of eleven societies. These cases among others are taken up and referred to the agency best quali-

fied to care for them. Our experience has taught us that the particular cases under discussion are best handled through the parole officer of the police department. Drastic measures are adopted. The offender is brought before the police court and there given a sentence of from 100 to 500 days in the city workhouse, is turned over to the parole officer, who has him paroled, returned to his former position, collects his weekly wage and turns it over to his family.

C. C. Stillman, General Secretary, United Charities, St. Paul, Minnesota

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Generally speaking case workers have developed no well delineated technique to apply to this situation. It is strange that such is the case, for conditions as outlined in our topic confront the case worker continuously. It is true that special efforts are being made by case workers coming in contact with such problems. I believe it remains true, however, that our study of family situations in which the breadwinner is intemperate has not resulted in a mode that stands out well-defined.

We undertake to secure the co-operation of the other members of the man's family, especially of his wife. Throwing a blanketed charity around the man for the time being, and accepting an oft-repeated idea about the effect of inefficient housekeeping and an unsatisfactory dietary on a man's behavior, we accept the conclusion that conditions in many a poor man's home are "enough to drive him to drink." Cleanliness, order, good spirits, opportunity for amusement in the home,—the value of these is recognized in any situation. The practical difficulty in the way of releasing such forces is well recognized, but the need for the co-operation of the other members of the family in giving tone and brace to a man inclined to be intemperate in the use of intoxicants must be realized as a condition of success. Does the woman herself drink, though perhaps moderately, and encourage the bringing of liquor into the home? Does the woman do anything for the man who drinks except to abuse him? Does she shrink from him in fear when he is intoxicated and then upbraid him when he is sober? Is the man over-sensitive to criticism on the part of the grown-up sons or daughters? Have the members of the family been enlisted in a concerted effort to encourage and to help the husband and father?

The case worker further must realize the saving grace of time. In general, patience is a virtue, but in these specific situations patience is a virtue par exellence. Even with an emphasis on the religious element, even with the orthodox Christian conception of "conversion," I believe there is general recognition of the fact that it takes time to make over an inebriate. Appetite lingers, old cronies persist, the saloon remains, the "treat" still exists as a social institution. To overcome the cumulative effect of a man's whole past requires often not days, not weeks, not months, but years. There is some satisfaction in knowing that the periodic sprees are less frequent, that a little more money is brought to the home, that there is a little less complaint on the part of the employers, that jobs are held for longer periods. "Rome was not built in a day." Have mercy on human flesh and give a man a chance.

A previous speaker brought out the value of religion in rebuilding the life of the inebriate. The "expulsive power of a new affection" is psychological gospel. The co-operation of the members of the family and an abounding attitude of patience will manifest their power side by side with a substitution of the good for the bad. If the saloon has been a man's clubhouse give him a *community center*. Take him somewhere. Take his wife with him. Keep him at home and get the right kind of a human being to visit him. If he craves excitement give him some of a brand different from that to which he is accustomed. Don't ask a man to negative his whole past. If he "gets religion" help him to keep it. Find out something he likes which is good and arrange for him to have plenty of it. There must be something new in the life of a man to take the place of the old to which he has been attached so long. If our case work program can't find something around which the man's desires can cling, put it down, it is doomed to disappointment.

Hospital treatment is being tried out in Minnesota in connection with the State Hospital for Inebriates. In our own work we have had as much success as failure in undertaking to avail ourselves of the opportunities afforded for modern methods of treatment. We have had no success with drug cases. The institution in Minnesota is too young to enable us to generalize about results. Social workers believe in the institution, and believe that here is a method of approach which, provided we can secure the active co-operation of our client, will bring satisfactory results.

T. J. Edmonds, Secretary, Associated Charities, Cincinnati, Ohio

It is difficult to discuss the question of how to treat cases of drunkenness without ever having had the experience of being a drunkard. Even if one had had such experience he would have gained knowledge of only one type of inebriety, and he would really need to have been at least a dozen different kinds of drunkard to thoroughly understand the problem. One trouble with social workers is that they have not had the actual experience which equips them to understand the point of view of applicants whose cases they are handling. Necessarily, therefore, anything which any of us has to say lacks that element of real understanding which actual experience would give us. The best way to get accurate information would be to call a convention of drunks and ex-drunks instead of a convention of social workers. The nearest the committee could come to this direct sort of information was to select a speaker from Cincinnati.

There are three motives for reform, viz., emotional motives, intellectual motives and the duress which society exercises upon the offender, which sometimes compels him to reform without any subjective motive.

Emotional motives are such as religion, love of family, aesthetic sense, etc. Social workers and sociologists, I think, often overlook the importance of the religious element in personal and family rehabilitation. Religion is by no means *passé*. The church may have made mistakes in not keeping up with scientific thought, or by not giving sufficient attention to social and civic problems, but the social worker has made a greater mistake in overlooking the religious and spiritual element. By religion I do not mean sectarian adherence, but real spirituality which makes one wish to preserve a standard of living when the social worker has secured it for him, and which gives him ambition to live better and makes him really care in an emotional way for the homely virtues of honesty, industry, respectability and human helpfulness.

The intellectual motives operate on the man who has intelligence enough, or who has learned by exeprience to realize that sobriety is the best policy, physically, economically and otherwise.

By the duress of society I mean the discipline of legal restraint, the force of public opinion and the various forms of punishment which society inflicts upon those who break its laws. These things very often break the spirit of a man and force him to be decent. The reform of the famous bandit, Cole Younger,

and of the James brothers, who before their deaths became good citizens, is as much due to the fact that their spirits were broken by long terms in various penitentiaries and by the fact that age cooled the flame of desire for desperate adventure, as to any other cause such as genuine spiritual reform.

All three of these motives should be appealed to; the intellectual and emotional motives first, of course. The appeal to these motives leads to the consideration of method. There are two outstanding varieties of method in dealing with inebriate cases. One is the patient, constructive method of reasoning with a man (the appeal to the intellectual motive), inspiring him with a desire for reform (the appeal to the religious or emotional motive), combined with helping him in a concrete way, such as by getting him a job, interesting his employer in his welfare, arousing the man's interest in activities which constitute a substitute for the pleasures furnished by the saloon—by these I mean social centers, men's clubs, reading, recreation, etc.—improvement of his home conditions, attention to his physical welfare, and so on.

The other method is the disciplinary process, that is, shutting him up in the workhouse or sending him to a farm colony.

The farm colony idea combines the advantages of both methods, as it is at the same time constructive and disciplinary. It is probably the best idea yet evolved for the treatment of the man who fails to respond to the first method. A farm colony should afford medical treatment, exercise in the open air, proper diet, sleeping and other physical regulations; it should teach him an occupation if he has none; it should give him physical, mental and moral stamina; when he is dismissed he should have clothing, some money to start on and a job; his employer should be made his friend, his work record and conduct should be followed up and he should receive encouragement for a considerable probationary period. Of course while he is at the colony the case work aspects of his family should not be overlooked.

After receiving notice of this subject, I called a meeting of thirty case workers and asked them for their experience. About one-third of the cases we tabulated had been successfully handled for a time by the patient advisory plan of treatment, in other words, by the case work method. Another third had been treated through penal measures. The other third had not been treated with any success in any way. One case treated by the first method would have been a success—probably—if the town in which the man had been located in a good job had not suddenly gone "wet" after it had been "dry" for a number of years.

Another case might have been successful if the man's work had not brought him into constant contact with temptation.

I am not overlooking the fact that inebriety, just as any other form of delinquency, is considered in the best modern thought as a mental disease and should be so treated. This is the basis of the farm colony idea.

To sum up the matter, there is no one method of treating inebriety any more than there is any one method of treating any class of cases. A great many people are apt to think there is one large cause of poverty and one program of remedy. After they cease to be students and become practical workers, they find that the causes of family deterioriation are too numerous and complicated to tabulate. The causes of anything in human life are inextricably interwoven. The process of removal of cause, methods both of cure and prevention, should also be manifold. In treating a drunkenness case we should try all the remedies and we should, of course, grade them, trying the less rigorous remedies first and the disciplinary measures as a later resort. I believe we should give all the earlier remedies a fair trial unless the past history of the case proves them useless. Our remedies should be congenial occupation, personal interest, encouragement, improvement of living conditions, change of environment, change of associates, religious influences, recreation, cultural interests, appeal to finer sentiments, such as love of family and desire for respectability, appeal to economic ambition, medical treatment, open air exercise, hard or engrossing work, punishment and parole.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in the informal discussion: Veronica O. Wilder, New York; Virgil V. Johnson, Rockford, Ill.; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Frances V. Frisby, Indianapolis; Rev. Demetrius Tillotson, Greencastle, Ind.

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ALCOHOLIC INSANITY IN A PROHIBITION STATE*

Philip B. Newcomb, M. D., State Hospital, Osawatomie, Kansas

In a recent magazine article Governor Arthur Capper has stated: "The success of prohibition in Kansas has been so complete and conspicuous that the organized liquor interests of the country seem to feel it absolutely necessary to befoul the reputation of that state. In attempting to do this, they use false figures and they so misuse true figures as to produce false impressions."

*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 11 A. M.

In perhaps no instance affecting the fair name of the state has this juggling of statistics been more conspicuous than in the data regarding insanity, especially alcoholic insanity, in this and sister commonwealths, the latter being "wet" wholly or in part. This commercialized slander of the state is not the only form in which the matter is sometimes misrepresented. A recent article in a well known journal of insanity compares Kansas to her detriment in the proportion of recorded insanity with a number of other states classed as being under liquor license. Oklahoma and North Dakota were two of the commonwealths mentioned, and both have been under prohibition for many years, the former since 1907, when it was admitted to the Union, and the latter since 1889. South Dakota is also classed as a "wet" state in the above article, when as a matter of fact 79% of the territory is under no license and 73% of the population lives in saloonless territory. Inasmuch as there seems to be so considerable an amount of interest shown in this subject and yet so large a matter of deliberate or careless misinformation, the writer has lately been interested in an investigation of the actual amount of insanity of purely alcoholic etiology occurring in the state of Kansas at the present time, and took up this matter at the suggestion of Prof. Adolf Meyer of Johns Hopkins University. The results of the work have been interesting and a report upon some of the facts ascertained will, it is believed, prove of interest to the thinking citizen, the specialist on nervous and mental diseases and the worker in sociology.

The information to follow was gleaned from an analysis of the diagnoses of acute types of insanity admitted to Osawatomie and Topeka State Hospitals during the year January 1, 1915, to January 1, 1916, covering all admissions to these institutions during that period. These two hospitals receive all cases of acute mental aberration from the entire state excepting those of epilepsy or purely epileptic insanity, the majority of which are sent to the Parsons State Hospital for Epileptics. For the statistics of the Topeka State Hospital I am greatly indebted to Dr. L. C. Bishop of the staff of that institution. The final diagnosis of every case admitted to either Topeka or Osawatomie was made, not upon unsupported evidence or the statements of the commitment papers, but from daily clinical observation during the early weeks of hospital residence, a careful personal and family history from both patient and relatives when obtainable, with detailed and extended mental tests applied. The methods of examination at each institution are quite similar and of equal range. The patient would then be presented at "staff meeting" by the exam-

ing physician for observation by other members of the staff of the respective hospital for concurrence in or rejection of the diagnosis offered, thus eliminating errors of individual prejudice or predilection in the final classification, which was by "majority rule."

In the biennial report for 1914 the alcoholic percentage at Topeka was recorded as 3.2% and an analysis of the figures at Osawatomie showed precisely the same percentage. I had expected when coming to a prohibition state after state hospital experience in "wet" territory to find a low percentage of alcoholic insanity, as the above figures would truly show, but continued observation convinced me that the figures of the previous biennium were still too high so far as the amount of alcoholic insanity now entering the state hospitals of Kansas was concerned. Hence the year 1915 was selected for a further test.

During last year there were committed to the Osawatomie State Hospital 309 persons suffering from acute mental disease, and of this number five proved to be affected with distinctly alcoholic psychoses, giving a ratio of 1.6% of total admissions for this class of cases. In the same period of time, the Topeka State Hospital received 376 patients, of which seven were distinctly alcoholic in type, or 1.8% of total admissions. Combined figures for both institutions give the total acute admissions as 685, the incidence of true alcoholic insanity as twelve, or a percentage of 1.7% for the whole.

On page 53 of the report *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions* issued by the Bureau of the Census, 1910, the following statement appears: "Of the 60,769 insane admitted to hospitals in 1910, 6,122, or 10.1% of the total number, were suffering from alcoholic psychosis." The difference between the figures for the state of Kansas during the given year and for the entire United States in the last year of general enumeration is sufficiently obvious and forms a comparison which cannot easily be explained away by any arithmetical legerdemain of parties commercially interested in decrying all statistics from a prohibitory domain. In pursuing still further the comparison to specific instances of hospitals in other states, only institutions have been mentioned which originated or have in use the same or similar systems of examination as are now employed in the Kansas State Hospitals, thus avoiding a possible element of error in or criticism of the collection of comparative data. The figures listed are from the latest reports available to the writer from the hospitals enumerated and for purposes of later comparison, comparative figures are given also for another form of insanity.

TABLE 1.

		Alcoholism	Dementia Praecox
(1)	New York State Hospitals (year ending Sept. 30, 1915)		
	Utica	6.6	13.5
	Willard	10.1	7.2
	Hudson River	8.6	20.7
	Middletown	5.4	10.9
	Buffalo	9.1	19.9
	Binghamton	5.1	15.4
	St. Lawrence	8.2	14.0
	Rochester	8.2	23.5
	Gowanda	7.9	23.3
	Kings Park	4.9	19.1
	Long Island	9.6	8.6
	Manhattan	4.8	20.3
	Central Islip	8.3	23.3
	General Average for State	7.4	16.9
(2)	Ohio State Hospitals (year ending Nov. 15, 1914)		
	Athens	4.7	30.6
	Cleveland	15.4	19.6
	Columbus	8.7	21.7
	Dayton	12.8	10.4
	Massillon	12.8	20.4
	Toledo	8.1	22.0
	Longview	9.8	23.7
	General Average for State	10.7	21.2
(3)	Danvers, Mass. State Hospital (year ending Nov. 30, 1915)	10.7	22.7
	Worcester, Mass. State Hospital (year ending Nov. 30, 1914)	23.2	31.6
	Westborough, Mass. State Hospital (year ending Nov. 30, 1914)	7.1	31.7
(4)	Warren, Pa. State Hospital (year ending, May 31, 1915	9.8	26.3
(5)	Middletown, Conn. State Hospital (two years ending Sept. 30, 1914)	17.4	27.5
(6)	Lincoln, Neb. State Hospital (year ending Nov. 30, 1914)	4.2	29.9
(7)	Osawatomie, Kansas, State Hospital (year ending Dec. 31, 1915)	1.6	44.9
	Topeka State Hospital (year ending Dec. 31, 1915)	1.8	29.2
	General Average for State	1.7	37.0

From the above, it is to be seen that there is an appreciable difference in favor of Kansas as regards alcoholic insanity in comparison with various hospitals in other states and that the ratio of divergence is in most cases about the same in these different and widely separated localities mentioned as that given by the Census Report for the entire country at large. It might be objected that Kansas is a state without cities of great size

and that metropolitan centers are bound to contribute a greater amount of alcoholic insanity than rural communities or towns of lesser size, but it is equally well established by statistics that there is relatively more insanity of all kinds in cities than in the country districts, and in large cities than in small towns. The frequency of alcoholic psychosis, according to the census, is for the whole country 6.7 per 100,000; for cities of one hundred thousand or more 12.2 per 100,000; while for strictly urban communities it is but 2.6 per 100,000. But Kansas is neither strictly urban nor entirely rural, having, according to the Sixth Decennial State Census fourteen cities of more than 10,000 population (at least two of which are over 50,000 and one approaching 100,000) and 132 cities with 1,000 or more inhabitants. Proceeding again with the census figures, we learn that for cities of 10,000 there is recorded 7.6 per 100,000 of alcoholic insanity and the report specifically states, "The percentage suffering from alcoholic psychosis, although markedly higher for urban than for rural communities, does not regularly increase with increase in population; it reaches its highest maximum in cities of from fifty to one hundred thousand inhabitants and falls off in cities of over one hundred thousand to practically the same figures as that of cities of ten thousand to fifty thousand." The above plain statement would appear to fully justify the comparisons made with other localities in the only respect to which objection can reasonably be made; namely, as regards population.

The nearest alcoholic percentage of the above table to the figures for Kansas is that of Lincoln, Nebraska. Nebraska is usually classified as a "near prohibition" state, but the fact is otherwise, inasmuch as only 33 out of a total of 93 counties have local option. There is a further fact, which is not generally known, in regard to Nebraska which would seem to alter their alcoholic statistics materially. Nebraska still has an archaic inebriate or dipsomaniac law. While their percentage of absolute alcoholic psychoses is low, comprising a total of 4.2% for 9 patients admitted in the year, yet during the same period there were admitted to the Lincoln State Hospital 165 persons as inebriates, to the same institution where they are mixed and mingled on the same wards whether admitted as insane or inebriates, although not equally classified. In Kansas all chronic alcoholics, when restraint is necessary, are required to be committed as insane. An additional inspection of the above table shows that Kansas has a very high rate of dementia præcox, which is a typically degenerative psychosis, frequently showing a basis of defective heredity or even of pronounced congenital

deficiency and furnishes as fair a basis as any other psychosis for the mental instability supposably the foundation for the development of excessive alcoholism, if in Kansas the opportunities for alcoholic indulgence were equal to those found in other states not endowed with a prohibitory law.

A nearer, although brief and cursory view, may well be taken of the twelve cases of alcoholic psychoses in the Topeka and Osawatomie hospitals and the following table shows a few salient features to which attention is directed:

TABLE 2.

Case	Patient	Sex	Hospital	County	Diagnosis
1	F. S.	M.	Topeka	Marion	Delirium Tremens
2	B. E.	M.	Topeka	Pottawatomie	Chronic Alcoholism
3	J. B.	M.	Topeka	Atchison	Chronic Alcoholism
4	E. K.	M.	Topeka	Wyandotte	Alcoholic Hallucinatory Dementia
5	J. H.	M.	Topeka	Wyandotte	Alcoholic Hallucinatory Dementia
6	E. P.	M.	Topeka	Montgomery	Alcoholic Hallucinatory Dementia
7	F. C.	M.	Topeka	Reno	Acute Alcoholic Hallucinosis
8	M. D.	F.	Osawatomie	Wyandotte	Acute Alcoholic Hallucinosis
9	D. M.	M.	Osawatomie	Wyandotte	Alcoholic Dementia
10	O. P.	M.	Osawatomie	Cherokee	Chronic Alcoholism
11	G. G.	M.	Osawatomie	Ford	Chronic Alcoholism
12	J. M.	M.	Osawatomie	Crawford	Acute Alcoholic Hallucinosis

It will, perhaps, first be noted that but one of these patients is a woman. It would be anticipated and statistics rightly show that alcoholism is a much more frequent cause for the development of insanity in men than among women. The census report states that there were throughout the country among males as compared with females almost six times as many cases of alcoholic insanity, and a summary of the New York state hospitals report, quoted before, shows the proportion to have been even one woman to three men. But in Kansas the ratio, at least for the year just past and the series mentioned, is 1 to 11 in favor of women.

Secondly, eight of the twelve cases were admitted from counties bordering upon other states; viz., Atchison 1, Wyandotte 4, Montgomery 1, Cherokee 1, Crawford 1. To those who are not familiar with the local geography of this section of the country and social conditions at some parts of the border I will state that in the counties mentioned the most stringent enforcement of the prohibitory law is difficult in the extreme, be the authorities ever so diligent. Kansas City, Kansas, which is located in Wyandotte county, is a city of nearly 100,000, many of foreign birth, is practically continuous with Kansas City, Missouri, the dividing line for a distance of about five miles being only a

street called the State Line. There are no saloons on this street, but they run directly to the corner on the east side streets, there being about forty of them in a distance of some twenty blocks. In one block alone there are sixteen of them, which is in the congested packing house and manufacturing district. Atchison is on the Missouri river, directly across from Missouri and connected with the latter state by a bridge. Cherokee and Crawford counties are also contiguous to Missouri and the dividing line merely imaginary. They are, furthermore, coal and zinc mining districts largely populated by an ignorant foreign element. Montgomery county, on the south border of Kansas, is directly contiguous to the Oklahoma state line in the oil district where, in spite of Oklahoma's prohibitory law, joints are now being run in open defiance of the statute. Therefore, in these localities because of the immediate proximity of "wet" territory to tempt or facilitate personal indulgence, and the ease with which contraband can be transported into Kansas from other states which are non-prohibitory or lax in enforcement of such law, it is almost to be expected that in these communities would be found the greatest number of the results of alcoholic indulgence, those who finally find their way through the doors of our state hospitals for the insane.

The table also shows that but one case of delirium tremens is listed. This is due to the fact that there is no voluntary commitment law in Kansas and since the duration of this type of mental disorder is short the case would be expected to terminate by death or recovery before the more lengthy legal proceedings could be carried out, the journey to the hospital made and commitment effected. General hospitals usually refuse to accept this type of case, at least in the smaller cities, yet it is a well established fact that one or more attacks of delirium tremens usually precede the final development of the more serious or permanent forms of insanity, such as an acute alcoholic hallucinosis or a dementia. In this state, therefore, when a delirium tremens case is sufficiently disturbed to require restraint, the county jail is the usual place of detention, at any rate for the ordinary indigent patient. The writer has addressed a questionnaire to the sheriffs of the 105 counties in Kansas and has received reports from all of them, showing that in the last year there were confined in the jails of this state forty-six cases from twenty counties. Of this number twenty-six were found, similar to the psychoses of longer duration, to be from border counties. The total number is surprisingly small and one of these should be eliminated from the list of county jail cases because this individual was committed to Topeka

State Hospital and is the case previously mentioned. Another case from a border county likewise should be eliminated as he was not a resident of Kansas, but wandered into the state from Missouri while intoxicated and was arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace, soon developing delirium tremens and being kept in charge of the Kansas authorities until complete recovery had ensued.

It is possible that no definite conclusions can be drawn from the results of this investigation. However, the following points seem to stand out with some clarity:

First. In spite of the fact that general commitment rate per capita of Kansas state hospitals is about of average amount and that they have a high rate of degenerative insanity; to wit, dementia præcox, which is merely taken as an example, yet these hospitals show a very low rate of true alcoholic insanity in comparison with the whole United States and other individual hospitals.

Second. The state likewise shows a small delirium tremens rate outside the state hospitals.

Third. The majority of cases of all types of alcoholic mental difficulty, whether of short or long duration, come from border counties where evasion of the prohibitory law is more easy of accomplishment and in some cases complete prohibition practically impossible.

Fourth. The above statistics would seem to prove that the result of prohibition, at least in the state of Kansas, has been to reduce in marked degree the ratio of alcoholic insanity in comparison with other states and that evidence to the contrary has been wilfully distorted in many cases for commercial reasons and figures carelessly chosen in other cases.

In conclusion, the point that the writer wishes to develop is that while prohibition does not absolutely prohibit, especially in territory contiguous to localities where no such restraint of the liquor traffic is employed, yet it does markedly reduce the opportunity for continued daily and extensive indulgence. It is a well established fact in psychiatry that a short period of intemperance is hardly sufficient to develop the more serious forms of alcoholic insanity, but that protracted and continual use of fermented beverages is usually a prerequisite to true mental disability of this character. The opportunity for this form of use is limited at least in Kansas; in fact, it is hardly possible. Kansas has a law which requires that all open importations of intoxicating liquor shall be reported to the county clerk and these figures,

while not perhaps entirely correct, are approximately so. Other shipments will come in surreptitiously, but it cannot be large in amount or regular in arrival. An investigation covering the entire state from open or official shipments has shown a per capita consumption of only 3.69 gallons annually, as compared with a per capita consumption for the United States as a whole of 22 gallons Any policy which reduces the consumption of a narcotic poison to this extent certainly must have its advantages. Any means which reduces the percentage of alcoholic insanity out of total admissions to state hospitals from 10.1% as compared with the entire country to 1.7% can at least not be called detrimental to the welfare of its citizenry. Much has been said by residents of this state reflecting pride in the material greatness and prosperity of the commonwealth, a part, at least, of which is rightly attributed to the prohibitory statute; but also there should be some complacency exhibited when the smallness of the record is considered as regards cases of true alcoholic insanity requiring hospital commitment, such paucity of numbers being in the writer's opinion directly due to the existence and generally rigid enforcement of this law.

DISCUSSION: In the informal discussion the following-named delegates spoke: R. W. Stoud and Edith S. Reider, Chicago; Kate Davis, Cleveland; Mr. Hoffman, St. Paul.

UNEMPLOYMENT

PROGRAM

Preparedness, General session, p. 146.
Resources in Times of Stress, section meeting, p. 161.
The Out-of-Work, A New View, section meeting, p. 191.

Introductory Statement by the Chairman*

William H. Pear, General Agent, Boston Provident Association; Chairman of the Committee

One of the speakers at the opening session said that the keynote of this conference should be "Thoroughness;" but I am going to venture to suggest another. For a great many years now we have been emphasizing the importance of thoroughness, but we all know that important as it is, it is but a means to certain ends, and it is one of these ends that I wish to substitute.

These are the days when the watchword of the hour is "Preparedness," and it is with this word ringing in our ears that we shall, I trust, go forth from these meetings. It seems to me that there is one great need, one great opportunity confronting us at this moment. This conference of social workers should send out to every corner of the land the message that *Preparedness Does Not Begin with the Letter M*—is not confined to the military training of our people for defence—important as that is; that the deliberations, the undertakings with which we are concerned have to do with real social and industrial preparedness—a preparedness for living effectively in this great democracy, not merely for fighting for it. Of course it is plain that in so far as we strengthen the former we better assure the latter.

Do I hear anyone contend that if we but pass laws to increase the army and strengthen the navy, the things we are considering here this week—such things as feeble-mindedness, family strength, health, intemperance, socializing the public schools, unemployment—are of small concern in the matter even of fighting strength. Surely no accurate observer of what has gone on in Europe recently would make such contention. When looking for defenders in a crisis it is late to discover that neglect of these things has crippled the manhood of a nation. We contend, then, that true preparedness will involve consideration and adjustment

*General session, Friday, May 12, 8:15 P. M.

of these matters; and of none more clearly than the employment of our workers.

Does it mean little, when we are considering the physical and moral fitness of the men of our country that conduct of its business seems to depend upon a very large amount of surplus labor —which means partial employment, at least, to millions?

Is it of small account that seasonal flux throws out hosts of workers for a part of the year? Is it of little moment that such a situation is further complicated by the incoming of hosts of laborers from other lands?

The valuable contribution of Mr. John B. Andrews to last year's conference, gave, with considerable detail, an outline of the main features of an undertaking which may by degrees deliver us from the terrible evil of the workless citizen. It is of course obvious that the evil is not to be remedied by social workers, nor is it by any process to be substantially reduced in a short time. Its correction is a long-term affair, requiring the enthusiastic co-operation of governmental and business interests.

But in the meantime, periods of economic depression will come and we shall have the unemployed to deal with. So it is in a double sense that I now use the term *preparedness,* coming to the concrete thing with which this series of meetings on unemployment is concerned. In no respect are we likely to fail more signally than in dealing with great emergencies. We have registered these failures over and over again; but we are beginning to prepare for them.

The Red Cross work under Mr. Bicknell is organized to do this thing for calamity relief. The Association for Labor Legislation has recently given us a critical study of the way in which the unemployment crisis of 1915 was handled in different parts of the country. It is a record of meagre successes and signal failures. We now come together to consider definitely some of the questions raised by these experiences of last year.

I think I may hear somebody saying—coming, perhaps, from Bridgeport, Connecticut—"A queer time this to talk about unemployment, when we cannot get workers enough in our town, and could not house them if we could get them." What do you say to that, Mr. Caminetti? And what is the business man's view, Mr. Forrest? Give us your opinions.

When the next crisis comes, at any rate, we earnestly desire to avoid the errors of last year—to know what useful expedients to employ; to secure without waste of time the co-operation of those interests most concerned in the project of relief—governmental, industrial and charitable.

Several questions are, therefore, propounded for discussion in these meetings, and two definite and very interesting suggestions for preventive action will be presented by Professor Leiserson and Mr. Shillady in our later sessions. The first two questions are before you in this meeting tonight:

First: What conditions are we likely to face after the terrible European conflict is ended? What about the tide of immigration, and the further complications that may follow in the industrial world? Commissioner-General Anthony Caminetti will answer the first part and Mr. J. Dorsey Forrest, of Indianapolis, the second part of this question.

The second question is:

Just what place may the different interests—governmental, business, charitable—be expected to take in a thorough-going effort on the part of any community to relieve the situation? Professor Graham Taylor will speak of this great co-operative undertaking.

THE EUROPEAN WAR, IMMIGRATION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT*

Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner-General of Immigration, Washington, D. C.

The European war is part of the subject assigned to me; immigration is another; unemployment, another. About the European war, it is hard at this time, with the best authorities considering the subject, to determine what the effect of its closing will be upon employment and upon industrial matters in this country. It is certain that the number of people coming from foreign lands will be greatly increased right after the close of the war. Already immigration is increasing. In January last, 17,000 immigrants came; last month the figure had increased to 33,000. From all the evidence I can gather I believe that the million mark will not be reached during the war, but it is safe to say that the numbers coming for the year following peace will approximate the million mark, lacking, possibly a couple of hundred thousand.

Immigration is a great question, and the care with which the coming in of people from the outside is taken up will determine for weal or woe the future of this republic. Not only is it necessary to consider it in the light of justice to the native population of this country, but in the light of justice to the people from foreign lands already here. In considering it, it may be well to think of the fact as reported by a commission appointed

*From stenographic notes not revised by the author.

by the government that between one-fourth and one-third of our wage-earners have been working for the last ten or fifteen years for a wage not in excess of ten dollars per week, and the fact, given with authority, that it costs a small family of a father, mother and one or two children at least fifteen dollars per week to keep life together. In the face of these facts should we permit immigration to come in the large numbers that prevailed up to the opening of the war? Is it justice, even to the people from foreign lands who are among us, to permit more to come so long as from one-fourth to one-third of our wage-earners are working for ten dollars per week?

It is pleasant, amid so much talk of war and preparedness for war, and so much destruction by war, to see you gather here under the auspices of organizations working for the greatest cause mankind can dedicate itself to, the cause of charity, and under its benign influence to lay the foundation of preparedness for peace. Your chairman has well put it, that American citizenship should at this time devote itself to the preparation of our people and of our industries for peace, and the works of peace, as much as for preparedness for war. To the question he put to me I will reply that it *is* an opportune time for the people of this country to consider preparation,—preparation of the various industries, preparation of the people, education of the young, so that they may become efficient workers of the future.

The problem of unemployment can be solved only by starting in with our school children in an endeavor to make them efficient units in the citizenship of the land, efficient units in the various industries, more efficient workers than in the past, and in that way prepare them for the practical duties of life. I was glad to read in the papers today that last night at one of your meetings a distinguished lady and a distinguished gentleman spoke upon that very point. It is the duty of the people of this land to call upon the federal government to take up the question of education in a practical sense, to endeavor to build up our citizenship in a practical way, so as to make everyone capable of performing the practical duties of life.

I have thought it was a great injustice that this great government, which expects so much of its people in time of war as well as in time of peace, should allow the local community to stand the burden of educating the future citizen. The burden of supporting the schools at present falls upon the community, and yet you do not make the schoolboy a citizen of that community, but a citizen of the United States. Hence I say there is justice in the demand that through the federal government we extend aid to all

the states for education. In that way we will find the best kind of preparation for the works of peace, the best kind of preparation for periods of unemployment. President Wilson, early in his administration, gave voice to his determination that we should humanize the law. Secretary Wilson of the Department of Labor has humanized the administration of the law in that department, so that preparation has been going on there for the works of peace, preparation of the wage-earner for the practical duties of life as well as for time of stress.

The Department of Labor has, during the last year, organized a labor system throughout the country which is improving as the months roll by. The great endeavor is to do as you in this great organization have done, to prove by co-operation the great good that can result to humanity, and it is hoped that the department by co-operation may hasten the day when we can approach a solution of the problem of unemployment. The government of the United States, no matter what it may do in itself cannot solve the problem. The states by themselves cannot. The cities by themselves cannot; but all together, in co-operation, can and will. They can and will solve it without a doubt if organizations such as are represented here will put their shoulders to the wheel,—and I know they will. The Department of Labor has already secured a large number of states in this co-operative system. Today I had the pleasure of visiting offices in this state for the purpose of laying the foundations of co-operation here on unemployment matters. The idea is to join hands with each state and each city that maintains a department of employment, in the effort to obtain employment for every man and every woman that needs and wants it, to obtain help for every employer who may desire to furnish labor.

After we get that combination of the federal and state and city governments, then it is our purpose to ask the aid of every private organization in this land, organized for the purpose of uplifting mankind, to join in this great movement. I am glad that your organization has made this subject one of its principal topics of discussion. The great organizations of women have taken up the question also, and have by resolution approved the work of the Department of Labor, and have offered their help in every nook and corner of this republic. Two weeks from now two million women, through their general federation of clubs, will take up the question. We also hope to engage the business people in this matter, and to ask their co-operation, because they can assist in maintaining normal conditions as to business by helping to maintain normal conditions as to labor. A great deal can be done

by manufacturers and business men to help in the regularization of industry to greatly assist the government. I have said enough to indicate to you that the department at Washington is busy, and is ready to assist the people of this country in any effort they undertake, whether by public authorities in the state or municipality or by private organizations such as are represented here. Whenever the services of the department are needed I invite you all to tell the organizations from whence you come that any question they submit will be cheerfully attended to, and very promptly.

THE BUSINESS MEN'S VIEW OF INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

J. Dorsey Forrest, Indianapolis, Indiana

It was with a great deal of reluctance that I accepted this invitation. I am asked to speak on the probable bearing of the close of the great European conflict on employment matters in this country. It is a subject so large and with so many ramifications that it requires far more careful analysis than it is possible to give to it in the short time allotted to me. I want to say that the outcome of the war on the industrial affairs of this country, it seems to me, will not be as serious either for good or for evil as many persons anticipate. I think there will be a dropping off, if we may term it so, in the abundant prosperity which we have at the present time, but that it will not throw us into so dire a situation as some among us prophesy. The reasons I may give briefly. The cause of employment are manifold, but the important causes are perhaps, first, the supply of labor and its efficiency and ability; next, the supply of capital without which labor could not work efficiently; but, ultimately and back of all these, there must be the demand for the products of labor. I want to speak on what appear to me to be the probable results of the close of the war on these three factors.

In the first place, with reference to the supply of labor, that means not simply the incoming of new laborers, but has to do with the demand for the labor already here. Referring to the former of these two phases, I cannot fully agree with the preceding speaker in his belief that there will be a tremendous influx of immigration when the war closes. Certainly there will be an increase over the immigration which we are receiving at present. There can be little doubt of that; but that we shall get back to the great record of immigration which we have had for a few

years preceding the war I do not believe. At any rate it will not occur soon. I will give you some of my reasons. They are only my own, and should be taken only as the ideas of one man. I believe that after the war closes there will be an effort on the part of the more important governments to retain at least their skilled laborers because they will need them. So far as the more highly organized industrial communities are concerned, I believe there will not be great tendencies to emigrate. In northern France, and in Belgium, I believe the people who have been dispossessed will find abundant scope for their work after the war. The same will be true in those parts of Europe which have not been so directy affected by the war, although in Poland and the Balkan states probably it will not be true in so large a degree. It is not so easy to find occupations for men whose work prior to the war was not so highly developed. The desire of the governments for rehabilitation of the countries will be so great that efforts will be made to keep the people at home,—efforts which will consist in part of tariff arrangements and in part of still more arbitrary means to prevent emigration.

Another reason for believing that the tendency to emigrate will not be so great is that the burden of taxation which is bound to fall on all countries now at war is bound to fall especially on the owners of the larger estates. I think the necessity for meeting interest charges and those other expenses of the government which must be incurred for the rehabilitation of the countries will make it necessary to impose high taxation. The imposition which must fall upon the wealth which is most easily gotten hold of will, I believe, tend to divide the great land holdings and to promote peasant proprietorship. The system initiated by Lloyd George will be expanded rather than contracted in Great Britain, and the tendency will be to break up the landed estates and increase small farms. The necessity for taxation in Germany will have the same tendency and correspondingly there will be increased movement toward peasant proprietorship. The importance of great public works, and all the necessities of government which must be carried on in these countries will have the tendency to employ labor. I do not refer to the wastage due to the war, which of course will be considerable, but I believe these influences I have mentioned will be more powerful.

As you know, there has been in some parts of Europe a considerable monetary inflation, with a tendency toward great increases in wages. While this is paper money and there is a corresponding increase in prices, the tendency nevertheless is toward

advance of wages when men are employed at all, and this tendency will not be set back immediately after the close of the war. These are reasons for holding men on the other side.

However, in spite of these barriers which I have only mentioned and not described to any extent, there will be a movement on this side, likewise tending to turn back the tide of immigration which may be headed this way. I do not believe that the close of the war will mean a collapse of American industries, although I am aware that many of those who have been directing their energies to the supply of the warring nations will find themselves without the employment they have now. Many of those industries are not fundamentally adapted to warlike purposes and many of them will be able to contribute to a large extent to the rehabilitation of the European nations. The wage standard, however, in this country likewise has been going up, not on account of paper money, but due to the increasing demand for labor and to the accumulation of gold, and due, also, to the great productivity of labor and the demand for its products. There has never been a time when emergencies of this sort have raised the general standard of wages that labor has slipped back after the emergency has passed to a condition as low as it was before the event. You can go back in history to the periods after great wars, and you will find that whatever it was that pushed labor forward and tended to increase wages was a permanent influence, although perhaps not operating with the same force continuously. Therefore I do not look for a fall in wages equal to the rise which it has enjoyed in the past six months. It does not mean that there will not be retrenchment. Unquestionably many trades in which high wages are paid at present—and many industries are employing people at very high wages and employing all the men they can obtain—will not be so prosperous after the war is over. I believe this economic condition will repeat itself to a considerable extent in the future. This to some extent will counteract the prosperous tendencies, and we will find that other influences tending to bring to us a horde of immigrants will at the same time be counterbalanced by the nature of our industries.

The very high prices prevailing here are likely to remain higher than those abroad for some time. This would naturally make this a good country in which to sell and a poor country in which to buy. Therefore I look for a downward tendency in our prices, because the exports will not keep at their present point or anywhere near that point, while the imports will tend to increase. Here again the governments will step forward to

help or hinder. The foreign governments will endeavor to foster the export of those commodities which figured in international trade before the war. On the other hand, I believe our own government, whether by protective tariffs or by anti-dumping legislation, will endeavor to counteract the dumping of commodities on this country to the detriment of our own products whether old or new. The economic tendency in the midst of all this complexity will be toward the falling of prices here and their rising to some extent on the other side.

In connection with the competition from abroad we must remember that the cost of labor and consequently the cost of production abroad will be much higher than before the war, not only on account of this tendency toward peasant ownership of land and the increase of small farms, but also because of the inflation of money there and the rising tendency in wages. That will show up the movement this way, just as other influences I have mentioned will do. This does not mean that we shall not experience considerable reaction. Many industries in this country have certainly enjoyed prosperity beyond everything known before by them. I do not refer to those manufacturing munitions of war. They are exceptional and represent only a small volume of all those industries which contribute directly or indirectly to the supply of those commodities in great demand by the belligerents. All have been prospering because of the abnormal conditions existing today, and the cessation of the war will of course cut off either the demand for their commodities or bring about competition which will bring down prices. Many of the industries prospering under these conditions have been conducting their affairs wisely. Many which were formerly weak have been strengthening themselves by improving their plants, introducing modern methods, accumulating resources against the day of trouble, and all this will count as an influence counteracting the unemployment of men.

We have accumulated also in this country a vast amount of new capital that has come from the other side of the water. The larger the amount of capital which we have, if it is not tied up for the manufacture of things not permanently needed, the greater will be the demand for labor, and this will enable us, not perhaps to continue the same industries which have been prospering recently, but to develop natural resources further and to reach out after new industries. This accumulation of capital which has been going on, and this strength of the manufacturing concerns which have been prospering under exceptional conditions, will leave our industries in a condition to keep up the

prophesy. What I have said is simply the result of casual reflections and not the result of a close scientific study, but out of these casual reflections I have been able to take a somewhat hopeful view of the future. Whether it is to be as good as I hope it will be or not, the problem of aiding unemployment and of organizing means whereby men without work can be supported or given some kind of work will probably remain. That is the problem of the sociologists and not of those who are simply diagnosing the case.

THE FIELD OF CO-OPERATIVE UNDERTAKING: THE PART TO BE TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND CHARITY

Graham Taylor, Chairman Local Advisory Board of Illinois Free Employment Offices, Chicago

Ernest Poole, in that remarkable book, *The Harbor*, devotes the last few pages to an attempt to forecast the future, as to what is going to happen beyond the mists and shadows of the war. He closes with this impressive sentence: "The year 1914, after which no man knows what to expect." And no one does know what to expect to follow this greatest catastrophe that has overtaken civilization. But we can turn around and take a retrospect.

We need not look very far to be reminded that unemployment throughout the history of this country has been a chronic evil. About every so often there has been an industrial depression in which industrious men have failed to find a market for their labor. Then that most pitiful of all sights has been thrown upon our vision, and has shadowed our hearts and consciences,—men willing and able to work but absolutely unable to find employment! The strange thing about it is that although we know those depressions have taken place time after time, we seem to think that they never will take place again. We go right on as though we never had been up against that kind of a situation. We make no preparation whatever. Jane Addams has said that the problem of immigration is the one great national problem to which we have applied neither our brains nor our consciences. It is equally true of unemployment. We have never thought it through. We have felt about it, but we have not put our brains nor our consciences into forecasting the future or preparing for emergencies, as we have in our domestic affairs, our business

affairs, and our public affairs. Professor Henderson, of honored memory in this Conference, in that paper the proof of which he corrected as he lay on his deathbed, likened these periods of industrial depression to the great plagues of the middle ages. He reminded us, however, that we have a scientific point of view and method which make us guilty in not forecasting the contingency and preparing for it in advance. The last labors of his life were given to putting Illinois in a position of preparedness to grapple with the next period of unemployment in the state of Abraham Lincoln.

We were to have had the Commissioner of Charities of New York City to close this discussion. We have heard from a representative of the national government. We are here in a great charity conference. We have here a large number of teachers and others who have educational interests at heart. The points of view thus taken lead me to speak of these four things: The educational remedy, the charity remedy, the business remedy, and the government remedy, not any one of which is capable of offering any adequate solution of this complicated problem, but all of which, working together, may possibly produce some effect.

Above all things there is needed, in the breakdown of the apprenticeship system, a reconstruction of our educational system, and at the bottom of it there must come what has been the last thing to be thought of, a bureau of vocational guidance. I think there is scarcely anything more pathetic than the loneliness in which a little child is left, as he or she approaches the working age, to decide what he or she is going to be, and do in the working world. In many a poor family, if the child's fourteenth birthday arrives in the middle of school week, out he goes, wandering, hunting for a job, often afraid to come home unless he has found one. How would you like to have your girl of fourteen, or your boy, going alone into any building in a great city where there happened to be a sign in the window, "Boy Wanted," or "Girl Wanted?" How would you like your child to risk the rebuffs, and perhaps the insults of unprincipled men? It is a perfectly inane way to start a child off on his life's work. Few of us fully realize what a thoroughly demoralizing experience about seven children out of ten have in the first few months or years of their industrial life, trying to fit in where they cannot succeed, undertaking work for which they have no taste or training, with periods of idleness in between, until within two years after leaving school they do not care if they work or not. It is so cruel not only to

allow that thing, but then to hold the child responsible for its consequences.

The Board of Education of the City of Chicago has appropriated $10,000 for a vocational bureau. It is only a pittance but it will introduce the guidance needed, not only by the child arriving at fourteen, but by those in all the sixth, seventh and eighth grades where differentiation in the selection of trades may begin and where vocational training may supplement the regular school curriculum. We who are haggling as to whether our vocational training shall reach the whole public school system, or whether we shall have a separate public system, should remember that we are going to face the strongest industrial and commercial competition that the American people ever have had when these nations stop slaughtering each other and begin their peaceful warfare for the markets of the world. We are going to see then whether the schools of America are training a working force. An unpleasant contrast awaits us when we find ourselves competing with trained forces of the wonderful vocational and continuation schools of Germany and Great Britain.

The charitable and correctional agencies that are represented here are helping sift out from the childhood of the poor the incompetents and unemployables. That is the problem of charity. One of the worst complications of our situation has been that we have mixed those two classes up together,—the unemployable and the employable. This is done to the great disadvantage of the employables and puts the unemployables into unfair competition. The feeble-minded and epileptic are among the unemployables who should be put on state farms, and in relations where they are not thrown into unfair competition. That would relieve somewhat the pressure of surplus labor. Let me plead also for the prisoners who, while we forbid contract labor in the prisons, are left idle. We ought not to tolerate that, for we are thereby discharging them from prison less capable than if they had not been under the care of the state.

There are two business aspects of unemployment that those of us close to these situations have been forced to recognize. One is that the business men can stop the outrageous abuses that are going on in their own plants. They do not know of them sometimes, but we social workers do. Some foremen get a rakeoff from all employes they admit to the plant. They will admit and discharge as many as they can, so that the new applicant will pay the rakeoff again. That goes on in businesses owned and managed by men who ought to be ashamed of themselves for allowing it. It is not an unusual, but a common practice.

it takes place on railroads, in great industrial plants, in hotels, on steamships, and it is not difficult to discover. Men have come to me to learn of some other way to get work except by patronizing a certain saloon. I have known employment in a whole trade to be offered only to the patrons of saloons operating as unlicensed employment agencies.

There is a still more difficult thing that employers may be asked to do, namely, to aid in the regularization of industry. There are seasonal occupations. Some work can be done only at certain seasons. Employers are not responsible always for needlessly rushing season work. Patrons of fashion are often to blame for it. But those seasons can be lengthened. We are forcing men to be tramps when we shorten their season's work. We do not let them have steady employment. Every now and then people in the city say, "If the poor people would only go on the farms." After the World's Fair in Chicago two thousand men were begging us daily, not for charity, but for a chance to earn their daily bread, but diligent search secured jobs in the country for less than two hundred of them. I know of six hundred of them who, when they were visited, had been eight and a half months without visible means of support. What would you do if you had no income for eight and a half months? And yet they showed wonderful patience. They had given eight years of their lives to the building of Chicago, and yet they were left to bear the whole brunt of our defective civilization. Managing employers have told me their industries could be regularized, that the demand for product was steady enough and they had storage space sufficient to work right straight through the year without laying their people off, and yet they could not get the idea of regularization into the heads of their boards of directors. I know the burdens the business men are up against. I have had men say to me, "God knows I want to do right by my men, but I am not able to compete with the meanest man in the trade." By organization, employers would get rid of some of such absolutely unreasonable competition.

But do what employers will, if there is no demand for the product, how long can they continue to offer wages and employment? What are employers going to do when private employment ceases? I have lived in a great industrial district for twenty-two years, and two-thirds of that time it has been almost impossible for a man to get a job if not in the prime of life or at the top of his efficiency. State employment offices can help much but they must be on a non-political basis to win the confidence and patronage both of employers and those seeking

employment. Since the Illinois Free Employment offices in Chicago have been put on a business basis they have got thousands of jobs, most of them permanent.

But we must do something more than establish employment offices. We have got to take up the slack of private employment, and nothing can do that except the government. Charitable societies are not capable of it nor are other private organizations. Nothing but the whole population can grapple with that problem, and it is up to the whole population to do it. There is no other way except for the government to take up the slack of private industry. How can it be done? We did not know before the war, but the warring countries with wonderful alacrity found out how to do it at the outbreak of the war. In the British Parliament, after the first great appropriation for military operations had been passed the government asked twenty million dollars more to keep the building trades busy. There was no opposition. For the first time housing and unemployment were recognized by common consent to be national problems in Great Britain. When they got up against the war exigency they just did it. It was a case of military necessity. Does it not seem reasonable that the relief of unemployment should be a civic necessity? Germany too began to reclaim waste lands and to build new schoolhouses and docks. All kinds of public improvements went on right in the face of those war budgets. They had to do it to keep the men on the firing line content. God forbid that we should come to the time when for the same reason we will have to do it. We would better want to do it before we have to do it.

Now is the time to prepare to prevent unemployment, now while we are in prosperity, before we suffer inevitable reactions. It can only be done by increased taxation for public improvements, just as in Europe. Or funds may accrue from the community's share in the revenue from public utilities, as they have in Chicago from the 55 per cent of the street railway's net income. With public resources thus held in reserve the slack can be taken up. Of course. it cannot be done without increased burden, but we have to bear the burden anyway. Should we not do it as an act of public justice, rather than leave it to charity? I have seen men by the hundreds rotting in idleness all winter in the Cook County Infirmary. I have seen the City Hall corridors crowded with unemployed men sleeping on the damp stone floors. These sights haunt a man. He cannot stay a man and have them go on. From such assemblies as this, made up of people who have known the terrible results of such periods of unemployment,

we should go back not merely to make remedial effort, but pledged to a preparedness that shall have something held in reserve when the stress and strain are on again. You need not think one season tallies up the account. Going around among my neighbors I get the aftermath of those terrible years we have just gone through. There are devitalization and demoralization that come from idleness and discouragement and privation, from which a family never recovers.

Those are the things that unmake a nation. Widespread unemployment is a tremendous human crisis. Religion should be at the bottom of it. It is due not merely to an economic crisis, not merely to a business depression, but to the failure of statesmanship, to ineffective national administration. It is the responsibility of the local government, of the state government, and of the federal government. The co-operation between federal, state and municipal employment agencies, working also through the post offices and many other public agencies, is the first recognition of unemployment as a national problem. It may lead to a national solution of this nightmare problem of civilization.

A FEDERAL LABOR RESERVE BOARD*

Outlines of a Plan for Administering the Remedies for Unemployment

William M. Leiserson, Professor of Political and Social Science, Toledo University

In dealing with unemployment the point has been reached where we must have administrative machinery to put practical remedies into effect. The theoretical analysis of the problem is complete. There is nothing new to be said on causes and effects. The facts are well known, the nature of the evils to which they give rise are comprehended, the remedies for those evils have been logically deduced and their soundness has been established. There remains only the work of devising the administrative organization that will actually put those remedies into practice. As a means of accomplishing this purpose, I want to outline the structure and organization of a National Labor Reserve Board, and

*Section meeting, Tuesday, May 16, 9:15 A. M.

to describe the manner in which it will apply the principles which a century of investigation and analysis of the facts of unemployment has proved to be necessary and desirable.

Why a Reserve Board?

The first question you might well ask is, "why should this administrative organization take the form of a federal reserve board? Is the labor market so analogous to the money market? Can the labor supply be contracted, expanded and shifted around in the country to meet varying needs, as money and credits can be?

The answer is that the problems of the labor market are similar to the problems of the money market. Both are problems of irregularity of employment, the one of capital, the other of labor. But I do not want to draw the analogy too far. The main reason for advocating a labor reserve board is that the Federal Reserve Board already in existence is an administrative machine created for the purpose of dealing with fluctuations, with varying, irregular demands for capital. The problem of unemployment is also a problem of fluctuations, of irregular demands. Labor may be essentially different from capital, but it is bought and sold in a market, and while a labor reserve board may have to act quite differently from the money reserve board, the administrative organization for dealing with irregular and fluctuating demands in the labor market will have to be similar to the organizations that deal with fluctuations in any other market.

To appreciate the comparison you must understand that unemployment is not a problem of a superfluous army of workers beyond the country's needs. We cannot go into the details here, but every careful student of the subject from Karl Marx to Beveridge has pointed out that the unemployed are a necessary labor reserve, irregularly employed and not permanently unemployed. The progress of industry, improvements in machinery and methods, seasonal and industrial cycles make this reserve necessary. There could be no industry, as we know it, and no industrial progress without such a reserve, any more than there could be safety from fire if there were no firemen waiting for the call whenever it should come. And if we banished half of our wage-earners today the other half would soon arrange itself in such a way that at any given time some would be working and others would be waiting,—unemployed. These reserves, however, are temporarily, not permanently out of work. At any given time the unemployed are but a sample of the reserves. The

unemployed man is an industrial factor, not a parasite upon industry, as Beveridge puts it.

We must get out of our mind the picture of the unemployed that McCutcheon gives us. He shows a long line of hungry hoboes waiting for meals and lodging and he labels them "Our Permanent Standing Army—the Army of the Unemployed." Instead of that we must substitute the cartoon recently published in Mr. Willits' report on "The Unemployed in Philadelphia." Here we see a large, revolving platform with working men being thrown off by the motion of it, jumping on and being dropped again. The legend reads: "The Industrial Roulette Wheel, Off Again—On Again—Fired Again." Here you have a really accurate picture of the problem of unemployment.

The object of the federal reserve system is to bring about stability and, so far as possible, equalization of interest rates in the various sections of the country. "Can you see in your mind's eye," asks Mr. Paul Warburg, a member of the Reserve Board, "the curve representing the fluctuation of our past interest rates? You will find it a wild, zigzag line rapidly moving up and down between more than 100 per cent and 1 per cent. Teach the country to watch that curve in the future, the straighter the line, the smaller its fluctuations, the greater will be the beneficient effects of our system." What is it, then, that the Federal Reserve Board is doing? It is trying to regularize the employment of capital, to remove fluctuations and to make it more steady.

Look at any chart showing the curve of employment, and you will find a similar zigzag line, moving up and down between more than 40 per cent unemployed and a minimum of about 3 per cent. These fluctuations, if you look more closely you will see, move in small cycles determined by seasons in the trades and larger cycles caused by trade conditions in the country as a whole. The recurrence of busy and slack seasons and the industrial cycle of prosperity and depression which show themselves in the employment curve, you will find paralleled in charts published by the Monetary Commission showing seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in interest rates. And just as interest rates varied in different sections of the country because there was no centralized organization to mobilize money and credits and to distribute them where needed, so you find some industries and sections of the country over-crowded and others under-supplied because of lack of a centralized organization. The "fired again—hired again" caused by the rise and fall of competing employers and the alternation of busy and slack periods, might cause little

hardship if we had a Labor Reserve Board devoting its attention to seeing that men are hired again as soon as possible after they are fired.

The Money Market and the Labor Market

Let us now look at the conditions which the United States Monetary Commission found in the money market, and see if the reasons they gave for the creation of a money reserve board will not also hold for a labor reserve board.

They reported as follows:	*Could not this be paraphrased to read:*
1. "We have no provision for the concentration of the cash reserves of the banks and for their mobilization and use wherever needed in times of trouble. Experience has shown that the scattered cash reserves of our banks are inadequate for purposes of assistance or defense at such times."	1. We have no provision for the concentration of the labor reserves of the various industries, and for their mobilization and use wherever needed. Experience has shown that the scattered labor reserves maintained by each employer and each industry make for duplication and unnecessarily large reserves.
2. "We lack means to insure such effective co-operation on the part of banks as is necessary to protect their own and the public interests in times of stress or crisis. There is no co-operation of any kind among banks outside the clearing house cities. While clearing house organizations of banks have been able to render valuable services within a limited sphere . . . . the lack of means to secure their co-operation or affiliation in broader fields makes it impossible to use these . . . . to prevent panics or to avert calamitous disturbances affecting the country at large."	2. We lack means to insure such effective co-operation of employers and employment agencies to protect the interests of the unemployed as well as of the public. There is no co-operation of any kind among employers or employment agencies except where the former maintain a blacklisting bureau and the latter get large enough fees to divide between several labor agents. While state labor departments have been able to render valuable services within a limited sphere where they have had a central office for several public employment bureaus, the lack of means to secure their co-operation on a national scale and the limited nature of their activities, make it impossible to use these to mitigate the effects of great industrial depressions.
3. "We have no power to enforce the adoption of uniform standards with regard to capital, reserves, examinations, and the character and publicity of reports of all banks in different sections of the country."	3. We have no power to enforce the adoption of uniform standards with regard to records, methods of management, publicity and reports of all employment agencies public and private in different sections of the country.
4. "The narrow character of our discount market, ... results in sending the surplus money of all sections, . . . to New York, where it is usually loaned out on call on Stock Exchange securities, tending to promote dangerous speculation	4. The narrow character of our market for labor (depending on the connections which the individual worker can himself establish) results in sending the labor reserves of all sections to New York, Chicago and other very large indus-

and inevitably leading to injurious disturbances to reserves."	trial centers, where it is usually possible to pick up an odd job when regular employment fails. This tends to promote parasitic industries based on cheap labor and inevitably leads to under-employment and exploitation of the surplus labor reserves.
5. "We have no effective agency covering the entire country which affords necessary facilities for making domestic exchanges between different localities and sections, or which can prevent disastrous disruption of all such exchanges in times of serious trouble."	5. We have no effective agency covering the entire country which affords necessary facilities for shifting labor reserves to different localities and sections, or which can mobilize the public work of the country to prevent disastrous industrial crises.
6. "We have no instrumentality that can deal effectively with the broad questions which, from an international standpoint, affect the credit and status of the United States as one of the great financial powers of the world."	6. We have no instrumentality that can deal effectively with the industrial cycles of prosperity and depression, international in their scope, the markets and labor demands of the United States as one of the great industrial nations of the world.
7. "Our system lacks an agency whose influence can be made effective in securing greater uniformity, steadiness and reasonableness of rates of discount in all parts of the country."	7. Our system lacks an agency whose influence can be made effective in securing greater uniformity and steadiness of employment, and reasonable rates of pay for labor in all parts of the country.

There you have the parallel so far as it can be carried. Analysis of the labor market shows that labor reserves are made unnecessarily large and unemployment increased by each employer keeping a full reserve for himself. If provision were made for mobilizing the reserves at central labor exchanges the same workers might be used by different employers and the total reserves could be reduced, just as the banks connected with the federal reserve system now keep only a 15 per cent cash reserve instead of 25 per cent before the reserve board was established. Private labor agencies are uncontrolled when they operate across state lines. They scatter the labor reserves and exploit the unemployed, while the operations of public employment agencies are restricted to small areas and their influence is very limited. Industrial depressions are accentuated by governments cutting off funds for public work in hard times, when an effective national agency might save from prosperous times part of the public work and mobilize all of it in hard times, to be used to create demand for labor and thus offset the industrial depression.

What Shall the Labor Reserve Board Do?

We need no more investigating commissions to tell us that the first step in any program of dealing with unemployment must be to organize a national system of labor exchanges. The comparison of the labor market with the money market shows this to be the greatest need, and just as the first work of the Federal Reserve Board was to unite all the banks of the country into one system, so the first duty of the Labor Reserve Board must be to organize all the employment offices of the country into one system of labor exchanges.

I might go on to point out the need for such an organization—how most working people get their information regarding opportunities for employment in irregular and haphazard ways and only after much loss of time and effort; how tramping blindly in search of work, dropping into a saloon, inquiring at the lodging house, standing around a public square, answering "want ads" and following general rumors, are the most common methods of locating a job; and how this lack of organization unnecessarily increases unemployment. But all that is well known. The important question now is: How to organize that national labor exchange system? What sort of a system shall we have and how shall we administer it?

There has been much loose talk about the federal government establishing employment offices, like post offices, throughout the country, or making the post offices do the work of employment bureaus. Any one with the least knowledge of the employment business must know that that sort of talk is futile. Yet again and again officials and legislators have talked it and the newspapers have spread it far and wide. It is easy to show that the post offices cannot do the work because the labor exchange business requires a highly developed organization and skill and training on the part of officials which would make the ordinary post office and its clerks incapable of handling it. But it is not so easy to make people see that the national government ought not to establish employment agencies throughout the country.

No federal labor exchange system can be successful that ignores the existence of the state and municipal employment offices. There are now about 100 of them in more than half the states, and some of them have reached a high degree of efficiency and influence in their communities. For the federal government to attempt to duplicate their work or to compete with them would be absurd. The Federal Reserve Board did not establish a lot of new local banks. It welded the existing banking institutions into

one national organization, while yet allowing them much freedom to develop in their own ways. It is just that sort of a labor exchange system that must be constructed out of the existing employment offices.

The recognition of this has led many people to advocate "clearing houses" for employment agencies to be established by the United States government without giving us a definite idea of how such clearing houses would operate. There is no doubt that a labor exchange system will need district offices, divisional offices as they call them in England, similar to the twelve federal reserve banks for the banking system. But these cannot be created, cannot have any real work to do until the local offices have been put under national control and their records and business methods standardized, their management made uniform. At the present time they vary so in their organization and methods that there can be neither comparison nor co-operation among them.

To lay the foundations, therefore, and to create the administrative machinery for a labor exchange system, the Federal Labor Reserve Board must establish a central bureau in Washington and build up a force of employees trained in methods of managing employment offices, in devising and keeping records, in collecting and studying labor market statistics and in ability to organize employment offices. Then these men must devise a plan of organization and a uniform system of records and management which they can go out and install in the various state and local employment bureaus. To be sure there will be opposition, but if the men know their business the states and the cities will be glad to receive their help.

As an inducement and as a step in the direction of uniting the local bureaus into the national system, the Labor Reserve Board could give each local bureau a number as a branch of the United States labor exchange, and offer to each bureau which affiliated as a branch and adopted standard rules and records the franking privilege for its postage. We are now giving federal aid to agricultural colleges. Plans are afoot for grants in aid of vocational education, road building and other matters of national concern. Some day a Labor Reserve Board might recommend federal aid to the states to bring their employment bureaus up to the national standard of efficiency and to induce them to deal with unemployment in conformity with the national plan.

Instead of establishing clearing houses with uncertain duties, the Federal Labor Reserve Board, if it is careful, will create dis-

trict offices in different parts of the country for the purpose of licensing and regulating private labor agencies doing an interstate business. The purpose of this regulation should be to drive the dishonest and harmful agents out of business and to bring the rest under the control of the national labor exchange system until such time as the people decide to keep private individuals out of the employment business entirely. This is an immediate need. There must be close to 5,000 private labor agencies of various kinds. We can have no organization of the labor market until the crooks are sifted out and the work of the rest standardized and controlled like the public bureaus. In this work of regulation the government officials would get the knowledge and experience necessary to conduct large scale public labor exchanges, and when both the public and the private offices have been standardized and brought under national control, it would then be plain whether the district offices could function as clearing houses and just how they should do it.

The essential duty of a system of labor exchange is, of course, to distribute reliable information regarding labor supply and demand, and to connect the two as quickly as possible. As a means of accomplishing this you have heard much about "labor market bulletins," and no doubt the Federal Labor Reserve Board will have some publication of this kind. But a labor market bulletin must be quite a different thing from what is commonly spoken of. If it contains statements of labor supply and demand and is distributed broadcast, it may become a most dangerous and harmful device. In the first place, we must be certain that the demand for labor is genuine. Many employers will tell you they have work for all who apply, but when you press them to place an order for help they can't use anyone just now. But granting that the statements of demand are absolutely true, it is none the less dangerous to distribute them widely through the press or post offices. Forty thousand men may really be needed in Kansas, but over 100,000 may respond to the call, unless the travelling in answer to the call is controlled by the labor exchanges. This has actually happened, and it is for this reason that the American Association of Public Employment Offices has gone on record against the widespread distribution of labor market bulletins.

Instead of such a scheme of widespread distribution, the Federal Labor Reserve Board will issue a bulletin intended primarily for employment bureau officials, just as the Federal Reserve Board Bulletin is intended primarily for bankers. From this abstracts will be made for newspapers, but never in such a way as to lead

workers to travel to a distant place for work without making certain of an opening there by applying to the local branch of the labor exchange.

Other Work of the Labor Reserve Board

I have gone into these details of the administration of labor exchanges, because we have had enough experience now to know what the machinery ought to be. In the bills for establishing national employment offices introduced in Congress during the last two years, these matters have been overlooked. Such neglect means more blundering and more inefficiency and many years' delay before we get anything like a successful system of labor exchanges.

There are other important administrative questions which need consideration, particularly those relating to selection of the force, and attitude toward labor and capital. But these can better be discussed under the head of the organization of the Labor Reserve Board. Before we pass to that, however, we must outline some functions of such a reserve board, other than that of creating and conducting a national system of labor exchanges. I shall not go into detail in these, partly because other speakers will discuss these questions today, and partly because we have not enough information as yet on which to base administrative policies. It will be up to the Federal Labor Reserve Board, when created, to make these studies and to create the proper administrative organization for handling these other phases of unemployment.

First among them is the policy of using public work to regularize the labor market. Here again the money reserve board can offer an example to a labor reserve board.

> "The aim of the federal reserve system," to quote Mr. Warburg again, "must . . . . be to keep this gigantic structure of loans and investments. . . . . both from over contracting, and, as well, from over expanding, so that, as the natural and inevitable result, it may not be forced to contract. . . . . Effectively to deal with the fluctuations of so gigantic a total is a vast undertaking. If the task is to be accomplished successfully, it cannot be by operations which are continuous and of equal force at all times, but only by carrying out a very definite policy which will not only employ funds with vigor at certain times, but, with equal determination, will refuse to employ funds at others. . . . . To bring about stability of interest rates, ... judicious withholding, and in turn judicious employment by the Federal Reserve Banks, of their lending power . . . . are necessary." (1).

By such a policy of withholding and offering, the Federal

(1) *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, March, 1916, page 103.

Reserve Board, with a lending power of only $600,000,000, is able to steady and stabilize the operations of banks and trust companies with loans and investments amounting to $13,000,000,000.[2]

How much our governments might do to keep the labor market from over contracting and over expanding by withholding public work in times of active labor demand and prosecuting such work vigorously in times of depression, we can only guess until we have a Federal Labor Reserve Board to devise the plan of mobilization of the work of national, state and local governments, and of judiciously withholding the prosecution of such work. But this is one of the main duties for the Labor Reserve Board to perform.

Next to that must come the collection of information regarding the opportunities for self-employment in the United States, particularly on the land. The Labor Reserve Board must study and devise methods and machinery for helping workers to acquire land on easy payments, and for securing small homesteads in suburban districts for city workers. When the factory slows down, let the wage-earner have a garden to work. It can be made to supplement his income considerably, as the experience of Belgium has shown, and may be one of the most effective remedies for unemployment.

Then the board must work to prevent trades and industries from becoming overcrowded with workers or oversupplied with laborers, by showing the industries and localities which are growing and in need of labor and warning workers against the trades and places which are oversupplied with labor and in which unemployment is most prevalent. This service should be connected with the schools to enable them to guide juvenile workers into promising employments; and the immigration service also must be assisted to direct new workers into fields where their labor is needed and to prevent them from lowering standards by overcrowding trades.

Finally, the duty of the Labor Reserve Board must be to devise a method of administering unemployment insurance in this country, and to conduct such a system in connection with the public labor exchanges. Until this can be accomplished it will encourage and assist workers to insure themselves against unemployment, help trade unions establish and extend put-off-work benefits, and show public authorities how unemployment insurance can be practically conducted to relieve distress among the work-

(2) Ibid.

ers, and encourage policies of prevention of unemployment among employers.

It will be noted that, aside from the system of labor exchanges, the functions of the Labor Reserve Board are stated in the most general terms. The statement is nothing but a listing of the logical remedies for unemployment which a century of discussion and investigation has developed. These remedies are well known and there is no need of explaining how the analysis of the facts of unemployment has established the necessity of these measures. There is great need, however, for showing how to create and operate the machinery to put these remedies into effect. This we cannot do because the study of administrative problems is a phase of the question of unemployment which we have largely neglected. One purpose in advocating a Federal Labor Reserve Board, in fact, is to create a body that will be devoted to studying the means and methods of putting into practice the remedies for unemployment which we have known for many years are necessary and desirable. The board will be a permanent laboratory and the responsible authority for studying the fluctuations of the labor market and devising measures to stabilize then, just as the Federal Reserve Board is constantly working on new problems and new devices for meeting the irregularities of the money market.

How the Labor Reserve Board Will Be Organized

We can hardly hope that our government will do as it did with the money question, hire a board of five highly trained men and pay them each $12,000 a year to work out the problems of the labor market; at least, not till labor is much more powerful in the councils of the nation than it is at present. But this is not absolutely necessary.

A good beginning can be made by making the Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Labor Statistics ex-officio members of the Federal Labor Reserve Board, just as the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency are members of the financial reserve board. In addition the Secretary of Commerce, as representing the other side of the labor bargain, should be appointed and also the Secretary of Agriculture. To these can be added a commissioner of employment, appointed by the President. These five men will then constitute the Federal Labor Reserve Board, and the relation of the Board to the Department of Labor should be the same as that of the Federal Reserve Board to the Treasury Department—independent and free to experiment

and strike out along new lines, but always in close connection with the department that handles all labor problems.

As a beginning toward building up the expert force, a Director of Labor Exchanges should be appointed, which later might be followed by a Director of Public Works, Director of Unemployment Insurance, etc. When the organization is fully developed these experts might themselves be the Labor Reserve Board, but for a beginning the other form of organization would be sufficient.

The Director of Labor Exchanges should be Secretary and chief responsible officer for the board. He could also act as secretary of the Advisory Council, which must be an important part of any labor reserve system, the organization and functions of which we must now consider.

No plan of dealing with unemployment can expect to succeed which does not recognize the conflict of interests between labor and capital. The neglect of this in the organization of our State Employment Bureaus has been largely responsible for their ineffectiveness. If we do not recognize the struggle frankly and bring it out under public scrutiny, it will go on in the dark, behind our backs, each side seeking to gain control of the labor reserve machinery to promote its own purposes. In addition, we have noted above that there is another interest to be considered—the authorities who conduct public employment bureaus within the states.

In the organization of the financial reserve board there were also three interests to be considered. There were first the business men and then the bankers; and the authorities representing the public constituted the third interest. The Federal Reserve Act met the problem of these conflicting interests by creating an Advisory Council composed of one member selected by the directors of each Federal Reserve Bank. These directors in turn were divided into three classes, one-third of them representing the banks in the reserve district, another third representing the business men, and the other third appointed by the Federal Reserve Board to represent the public.

Similarly the Labor Reserve Board must have a Federal Advisory Council to represent conflicting interests. The organized employers of the country should be called upon to nominate representatives, the organized workers also, and the same with the states and cities conducting public employment bureaus. Three or five members from each of these interests appointed by the President should constitute the Advisory Council to meet in Washington four times a year or oftener with the Labor Reserve Board,

just as the Advisory Council of the financial reserve system meets with their board.

The labor council would advise and assist in all matters dealt with by the Labor Reserve Board. Questions of policy, proposed investigations and all rules and regulations for the administration of the labor reserve system would be submitted to this council. No rule or policy should be adopted until it had first been considered by the council. The board need not necessarily be bound to the action of the council, but the votes and the opinions of the interests represented would be recorded and made public, so that policies which may become political questions can be kept in the open, decided by the people and Congress, and not left to the manipulation of administrative officers by one side or another getting control of them.

An additional, most important function of the council should be to aid in the selection of the staff that is employed by the board. A prime qualification of these officials must be impartiality in their dealings with labor and capital, or neutrality, as they call it in European countries. These officials must all be in the classified civil service. But the United States Civil Service Commission can have no way of testing neutrality except by calling in representatives of labor and capital to sit on the examining board. Only such candidates should be placed on the eligible lists as have the confidence of the representatives of labor and capital on the Advisory Council. The ratings that these representatives give must be made a part of the examination, which necessarily will consist largely of oral interviews.

This form of civil service is to be applied not only to subordinate employers, but to all officials of the labor reserve system, including the directors of labor exchanges, public works, insurance, etc. These officers have no political policies to decide and should have a secure tenure of office so that they can make a career of the service and acquire the knowledge and experience necessary to handle the complicated problems with which they will have to deal. In recent years the classified service has been extended to include very high-grade positions with remarkable success. We have had a mistaken notion that the subordinate positions must be classified and the ones at the top allowed to remain political. A little thought ought to convince us that the lower positions will be easily handled if we can only get rid of politics and install efficiency at the top. The sooner we extend the classified service to include commissioners, direct-

ors, heads of bureaus and all administrative officers, the nearer we shall get to solving our problems.

Conclusion

I have gone into all these questions of administrative detail because, as I said at the beginning, we have reached the point in dealing with unemployment where the theoretical questions have been solved and the principles of practical administration must be studied.

This most important work has been flagrantly neglected by economists and social workers alike. It is not so interesting as making investigations, and it is very much more difficult. But those of us who have been watching legislators and public officials floundering about, helplessly enacting futile employment office laws and not knowing what to do when a fair law is passed, have felt keenly that a price is being paid for all this neglect. As a matter of fact, sound remedies for unemployment have been known for very many years. Napoleon instructed his ministers to prosecute public work to keep labor employed at home. Horace Greeley advocated public employment bureaus in the *New York Tribune* more than sixty years ago. And labor unions have been paying out-of-work benefits for more than a quarter of a century. These same measures, labor exchanges, public work and unemployment insurance are the remedies advanced by all intelligent students of the subject today. The reason they are not in actual effect is that we have not known how to make them work. We have delayed the adoption of these effective remedies for more than twenty years, in my opinion, because of our neglect to study the administrative problems involved. And we shall be another quarter of a century in getting anything like an adequate plan of dealing with unemployment unless we begin at once to study the detailed problems of administration and to train the men who will be able effectively to administer the remedies.

In 1909 the British Royal Commission on the Poor Laws wrote: "We have to report that, in our judgment, it is now administratively possible, if it is sincerely wished to do so, to remedy most of the evils of unemployment, to the same extent, at least, as we have in the past century diminished the death rate from fever and lessened the industrial slavery of young children." And Sidney Webb adds, "the problem is now soluble, theoretically at once, and practically as soon as we care to solve it."

Is there any question about our caring to solve it? And can anyone doubt that the social workers who have been agitating the unemployment problem have sincerely wished for a solution? Then why is it that we have made so little headway? Why are we afflicted with the unemployed almost every winter and overwhelmed every ten or fifteen years?

I think it is simply because we have not gone at it in the right way. We have become so enamored of a certain kind of investigation and discussion that we are loath to give them up. Report after report comes forth, books and articles are written, speech after speech is made, all reiterating, more or less accurately, the same conclusions and the same general recommendations. Economists continue the same analysis, commissions recommend the same remedies, social workers and reformers repeat the same facts, picture the same evils and urge the same reforms. But all the while very little of a permanent, constructive and remedial nature is accomplished.

It is all right for experts to say that the facts and the remedies are known, some one answers, but the people don't know all these things. They must be aroused, and we must take every opportunity to point out the real nature of the problem. True. I am not decrying agitation. It is necessary and essential. It gets up steam. But the steam must be harnessed to something. And my point is that while we have agitated and paraded and aroused a lot of interest and sympathy we have had nothing definite and practical to which to harness this steam. Back in '92 and '93 we had mass meetings of the unemployed, work-shops, soup houses, committees of all kinds and hunger parades. Interest in unemployment was aroused in every city in the country, but what was left of it when the depression passed away? How much of the result could you use in the hard times of 1913 and '14? Nothing permanent that I could see was created. And when the last crisis came along we had the same parades, the same committees, the work-shops and soup houses. Oh, yes! And we added the "Hotels de Gink." And what have you as a result of all that agitation? I can see only some improved and efficient public employment bureaus, in New York, Ohio and Illinois. But let me tell you the reason you have these real results is because some employment bureau officials had seen how little they knew about running such bureaus, had organized an association of public employment officials and had worked out some of the details for proper and successful administration of such offices. The agitation when harnessed to their practical

plans brought some real results. But what else of permanent accomplishment for the future can we point to? Most of the steam went off into the air—lost—because we had nothing definite which we could make it drive.

PLANNING PUBLIC EXPENDITURES TO COMPENSATE FOR DECREASED PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT DURING BUSINESS DEPRESSIONS

John R. Shillady, Secretary, Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, New York

Editorial Note: Owing to its unusual length, the following paper has, with the permission of its author, been considerably shortened for reproduction in these pages.

The introduction proposes the setting up of machinery for regularly collecting and assembling facts by which to measure the fluctuations in employment from year to year, and gives in tabular form an index of relative trade prosperity over a period of ten years, showing the coincidence of rise and fall in different economic movements.

After quoting a number of authorities favorable to the policy advocated in this paper, Mr. Shillady answered certain theoretical objections, and then proceeded to cite at length the experience of other countries, either in the use of the device for counteracting trade fluctuations which Mr. Shillady himself advocates, or in the setting up of preliminary machinery.

This section is followed by the remainder of the paper reprinted herewith.

It will be advisable, at the outset, briefly to consider whether the postponing or anticipating of any part of the expenditures over which American public and quasi-public bodies have control would, if accomplished, have any appreciable effect on the serious volume of unemployment which is apt to be caused by cyclical trade depressions. It is often said that public employment, after all, is only a drop in the bucket, that the greater proportion of it consists of undertakings which for administrative, technical, or financial reasons, must be prosecuted at the time when actually planned and approved. On the other hand, there are advocates of the particular measure under discussion who perhaps too lightly overlook the difficulties in the way of a transference of public employment from one period to another, and who, for this reason, do not carry conviction with those versed in municipal, state or national affairs.

Can we, by examining the facts, arrive at some approximate estimate, however rough, of the social service in preventing unemployment which, where practicable, a judicious re-distribution of public works might offer? The total amount of public

expenditures on improvements apart from current administrative and operating expenses in 1913, amounted to about $586,500,000.[1] This sum represents the "outlays" of federal, state, county and city authorities on the acquisition or construction of more or less permanent properties and public improvements, including additions made to those previously acquired or constructed and comprising an enormous variety of undertakings: Every kind of building construction, excavation, earth works, rock blasting, roadmaking, installation of machinery, pipes, wires, fire alarm systems, conduits, subways, drainage, comfort stations, water works, stables, coast guard stations, improvement of bays, rivers, harbors, canals, viaducts, bridges, etc., etc. It represents, however, only 10.6 per cent. of the total cost payments ($5,527,000,000) made by public authorities during that year.[2]

In the same year, the railroads of the United States spent $680,000,000 on roads and equipment, including the laying of new lines, the building and re-building of stations, the purchase of rails and rolling stock, new machinery, repair shops, and the like.[3]

No figures are available to show the exact amount of public expenditures on permanent improvements and the other outlays named, nor those of the railroad companies, for the previous nine years.[4] Assuming, however, that the total public and railroad expenditures for 1913 on these non-administrative and non-operative items, i. e., $1,266,000,000, was exceptional and that over the ten years' period (1904-1913) the average annual sum so expended was, say, one-half of that amount, or $633,000,000, we should then have (which probably is a very conservative estimate) a ten years' expenditure on these permanent improvements of about $6,330,000,000.

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[1] This amount is made up as follows:

Federal government	$ 64,380,338
The 48 states	48,433,678
Counties	89,839,726
Cities	383,783,939
	$586,437,681

(Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census Report on *Wealth, Debt and Taxation*, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 33, 41, 211, 561. Notes explanatory of "outlays" pp. 19, 27-8, 57, 389.)

[2] This amount is made up as follows:

Governmental cost payments	$2,966,970,493
Non-governmental cost payments	2,559,590,880
	$5,526,561,373

(Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census Report on *Wealth, Debt and Taxation*, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 12, 13.)

Financial reasons apart, merely as a question of technical practicability, it will probably be agreed that there are no insuperable difficulties in the way of postponing one-tenth of the yearly expenditures on these permanent improvements and additions to equipment. Of course, this would not be a uniform postponement, applicable to each project or purchase, but an average, including 100 per cent. of some of the permanent improvements, none of others, and between five and thirty per cent of the great majority. In the case of the publiic expenditures, this would, as we have seen, be no more than one per cent. of the total yearly payments. Assuming this one-tenth were put into a reserve fund, we should, at the end of the ten years' period, have a fund of about $633,000,000 ready for investment in the kinds of improvements and purchases named.

There are no accurate data upon which to base an estimate as to the exact proportion of such an amount available for orders, ranging from tunnels to incandescent burners, which would go in wages. But from such inquiries as I have been able to make, it would seem an under- rather than an over-statement, to estimate this proportion at about 45 per cent., about 30 per cent. in the case of large public works being direct wages and about 15 per cent. indirect wages contained in the prices paid for material and services. Of course, this proportion varies considerably with the nature of the work. It will be higher in a contract for excavation or park improvement than in the purchase of, say, rugs for government offices, but the estimate of 30 per cent. as direct wage payments is based on the experience of a class of improvement apparently about midway between the extremes. To assume that 15 per cent. of the remaining 70 per cent. which makes up the total cost goes in wages of industrial and transport workers would seem a reasonable estimate.

On this basis, therefore, we should, at the end of the ten

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[3] Report of Interstate Commerce Commission for 1913. $126,000,000 of this amount, representing replacements to properties and equipment, is, for our purpose, included in expenditures on improvements, although in railroad accounting treated as "operating expenses," since employment can be provided and the expenditures accelerated or retarded, within limits, exactly as if for additional properties and equipment.

[4] The amount expended by the railroad companies on roads and equipment was $639,000,000 in 1914 and $547,000,000 in 1912. Owing to changes made in 1907 and again in 1909 in the accounting methods of the Interstate Commerce Commission, an accurate comparison over a decennial period is not possible. It is quite obvious, however, from the figures available that, even excluding replacement of old properties and equipment, the average expenditure on permanent improvements during the ten years 1905 to 1914 was considerably above the $340,000,000 here assumed.

years' period, have accumulated about $285,000,000 as a reserve from which wages may be paid. This estimated reserve has been arrived at on the basis of the most careful and conservative computation, and probably is much lower than actually would be the case. The question pertinent to this discussion is: "What effect would the payment of such an additional sum in wages in a period of trade depression have in counteracting unemployment occasioned by diminished private industrial enterprise?"

In 1910 there were gainfully employed in the whole country in trade and transportation, and manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 18,413,251 persons, male and female. Taking the census method of computing the estimated increase of population, there would be, accordingly, in 1913,[5] about 21,470,000 persons employed in the same pursuits. Assuming the same proportion of males and females in the occupations named as in 1910, 84 per cent. of these would be males and 16 per cent. females.

Assuming that in 1913 on the average, for the country as a whole, for all classes of labor and for all ages, $12 a week for males and $7 a week for females would represent approximately the average wage,[6] the weekly wage bill necessary in that year to support one-tenth, let us say, of the whole gainfully employed population in the industry groups named would, on this assumption, amount to approximately $24,000,000.

If one-tenth of the expenditures for the more or less permanent improvements and additions to equipment by the various public authorities and railroads of the United States were set aside each year to accumulate a reserve fund for the payment of wages during the tenth year, approximately $285,000,000 would be so accumulated.[7] The sum necessary to keep in employment one-tenth of the whole working population of the country in the industry groups named at the average wage mentioned over a period of twelve weeks would be $288,000,000.

This estimate has been given in some detail because of the extravagant statements made, at times, both for and against the proposition that a reasonable adjustment of the employment opportunities afforded over a period of years by public bodies and the great railroad corporations, would suffice to compensate for the cyclical fluctuations in employment due to the vagaries

[5] 1913 selected as most recent year in which satisfactory data are available.

[6] The available wage data shows, we believe, that this estimate is an over rather than an under statement of actual annual earnings in 1913.

[7] While there is no general agreement on the subject, ten years, roughly speaking, is usually assumed by leading authorities as the interval between the more serious trade depressions.

in private enterprise. While this estimate does not pretend to finality, it shows at least the enormous potentiality of the proposed planning of public and quasi-public expenditures with a view to controlling employment fluctuations.

This, it will be understood, is merely an illustration of the amount of employment which the proposed transference of these expenditures would create at a time when it is most needed, and not at all a prediction of what actually would happen. Of course, public employes receive more than the general average wages for the whole country, and the proportion of female employes among those directly and indirectly engaged upon works of permanent improvement is much smaller than that in the total working population. And it may be said that, in spite of their variety, such public and railroad works and purchases as here contemplated would not employ all classes of labor; that, while they may prevent unemployment from arising in the building or machinists' trades, they would not at all affect dressmaking and the manufacture of furniture. But our estimate tells only part of the story of the amount of employment which, during a trade crisis, might be afforded by a judicious distribution of public and quasi-public expenditure.

For instance, only the more or less permanent improvements have been taken into account. But there is no doubt that an appreciable proportion of the less permanent purchases of public authorities in a wider field of industrial demand could likewise be varied in volume from time to time, in accordance with the state of trade. Uniforms, stationery, school supplies, automobiles and other vehicles, fire hose, brooms, clocks, flags, electric lights and a thousand other articles making up the equipment of our complex public life need not be acquired at the same rate year after year.

Again, we must not forget that the periodical trade fluctuations which we now consider are, to a degree, of psychological origin and that, as Mr. and Mrs. Webb tell us:

> The very depression itself creates in every direction more depression. Prevent it in one industry and you, to a corresponding extent, prevent it in others. Regularization of the aggregate would tend greatly to regularization of every part of the aggregate.[8]

Not only the corner restaurants, but the tobacconists, milliners, confectioners, printers and jewelers of the community are busy when some large public improvement, such as the building of a state capitol or the enlargement of a harbor, is in progress; and, through the channels of commerce, manufacturers and

[8] *The Prevention of Destitution*, London, 1911, p. 122.

industrial workers all over the country participate in the activity. If this takes place on a nation-wide scale, confidence and enterprise may return so generally and completely, soon after the first symptoms of a slump have made themselves felt, that the shutting down of plants or laying off of men is stopped almost before it has been started, so that the financial crisis, whatever may have been its origin, does not deeply affect trade at all and may itself be lessened both in severity and duration by the continued optimism of the producers.

Possibilities in Particular Departments of the Federal Government

Several of the Federal Departments may be taken as examples of the possible advantageous shifting of expenditures in accordance with the program here proposed:

Reclamation Service

The Reclamation Service, for example, expended in the twelve years' period from 1904 to 1915[9] (exclusive of general expenses) a total of $108,543,970, an annual average for the period of a little over $9,000,000. From 1907 to 1915 these expenditures have averaged annually about $10,740,000, ranging from $9,100,885 in 1911 to $14,583,179 in 1915.[10]

	Expenditures	Number of Employees Average No. for Year:	On June 1st:
1903	$ 245,548	.....	.....
1904	1,395,178	.....	.....
1905	3,450,813	.....	.....
1906	7,007,285	.....	.....
1907	12,188,890	.....	.....
1908	11,358,175	4,245*	.....
1909	10,037,536	4,799	.....
1910	9,543,060	5,208	.....
1911	9,100,885	6,189	.....
1912	11,316,314	6,468	7,094
1913	8,507,467	.....	7,616
1914	10,055,188	.....	9,228
1915	14,583,179	.....	10.520
	$108,789,518		

*August 1st to December 31st.

It will be seen from an examination of these expenditures that they bear no relation to the fluctuations of employment in

[9] The Service dates from 1903 in which year the expenditures were ($245,548) for only a portion of the year.

[10] Expenditures of the Reclamation Service (Exclusive of general expenses) 1913-1915, and Number of Employees Engaged on Reclamation Work 1908-155.

the country as a whole. Indeed, the numbers employed in federal reclamation work were in 1913, 18 per cent. and in 1914, 13½ per cent. less than in 1915, when there was much less unemployment than in 1913 and 1914, and many industries found it difficult to secure sufficient labor.[11]

Under the heading "Excess Cost," the Secretary of the Interior, in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Reclamation Service* (1914-1915), severely criticises the prevailing unsystematic procedure with regard to government projects. After referring to the increased cost due to the government's being compelled to undertake improvements which it was anticipated would be performed by the settlers, the Secretay complains that "nearly all the earlier works were more expensive than the engineers' estimates, due mainly to * * * the great increase in the cost of labor and material." The Secretary complains also of the falling off in the efficiency of labor on construction work "where employment was necessarily limited to the construction season," of the increased cost of material and equipment, and of "the congestion of freight in 1906 and 1907," as "a prolific source of delay and consequent increase in costs."

Is it too much to say that federal planning of public expenditures with regard to employment conditions, especially if coupled with intelligent use of Prof. Leiserson's national employment bureaus' system, would have been more economical and more efficient, as well as more valuable to the country as a whole, than present methods?

Public Buildings

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report for 1914-1915, discusses the unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to the erection of public buildings. He approves the recommendations made in 1908 by former Secretary Cortelyou, who, among other criticisms of existing methods, asserts that "in the interests of economy the construction (of many public buildings) could be postponed for several years."

It is evident that a change from the haphazard appropriation-grabbing methods obtaining at present to an organized system of planned-in-advance structures would be highly desirable. This planning could readily take the employment needs of the building trade workers into account by authorizing construction dur-

[11] Expenditures were 41 per cent less in 1913 and 32 per cent less in 1914, than in 1915. The discrepancy between the percentage of decrease in men employed and money spent probably reflects greater capital expenditures in 1915.

ing the years which, if no planning were done, would be years of depression.

An examination of the expenditures from 1907 to 1915[12] on public buildings and sites shows that in 1908 and 1914, the years of greatest depression during the period, expenditures fell below the expenditures of the years of greater trade activity by amounts varying from $2,200,000 to nearly $10,000,000. In 1912 the expenditures exceeded those of 1908 by $9,685,968.[13]

1907	$10,561,312
1908	8,348,417
1909	12,452,502
1910	18,033,942
1911	16,287,526
1912	18,034,385
1913	14,021,781
1914	11,277,797
1915	14,632,086

Rivers and Harbors

Congressional appropriations for "rivers and harbors" from 1908 to 1916, inclusive, were (in round numbers) in the order of the years, 43, 18, 29, 49, 30, 40, 51, 27 and 34 millions respectively.[14] Appropriations were in 1908 (in round numbers) 43 millions, in 1909, 18 millions and in 1910, 29 millions. If appropriations for 1911 had not jumped to 49 millions, we might say that perhaps our proposed program had found a foothold among the traditional "pork barrel" appropriations. The appropriation for 1914 (51 millions) was made before the European war, in a time of comparatively good trade, while the smaller appropriation for 1915 (27 millions) was made during a time of depression.

Why is it not feasible and good public policy to assign to a board of federal engineers the laying out of a program for the development of rivers and harbors which could be accelerated or retarded in accordance with existing conditions of employment? No reason except Congressional "pork." Congress, under the notable leadership of Senator Burton and the pressure of public opinion, has done much to prepare the way for a constructive ten years' program of rivers and harbors development. Congress *can* plan, and Congress *will* plan a statesmanlike public development program, related alike to the demands of adminis-

[12] Annual Expenditures for Public Buildings and Sites by the Federal Government, 1907-1915 (compiled from *Annual Reports on Finance* of the U. S. Treasury):

[13] The relative amount expended for sites and for construction is not known.

[14] Annual Congressional Appropriations for Rivers and Harbors, 1908-1916.

trative efficiency, commercial necessity and the welfare of the workers of the nation, if and when public opinion demands such action.

1908	$43,310,813
1909	18,092,945
1910	29,190,264
1911	49,380,541
1912	30,883,419
1913	40,559,620
1914	51,118,889
1915	26,989,000
1916	33,982,000

Good Roads Development

Good roads are, for the country as a whole, a crying need. They need not necessarily be built at a uniform yearly rate of progress, but at a rate which may readily be varied from year to year. The diversified climatic conditions of the United States afford an unparalleled opportunity for a comprehensive national program of road building, in which the federal, state and county governments would jointly co-operate. Federal subsidies of, say, one-third the cost, one-third to be borne by the state and one-third by the counties, would stimulate local appropriations, while safe-guarding federal funds.

But even without introducing the system of national grants in road building, practiced with such singular success in other countries, the offer by the Federal Office of Public Roads of a staff of technical experts to prepare and assist in carrying out plans for highway development would in itself be a most valuable incentive to state and local action.

If the contracts and hiring and transfer of workers were properly planned and organized on a long-term program, there could be, for a large number of laborers, the assurance of steady employment, irrespective of climate in any particular locality or of general trade depression.[15]

Other Federal, State and Municipal Expenditures

Repairs and Up-keep

A reference in the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1915 to the "deplorable conditions" of 21 of the 279 coast guard stations because of age and neglect, suggest the

[15]No comprehensive official figures being accessible, two national associations interested in highway development were consulted. They affirmed that no estimate could be ventured which would approximate, within many millions, the annual expenditures on road building for the nation as a whole. No expenditures on road building are made by the federal government.

practicability of using the lean years to repair and replenish existing structures as well as to create new ones.

Public Printing and Bookbinding

An interesting illustration of the undesirability, in a particular instance, of endeavoring to utilize public expenditures to compensate for a falling off in employment in the trade as a whole, is afforded by the rather remarkable record of the Federal Department of Public Printing in regularizing employment within the department itself.

That department, as shown by the following table, has achieved, in the face of the varying demands of the federal government for public printing, a remarkably regular annual output.

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES ON PUBIC PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING AND THE PRODUCTION OF CERTAIN ITEMS IN 1913, 1914 AND 1915 [16]

	1913	1914	1915
Expenditure	$ 5,444,754	$ 5,464,900	$ 5,604,144
Production:			
Total production of ems	2,207,000	2,193,000	2,141,000
Hours of time work in composing sections	267,845	247,722	254,150
Electrotype and stereotype square-inch production	13,494,000	12,616,000	13,190,000
Sheets folded by machines	139,546,000	133,790,000	143,807,000
Copies wire stitched	24,948,000	32,477,000	31,139,000
Copies paper covered	3,943,000	4,781,000	5,395,000
Books and pamphlets trimmed	64,793,000	64,411,000	64,152,000
Sheets cut	241,166,000	283,842,000	250,820,000
Books cased in	1,628,000	1,935,000	1,744,000
Sheets passed through ruling machines	22,425,000	23,918,000	26,135,000

In his report for 1915, the Public Printer explains:

> For several years, Congress was in session the greater portion of the time, and night forces were in constant operation. In the year covered by this report, Congress was in session only about seven months, and upon adjournment the decrease in volume of legislative printing necessitated abolishing the night work and a reduction of forces. Rather than make extensive discharges and thus disrupt the organization of mechanical forces, I decided to make short period furloughs of employees in the various divisions affected by the decrease in work.

The maintenance of a regular force of highly skilled and experienced operatives in a department requiring technical abil-

[16] From the *Annual Reports on Finance* of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Public Printer. The annual expenditures on public printing and bookbindng in preceding years were:

1909	$5,735,847	1911	$5,438,335
1910	5,451,153	1912	5,423,583

ity is in itself an important achievement. As the department conducts its own printing and bookbinding plant, and does not contract with outside private establishments to perform government work, its efforts to prevent unemployment must, necessarily, be along the lines of its present action.

The public printer would be assisted in these commendable efforts, and would be carrying out the spirit of the program proposed in this paper, if, for example, during years in which there was less legislative printing, there could be reserved for printing certain reports, say, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Geological Survey and other scientific departments of the government service, the advance printing of forms and account books, binding for stock and government reports of all sorts for which timeliness is not an essential condition.[17]

Railroad Expenditures

All that has been said as to the permanent improvements programs of the national, state and municipal governments applies equally to the great railroad corporations, if indeed their usual methods of development can be called "programs." The railroads could, in our judgment, take advantage of the lean years, when the price of materials is low, to undertake a larger percentage of improvements to road bed, rolling stock and other equipment than is their practice, with compensating effects upon their treasuries as well as upon the social welfare in the resulting prevention of unemployment.

The editor of the *Railway Age Gazette* (New York) in a recent interview with a member of the staff of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment (New York) said:

> Although rails were quite cheap in 1914, and ties especially so, owing to the long continued depression in the lumber industry, there was no activity in railroad construction. Railroads make improvements only when earnings are good and not when it is relatively less expensive to make them. This is illustrated by the fact that quite recently, at a time when prices were unprecedently high, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company placed the largest rail order ever given, simply because earnings during 1915 had been high.

An expert in railroad accounting, replying to our inquiry as to the reasons for the very considerable discrepancies in the annual expenditures of the railroads on permanent improvements,

[17] Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in *The Prevention of Destitution* (London, 1912) suggest the printing of the reports of the British Historical Manuscripts Commission and the official history of the South African War as instances of public work which might be reserved for years of trade depression.

after suggesting various possible sources of statistical and accounting errors, says:

> With these explanations, it is possible to comment on the large discrepancy between 1908 and 1910. Although this discrepancy may partly be due to accounting changes, yet there is undoubtedly, in the opinion of experts of the Interstate Commerce Commission and an eminent railroad accountant (whose names we omit) a very great change in the actual fact in those years. The fiscal year of 1908 included the so-called "Roosevelt panic" of the fall of 1907, and the depression following that "panic." The year 1910 was the most prosperous the railroads of this country have ever known. In order to maintain its place in the business world, a railroad should constantly improve its permanent property by acquiring new and better equipment and stengthening the road with heavier bridges, heavier rails, better ballast, additional sidings, etc., etc. It is the practice to make these expenditures in the years of prosperity. This, undoubtedly, accounts for the greatest part of the discrepancy between 1908 and 1910.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Accelerating and Retarding Public Expenditures

The speaker is under no illusion as to the difficulties and objections that will be urged against the planning of public expenditures to prevent wide-spread unemployment during trade crises. These difficulties and objections will be both real and fancied. Life itself presents some difficulties, and, as the late Elbert Hubbard once said, "Few there be who get out of it alive." There is a trite and well-worn maxim which has some application in this connection, and that is, "Where there's a will, there's a way." In brief, if the people of the Uuited States, particularly those who are most concerned about the social welfare, should let the presidents, governors, mayors and legislative authorities of our cities, states and the nation understand that unemployment is one of the preventable evils which they are determined that their governments shall seriously grapple with, many things which appear at the outset difficult, if not insurmountable, can be accomplished.

There are, of course, real and serious obstacles, financial, legal and administrative, which must be overcome if public expenditures be planned in accordance with the program suggested in this paper. That short terms of office make difficulties in the accomplishment of any continuing policy, has often been pointed out by students of government methods. Our officials spend the first year of their terms of office learning the job, and sometimes half the remaining time campaigning for re-election. Progress is being made, however, with relative rapidity in the improvement of the administrative efficiency of governmental bodies of all kinds. To some it may seem slow. I am inclined to believe,

however, that the financial, administrative and legal handicaps to this program will disappear with satisfactory celerity, if it were once decided that unemployment was a real responsibility with which American governmental machinery must concern itself.

It is perhaps necessary to emphasize that our proposal does not mean that all public works would be forced into such a program, nor does it mean "employing the unemployed" on municipal, state or federal relief works.

It is proposed

> that public improvements be carried forward through the letting of contracts, or by direct employment, in accordance with the accustomed and usual procedure. It is not proposed that there shall be deviation from the regular procedure other than that involved in planning ahead and putting into effect the larger part of this program in years when it would have a steadying effect on general employment rather than in years when private employers are busily engaged. Contracts would be let in the usual manner and workmen hired at the standard rate of pay, as is customary. No preference is to be given the "unemployed," nor is there to be any departure in any respect from accustomed methods of hiring, supervision or discharge of workmen. Such a program of planning public improvements and utilizing public expenditures to promote regularity of employment is exactly opposed to that of "employing the unemployed" on public works. The former is no wise departs from sound public policy and established procedure. The weakness of all relief works undertaken by city governments after wide-spread unemployment has occurred, is that such works are almost invariably expensive and extravagant; that the unemployed are of so diversified a character that a proper working force can not be secured; that, at best, relief works are called into being only after unemployment has occurred. A flexible public improvements program such as has been outlined is a preventive measure and has no relation to relief or charity.[18]

Mr. Frank M. Williams, State Engineer and Surveyor of New York, when asked recently his opinion as to the possibility of varying the yearly appropriations for the construction of the Erie Canal in that state, said:

> If yearly appropriations were made for the construction of the canal, which would be similar to the manner in which the (National) Government carries on certain construction work, it might be feasible to vary the amount appropriated each year in accordance with the condition of the labor market; that is, when labor is plentiful a larger appropriation could be made than in the years when labor is scarce.

One of the legal staff in the employ of the city of New York, though not its official advisor, whose opinion was requested on the legal aspects of this proposal, said:

> It is clear that the city possesses the constitutional power to carry out this plan. It differs in no especial respect from the present procedure under which such public expenditures are legally

[18] *Report of Mayor's Committee on Unemployment*, New York City, January, 1916, p. 54.

made, except that, consistent with the important public necessity, it is proposed to defer such expenditures so as to make them during periods of depression.

There are marked advantages (and, we believe, possibilities of financial saving) in laying out a program of public works over a period of years. These advantages have long been recognized by the "city planners." It must be remembered that in times of depression, capital as well as labor is unemployed. Favorable terms as to loans may often be had. Sellers are anxious to find a market for their products. It is expensive to slow down. At such a time public bodies could most profitably carry forward necessary improvements.*

Public administrators, as a rule, have not sufficiently realized that, by thoughtlessly following the trend of the general market, public authorities contribute alike to the accentuation of the periods of general depression and of prosperity—and therefore to the accentuation of the violent fluctuations in employment from which their fellow-citizens suffer. The same thing may be said as to the public improvements program of the great railroad corporations.

Summary

Our argument may now briefly be summarized:

(1) The time to deal with unemployment is when men, generally speaking, are employed.

(2) Under existing conditions, periodic trade disturbances involving extensive unemployment occur, on the average, at least once each decade.

(3) These trade crises are not inevitable, but are due to deep-seated and fundamental, though remedial, industrial and economic causes.

(4) Pending industrial and economic reconstruction, and recognizing the existence, though not the inevitability of cyclical fluctuations in the volume of trade and employment, a "preparedness" policy is proposed to prevent widespread unemployment and distress, by which public improvements and expenditures, and those of quasi-public bodies, such as the railroads, be planned on a long-term program, say ten years; that in each normal business year of the decade, there be deferred a certain variable percentage of such a public (and quasi-public) expenditures' program; that these accumulated deferred improvements and purchases constitute an employment reserve, so to speak,

*The stimulating effect on prices, as well as employment, of a more steady demand if such a program as is proposed were fully carried out, is admitted.

which can be utilized to compensate for decreased private employment due to the lessened demands of private employers.

(5) The existence and intelligent use of this employment reserve will, to a greater or lesser degree, dependent upon the extent to which it is applied, prevent extensive unemployment from taking place.

(6) Unemployment will thus be prevented both directly, through increased public employment and purchases, and indirectly, through an increased stimulus to private business.

(7) If an employment reserve approximating ten per cent, on the average, of the "outlays" of federal, state, county and municipal governments on the acquisition and construction of permanent properties and public improvements, added to a like one-tenth of the annual railroad expenditures for roads and permanent equipment, be created by means of such a deferred improvements program as has been suggested, there will result, on the most conservative estimate, a fund for use during the tenth year sufficient to employ at least one-tenth of the working population of the country engaged in trade, transportation and manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, for a period of twelve weeks, at an average weekly wage, for all ages and kinds of labor, of $12 for males and $7 for females.

(8) The proposal to defer public expenditures does not mean that all such expenditures shall be forced into a decennial program, nor does it suggest this practice to the railroads. On the contrary, it concedes that public business must take precedence over any attempt to utilize public expenditures (or those of quasi-public bodies) to prevent unemployment. The great bulk of public expenditures would be made as at present.

(9) The purchases and improvements set aside under this plan would be made exactly as is customary in the most efficiently administered governmental departments, and would not be in the nature of relief works to "employ the unemployed."

(10) In accelerating or retarding public improvements and purchases, no deviation is proposed from accustomed methods of employment at regular wages, regular hours and under whatever safeguards heretofore have been adopted.

(11) Finally, the proposed program is recommended with a view to preventing unemployment before, rather than relieving it after, it has occurred. This program would be much assisted by the further development of public machinery to give warning of decreased private demands for labor, and of an efficient system of public employment bureaus to organize and correlate the demands of private employers and public departments.

There are, however, certain practical difficulties in accomplishing so comprehensive and far-reaching a program. We are, governmentally, accustomed to a hand-to-mouth policy. Radical changes may be required in federal, state, county and municipal financial methods. Certain administrative adjustments may, also, be necessary to insure continuity of program.

However desirable it may be to speculate on the probable and the possible, the present speaker prefers concrete results. Assuming that we think it possible to plan a program of public expenditures which can be varied to prevent such extensive unemployment as was experienced in 1914-1915, what is the next step to be taken to put such a plan into effect? The most impressive lesson learned in preparing this paper was the lack of attention by its advocates to working out the administrative details necessary to put the plan into effect.

The hiatus between theory and practice must be bridged. I propose, therefore, as a first step, that the President of the United States be requested to appoint an inter-departmental committee, consisting of the heads of appropriate departments of the Government of the United States, to inquire into the possibility of regulating federal expenditures upon more or less permanent improvements so as to provide, except as to regular employes of the United States, a maximum of employment in years of general business depression and a minimum of employment in years when private employers are seeking an unusual number of workers; that such committee report to the President upon this subject within one year from the date of appointment, and that such report be made public.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates spoke informally: Fred S. Hall, New York City; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Fred R. Johnson, Boston; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; O. G. Finkelstein, Chicago; Etoile B. Simons, Chicago.

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THE SIFTING PROCESS AND THE UNEMPLOYED*

James Mullenbach, Chairman of the Trade Board, Hart, Schaffner & Marx Agreement, Chicago

The unemployed transient, or "homeless man," as technically known to charity and social workers, is the most elusive subject of their endeavors, chiefly because he has no fixed habitation.

*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

As Ben King put it, "He came from where he started and was going where he went."

The primary problem in connection with this group is that of separation from the rest of the community. Unless the transient unemployed can be separated from other elements in the community, no progress can be made in dealing with them.

For this primary sifting process certain institutional arrangements are essential.

The Institution

A lodging-house of requisite capacity, suitable equipment, and adequate management must be provided. Except in a few large cities and some smaller ones, the practice is to use the police station or local lockup for a lodging place. The best that the police lodging does is to provide bare shelter and protection against arrest, because, as one of the boys expressed it, "If you sleep in the station and anything is pulled off in the town, they aint got anything on you." The worst that the station does is to provide an opportunity for physical contamination, and education in vice and crime. Between these two extremes it does nothing for the competent unemployed, and offers no protection to the community against the intrusion of professional vagrants. The police station is no sifter.

As a substitute for the police station there is the municipal lodging-house, publicly conducted, and the private lodging house conducted by private agencies. As between these two, the municipal lodging-house would appear to be the more advantageous. The question of vagrancy is a matter of police and sanitary control. The contact between public officers, police and others, and the homeless transient is more natural than with other groups in the community. For this reason there is better chance of good-co-operation between the police officers and the public institution than between the police officers and the private institution. There is less difficulty in controlling the lodgers both within and without the lodging house when it is municipally managed. Where the city has to assume the expense of caring for the unemployed there will be a definite and permanent incentive for a solution of the problem of the unemployed.

Offsetting these advantages are certain risks; first, that the institution will become the "football of politicians;" and, second, that the management will become inefficient, stale and callous; likewise, that it will not be as flexible in its operation as the privately managed institution. Where a community has a private lodging-house efficiently managed, secures the co-operation of public officials and enlists the general support of the citizens, no

change to municipal management would be recommended. Where a community has no such efficient arrangement, municipal lodging seems advisable for the advantages it will bring in securing the co-operation of public officials.

The great thing to be accomplished whether by public or private arrangement is to establish one sole and single center for the care, control and distribution of the homeless unemployed group. Unless such a single center is established, the universal co-operation of the public and private agencies, citizens and housewives will not be secured. And such wholesale co-operation must be secured if the lodging-house is to be an effective sifting agency. The lines of the co-operation are fairly clear.

Co-operating Agencies

The department of police should do its share by closing all police stations to lodgers, by supplying each officer with cards of direction to be handed to applicants for help, and by providing a vagrancy squad in charge of an officer who knows his city and who can be held responsible for begging and vagrancy in the city. This assistance from the police will not be easy to obtain, because the proposals attack one of the political preserves of the lords of vice and crime in our large cities. No alderman sits so impregnably in the city council as the alderman from the loding-house ward. No politician has such influence in his party's organization as the representative of the lodging-house section, because he delivers the goods, the votes and the delegates. In every mayoralty election—save one—in the second city of the country, the lodging-house vote has always been on the side of the winner, and in most cases has determined his election. Where these conditions prevail, as they do in all our large cities, there may be some difficulty in securing full co-operation from the police.

In co-operation with the police there must be a right attitude toward the suppression of vagrancy by the courts. Unless there is alert and intelligent action at this point the effort of the police will be much discouraged.

The department of health should co-operate by closing all shelters illegally conducted, sleeping on floors of saloons, missions and other places and by enforcing on private lodging-houses, commercial and charitable, the legal standards of capacity, ventilation and cleanliness. All private charitable agencies should co-operate by referring the homeless man, except in selected cases, to the municipal lodging-house. In addition, the

public must be educated to co-operate. Citizens and housewives must be taught to use the lodging house instead of passing out "hand outs" of money or meals to the applicant for help. This co-operation will be slow in reaching a satisfactory consummation, but it is essential to an efficient control of vagrancy in any community.

It is improbable that any of our American cities has been able to obtain these institutional arrangements and the comprehensive co-operation outlined up to this point, though some have made good beginnings.

Assuming that a community has made reasonable arrangements for separating the transient unemployed and segregating them at least temporarily in a municipal lodging-house, what should be the management of such a lodging-house in order to act as an effective sifter? On this whole question of lodging-house arrangement and management the conference is referred to its own *Proceedings of* 1904, "What Constitutes a Model Lodging-House," by Raymond Robins, who was at that time superintendent of the municipal lodging-house in Chicago, and dealt with the matter in the most thoroughgoing manner.

It is sufficient at this point to state that the house must be open every day of the year and every hour of the day and night. There must be adequate capacity; the beds single—no double deckers; disinfection of clothing and shower baths must be provided; the food should be sufficient to maintain a man at work. The standard of the German army on a war footing can be maintained at a cost of eight cents a day.

Management

Turning now to those factors in lodging-house management that are directly related to the sifting process we come first to the matter of registration. All of the significant facts of the lodger's life should be entered on a card: name, age, place of birth, time in city, state and nation, citizenship, occupation, where he has last worked, and any other fact of this character which will be of service in arriving at a judgment of his need and capacity; for to discover the man's need and capacity is the essential requisite in any sifting process.

Another factor, and perhaps the most important, is the physical examination. A physical examination of each lodger is absolutely essential to the effective operation of the lodging-house and is a definite element in determining a lodger's employability. The physician should be competent, chosen by civil service competitive examination. One of his qualifications should

be that he have had special training in observing mental and nervous troubles. The examination of each lodger, especially at his first appearance, should be as complete as possible. The findings should be checked on the registration record.

Another factor of importance is the information about the characteristics of a lodger as they may be gathered from the employees of the house who have occasion to come in contact with him and observe his ways. Some of the most valuable pointers in determining a man's ability may be got from the employees of the house, but they need to be called on for it, and trained to understand the value of these incidental observations.

A bureau for investigating the records of lodgers is another element in a properly equipped lodging-house. The members of this bureau should be trained social workers. The business of the bureau should be to look up records of selected lodgers and to follow up in special cases the lodgers whose later activities require some oversight. The investigation of references is one of the most fruitful means of establishing helpful co-operative relations with the public and private agencies, with employers, and with the general public. It is manifestly impossible to investigate each applicant where, as in our large cities, two hundred up to two thousand men are lodged each night, but a selection for investigation of certain individuals, especially those who stick in the line, will be necessary and will bring forth valuable information.

The center-pinning of this whole arrangement will be the superintendent. Because of the highly specialized character of the service it is a distinct advantage for the superintendent to see and interview each lodger, at least each first nighter. The best time for this service is early in the morning when the men are through breakfast and are about to pass out. With the registration cards before him, having the record of the physical examination, and any other information that may be entered on the cards or otherwise at hand, the superintendent proceeds to interview each lodger as to the prospect before him, and why he has come to be where he is. At this point of contact all the human insight, sound judgment and courage in dealing with men, understanding of the industrial conditions in the city and country, and adequate information as to the charitable resources of the community must be at hand, if these men are to be dealt with according to their need and capacity. If the service at this point is delegated to mediocre management, the whole scheme of the lodging-house goes to pieces. It will become simply a dump; clean perhaps, and

with some of the appurtenances of an efficient institution, but quite failing to deliver the goods.

In determining the need and capacity of a lodger there are those who believe that some kind of an artificial work test is essential. The argument runs in three directions: that it furnishes a test for separating the sheep from the goats among the ablebodied lodgers; that it protects the community from the professional vagrant; and that it preserves the lodgers self-respect. There is reasonable doubt as to the soundness of these contentions. A couple of hours work in a woodyard or on the city's streets is a very crude instrument to determine either the good will or the skill of a laborer, not to speak of the craftsman. It is not to be compared to the natural test of offering a man a job at free labor. The woodyard test is too easy of application, it gets the lodging-house management itself into habits of laziness, and tends toward an ironbound routine. A woodyard does not keep the professional vagrant out. Only effective policing of the community can do that. The habitual bum need never come near the lodging-house or the woodyard in the ordinary American community. The citizenship is still too easy. He can get all he needs at the back door commissary. As to preserving a man's self-respect, the woodyard takes it away from him. If his stint is exacted at night before he can have a lodging, the work is performed under a condition not favorable for inculcating much regard for the city's good heart. If it is done in the morning, it takes two or three hours out of that portion of the day when he must find work, if he is going to get it that day. After eight or nine o'clock all the jobs are scooped. Besides, two or three hours work a day breaks down his economic habit. If a man can maintain himself on a couple of hours work a day, why work longer? It is difficult to see how this kind of inefficiency can impress a lodger so as to preserve his self-respect.

There is another objection to the artificial work test. It is very apt to divert attention of the public from the main issue, the presence and the problem of the unemployed. The public may be easily misled into thinking that a solution has been found for this trouble and in a very simple and inexpensive way. This confusion of the public is one of the worst risks of the test.

To rely upon trained intelligence with personal attention to and interest in each lodger, coupled with such sources of information as can be made available by the physician and investigator is a better arrangement on the whole than to rely upon some device such as the test. Both carry the risk of mistakes, but in

the long run, the management of the matter by personal service will be more satisfactory as to results.

Classification

With the community organized and a lodging-house prepared and equipped as outlined, consideration of the classification of lodgers comes next. They fall into two well recognized classes; the employable and the unemployable. It is difficult to fix the proportions of these.

In the case of the employable, where good co-operation exists between the lodging-house and an efficient public employment agency, the placing of the employable should be turned over to the public agency. Where there is no public agency, or an inefficient one, an employment bureau will have to be created within the lodging-house. There ought to be no overlapping at this point where efficient agencies already exist.

As to the unemployable, who are they and what makes a man unemployable?

First, those who are handicapped by physical infirmity, those who suffer from old age, invalidism and accident. The major portion of these require and would benefit from institutional care in county home or homes for the incurable. Generally this disposition is a matter of persuasion, and the sojourn at the institution is purely voluntary. So long as this is the case these lodgers will float in and out of the lodging-house on occasion, and become a definite section of the repeater group.

Of the physically incapacitated there are a considerable number who are only handicapped and who could be employed at tasks appropriate to their powers. One of the permanent interests of the social service bureau would be to secure employment for and follow-up these handicapped lodgers.

Another group recognized as unemployable are those of abnormal mentality. The range runs from those lodgers whose irascible and uneven temperament prevents them from holding a job to those lodgers who are clearly insane. Between these two extremes are all kinds of borderliners, nervous wrecks, subnormals, epileptics and feeble-minded.

There is no difficulty in dealing with the more pronounced and recognizable members of this group, the insane, the feeble-minded and the epileptic. They belong in appropriate institutions. Where the institutions do not exist, or where there is no adequate legislation to commit, there will be difficulty, and these

afflicted will float in and out of the lodging-house on occasion and make up a portion of the repeaters.

That part of the group whose mental or nervous trouble is too obscure to be readily recognizable, but which nevertheless incapacitates them for employment, constitute a problem not great but difficult to manage. They are not unwilling to work, but they cannot get along in any setting. There seems no other way out, after a generous trial at free labor, than to secure their commitment to a state farm for a definite period, sufficient to enable them to be rebuilt, if possible, by a course of treatment and discipline. When released it should be for a tentative trial at free labor.

Closely allied to these mentally handicapped are those who are unemployable because of personal habits, who are addicted to alcohol or other drugs, and who require the same treatment.

Besides these well recognized groups of unemployables, there remains to consider the group who have become the victims of unsteady economic habit, due to the seasonal and irregular character of the employment they follow. One of the disappointing experiences of every zealous worker with homeless men has been the attempt to get permanent employment for the seasonal laborer. Almost invariably the man leaves the place without any warning after a few days', or at most a few weeks' work. The continuous repetition of this experience will lead the intercessor for employment to regard the entire group as an irresponsible, unemployable company.

Undoubtedly there are some who are unemployable; but the fact of the matter is, these men are the victims of the migratory character of their occupations. They go into railroad work in the spring, into the harvest field in the summer and fall, and into the lumber and ice camps during the winter. In the sag between the seasons they do all kinds of odd jobs. By the conditions of their work they have been trained to a frog-hopping habit in industry, and their irregular economic habit becomes wrought into their nerve cells. This condition of irregularity in employment, combined with low and irregular wages, long and uncertain hours, insanitary conditions in camp and labor colony, as well as in the lodging-houses of the town and city, absence of decent living and recreational facilities when in the camp, and indulgence in the illicit and abnormal pleasures of lodging-house sections of the city—all conspire to break down his physical stamina and his moral resistance with a speed and certainty not known in ordinary life and industry.

Necessary and advantageous as it may be to sift and separate

the unemployable, it is a far more necessary and advantageous thing to take measures to prevent their increase. This, however, is another matter than the one immediately under discussion. It may be said that until we do begin to sift and scrutinize the victims of intermittent employment we shall not have the determination to anticipate and avert the anti-social and dehumanizing conditions of life and labor that make men unemployable.

THE CASE WORKER'S CONTACT WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

Fred R. Johnson, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Boston, Mass.

It is still difficult to review the unemployment situation of 1914-1915 dispassionately from the point of view of case work. Our agencies for the relief of distress are today dealing with hundreds of families first made dependent during that period of stress. To others it is a matter of past history, but to the case worker, Tom Jones and Henry Thomas, shaken loose from industry for the first time a year and a half ago, are a constant reminder of conditions obtaining after the outbreak of the great war.

In the brief compass of this paper I shall not attempt to consider at length methods of emergency relief employed during the winter of 1914-1915. The comprehensive unemployment survey published by the American Association for Labor Legislation has performed this useful service for us. It is rather my task to briefly consider certain methods employed in times of stress with their limitations, to contrast relief measures of 1914-1915 with those of 1893-1894, and to suggest some contributions which we, in the field of case work, may make in promoting efforts to limit the evils of unemployment.

When men and women suffer because of unemployment, it is but natural that the first remedy suggested should be to supply employment, even though it be "made" work. Such was the feeling in many cities in 1893-94. Such was the feeling in 1914-1915, with a different emphasis as to the kind of work which should be provided.

During the early winter of 1893-94, there was unusual suffering in Boston because of lack of work. The mayor called a meeting of citizens in the City Hall on December 18, 1893, to consider

the needs of the unemployed. As a result of this meeting a Citizens' Relief Committee was named to secure funds with which to provide work. Accompanied by the widest publicity a community relief fund amounting to $100,772.19 was raised. Some men were put to work cleaning streets and constructing sewers and roads; but as a large number of the applicants were women or men not fit for hard manual labor, central work rooms were established for the manufacture of rag carpets, patchwork quilts and for knitting. Thoroughly advertised as was the large relief fund and the central work rooms, great numbers of applicants flocked to the headquarters of the Citizens' Relief Committee. These included not only the legitimately unemployed, but also chronic dependents, who had previously been cared for by relief societies, as well as a number of men and women who were working on part time in some of the factories and business establishments of the city. There were 7,460 men and 3,510 women registered by the Committee, a total of 10,970. Of these, 5,761 men and 2,728 women were put to work. The average amount received throughout the winter by the men for this labor amounted to only $11.10, and by the women even less, $8.82.

Several of the members of the Citizens' Relief Committee, themselves responsible for the methods followed, very seriously questioned whether the made work provided was worth while and whether it would not have been wiser to have more generously supported the charitable organizations of the city, making it possible for them to meet increased demands.

The methods employed in Boston during 1914-1915, showed considerable improvement over those of 22 years ago. No large central relief fund was raised. Several comparatively small funds were accumulated, but they were not widely advertised and the indescribable confusion of central registration was avoided. The different work committees relied almost wholly on the social agencies of the city already established to provide them with lists of men and women in need of employment. This made for efficiency both in the use of funds and of service. Various forms of employment which approximated made work were provided; but instead of relying solely on these efforts, every attempt was made to stimulate industry. The governor appointed a Committee on Unemployment, which became a Committee to Promote Work. This committee at the very beginning decided upon the following program:

1. To leave relief measures to organizations already established.

2. To promote in every possible way the hastening of legitimate public work.
3. To wage a concerted campaign to induce householders, factories and mercantile houses to have all possible work done at once.

Increasing emphasis was placed upon the function which the state might perform in solving unemployment. The commonwealth was asked to do certain necessary work during this period when private industry was slack, and the legislature voted an appropriation wherewith at one time 1,432 men were employed by the State Forestry Department in foresters' work and in the extermination of the gypsy moth. This department was well qualified for this task, as it had the administrative machinery with which to at once employ the men when the appropriation was granted. The Metropolitan Park Commission was voted extra funds with which to extend its work.

During 1914-15, several cities had interesting experiments with relief work under the direction of case work societies. The Associated Charities of Minneapolis by an arrangement with the local Park Board gave employment to heads of families in the clearing and cutting of timber on a tract of land along the Mississippi river. Although 344 different men were employed, there were 71 who refused this kind of work when offered it. Most of the work was paid for at the rate of 20 cents an hour, eight hours a day, with three days' employment a week. When payment for the cutting of wood was changed to a cord basis, the work became less popular, at the same time that the cost per cord decreased. The secretary of the society, F. J. Bruno, speaks of the physical benefits to the men employed on this job, but he concludes that in spite of certain advantages the work was a necessary evil and demoralizing, because need rather than ability and capacity determined who should be employed.

In New York city the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor as a relief measure offered 668 opportunities for work in clearing land and road making in the parks of New York. The men were paid $2 per day and were given three days' work per week. The analysis of the co-operation by the men as contained in the 1915 report of the A. I. C. P. is interesting:

7 refused to go at all when told of the work.
30 promised to report at park, but failed to appear.
96 quit without giving reason (probably many of these found other work).
23 proved physically unfit for the work.
29 were discharged as lazy or unreliable.

29 refused other permanent jobs offered them by our Employment Bureau and were therefore dropped.
46 were laid off as showing little or no desire to look for other regular work.
396 left after definitely reporting that they had secured other regular work.
12 are working at present writing (Oct. 1), several of whom are arrested tuberculosis cases who cannot safely go back to their former occupations.

The report concludes that the experiment was of value. "The plan enabled us at once to discriminate justly between the man willing and anxious to work and the work-shy man who, even when jobs are plentiful, never works regularly and who, sensing the fact that his out-of-work plea would entitle him to a share of the funds contributed to relieve unemployment, was quite ready to settle down to a period of rest."

If relief work is to be provided, certain principles should govern.

(a) The relief work should not be widely advertised and no central point of registration making for congestion and confusion should be established.

(b) The work should be on part time. Ample opportunity and every encouragement should ge given to the men to look for regular jobs.

(c) Social agencies already established in the community should be requested to furnish at least a part of the men who are put to work.

Bread lines and soup kitchens were established during the winter of 1914-15 in New York City, Detroit, Cincinnati, Louisville, and other cities. Little need be said about enterprises of this character. We know that they do not help the unemployed, they are sure to attract the unemployable, and they provide a stupid form of mass treatment for a group very much in need of individualized treatment. Frequently, bread lines and soup kitchens are established by a group of men or women who desire to focus the attention of the community upon unemployment as an industrial evil in need of a remedy. But, very naturally, more harm than good is accomplished even for purposes of propaganda, for the community is likely to be led to believe that the group of men in such lines are wholly representative of the unemployed, when as a matter of fact a large proportion are unemployable.

An interesting picture of the homeless men group found in any city is furnished us in the Unemployment Survey to which reference has already been made. It contains the conclusions of the social, medical and mental analysis of men who came to the municipal lodging house of New York city in March of 1914.

This study shows these men to be composed of many types. Many were not in shape to work. Among the group of inefficients were the physically handicapped, the mentally handicapped, the inebriate, the habitually idle, the untrained and the aged. Out of 2,000 men, 62% were considered able to do hard manual work. There were 11%, however, physically unable to do work of any kind; of these, 7% were permanently disabled. Out of 1,482 men who were examined as to their habits, 1,292 admitted drinking alcoholic liquors, and 44% of the total number said they drank to excess. Out of 2,000 men medically examined, not less than 775, or 39% were found to be suffering from alcoholism. A considerable number were mentally sub-normal, and one out of every five admitted begging on the street. The committee which drafted the report concluded that "each homeless man who applies at the Municipal Lodging House needs individual attention" and makes its findings the basis for a plea for an adequate group of trained investigators, an employment bureau, a better grade of employees, and an industrial building or a farm colony which might be used as a training plant for those who are unemployable.

"Bundle days," a new development in 1914-1915, are similar to bread lines and soup kitchens in their effect on the community. They focus attention on the gathering of old clothes and their distribution rather than on the evils of unemployment. Case workers know that the "bundle day" with its inevitable wide newspaper publicity and the attendant congestion and confusion at a central distributing depot, does little to help the unemployed, that it is prone to be a demoralizing influence upon social endeavor in the community, and that it dissipates the attention that should be concentrated upon the lack of community organization which is largely responsible for the man who is without a job.

A number of loan funds were created to meet the last unemployment crisis. We do not yet know with what measure of success they have met. Much was said a year ago about the loans that were made, but little is known as to how well they were collected. Efforts I have made to secure such data have met with poor success. It is inevitable that emergency loans on character in a time of stress should disregard the fundamentals of credit. As Mr. Ham of the Remedial Loans Department of the Russell Sage Foundation has pointed out, a man's best asset is the estimate held of him by his fellows. Such an estimate is secured through points of contact in labor, fraternal and religious organizations to which he belongs. It is difficult for the administrator of an emergency loan fund in times of unemployment to secure this

estimate. Mr. Ham advised against the establishment of an emergency loan fund to help meet the unemployment situation in New York city, but strongly advised the organization of credit unions. These are organized among the members of labor, fraternal and religious organizations, and provide for credit on character.

From this very brief consideration of conditions as found by the case worker in his contact with men who are termed "unemployed" I believe we may draw three conclusions as to what his contribution ought to be:

In the first place, he should insist that a sound relief policy be followed in providing for the unemployable as well as for the unemployed. Not to differentiate the two groups means failure.

In the second place, it is his duty to reveal to the community the exact nature of the problems which come to him. It may be discouraging to face a situation such as was revealed by the inquiry made concerning men in the municipal lodging house in New York city, but unless the community is aware that a large group of unemployable men is found among our transient population ample provision will not be made for them.

Finally, it is the duty of the case worker to assist in promoting measures designed to reduce the volume of involuntary unemployment. He, better than any one, knows that during certain periods of every year there are thousands of men out of work through no fault of their own. Such a situation calls for the support of all of us of a program such as that advocated at the sessions of this conference by Mr. Shillady and Professor Leiserson.

DISCUSSION: The speakers in informal discussion were: Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Stuart A. Rice, New York City; Helen B. Pendleton, Newark; Emil Marcussen, Chicago; Robert C. Dexter, Montreal.

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS AND INSANITY

PROGRAM

Modern Treatment of the Feeble-minded, general session, p. 205.
Relation to Other Problems, section meeting, p. 229.
Colonies for Feeble-minded, section meeting, p. 239.
Dangers of Classification, p. 257.
Modern Problems of Insanity, section meeting, p. 266.
Borderline Cases, section meeting, p. 292.

COMMITTEE REPORT: STIMULATING PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE FEEBLE-MINDED*

E. R. Johnstone, Superintendent, The Training School, Vineland, New Jersey, Chairman

There are many more feeble-minded people in this country than the average person believes. True feeble-mindedness is not curable. Feeble-mindedness is strongly inheritable. The average families are large. Their presence entails a heavy burden upon society. Society is inclined to be indifferent. To care for them costs money, but it is cheaper in the long run to do it right. The public must be informed so that they will instruct their legislators to make the necessary appropriations. We want more facts, but we know enough to keep us busy.

Let me quote from those who know:—

> It is conservative to say that there are at least four feeble-minded persons to each thousand of the general population.[1]
>
> No really feeble-minded person ever was, or can be, entirely cured.[2]
>
> At least two-thirds of the feeble-minded have inherited their feeble-mindedness.[3]
>
> The average number of children born in a family is four, whereas in these degenerates we find 7.3 each, and if the still-born children are included, the disproportion is still more striking, as the average number of children born in each family is brought up to 8.4.[4]
>
> Truants, incorrigibles and mentally deficient classes overlap much more than the public at large imagine.[5]
>
> Careful inquiries have placed the proportion of mentally defective persons in certain correctional institutions at from 20 to 30 per cent.[6]
>
> Of three hundred prostitutes, fifty-one per cent were feeble-minded. All doubtful cases were recorded as normal. Not more than six of the entire number seemed to have really good minds."[7]

*General session, Monday, May 15, 8:15 P. M.

> Sixty-two per cent of all cases committed to our inebriate homes are either insane or mentally defective.[8]
>
> Certain feeble-minded families have lived and propagated their kind in almshouses for six and seven generations. Fully eight per cent of all persons in our almshouses are feeble-minded.[9]
>
> Feeble-minedness produces more pauperism, degeneracy and crime than any other one force.[10]
>
> When we view the number of the feeble-minded, their fecundity, and their lack of control, the menace they are, the degradation they cause, the degeneracy they perpetuate, the suffering and misery and crime they spread,—these are the burden we must bear.[11]

Similar quotations might be continued indefinitely. The fact is apparent that there is hardly a social problem that is not complicated by the presence of the feeble-minded. It is unfortunately true that there are still school superintendents who say, "We have no feeble-minded in our schools." There are physicians who say, "They will outgrow it." There are judges who say, "A girl who can answer like that is not feeble-minded." There are still thousands of parents who say, "Even if your examinations and tests do satisfy you I am sure my child is not feeble-minded." And because these far outnumber those who recognize the feeble-minded and are actively engaged in studying and providing care for them, and because the "average citizen" (including the legislators) knows little or nothing about the subject there is great need of stimulating public interest.

I am happy to say that there is now one national body whose declared purpose is "To disseminate knowledge concerning the

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[1]—Fernald: Prevention of Mental Defect, National Conference of Charities and Correction 1915, p. 290.

[2]—Fernald.

[3]—Goddard: Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences, p. 47.

[4]—Tredgold: Report of Royal Commission of England, Pt. 6, p. 199.

[5]—Rogers: National Conference of Charities and Correction 1907, p. 471.

[6]—Salmon, Clark and Dana: Outlines for a State Policy for Dealing with Mental Deficiency. Medical Record, April 17, 1915.

[7]—Massachusetts Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, So-Called. Report 1914, p. 29.

[8]—Branthwait—England.

[9]—Mental Defectives in Virginia. Report, State Board of Charities, 1916.

[10]—Butler: National Conference of Charities and Correction 1907, p. 10.

[11]—Butler: The Need of Research, Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction 1915, p. 361.

[12]—The Committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded, 501-2 Empire Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

[13]—The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City.

extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people," [12] and another which proposes "To aid and encourage work for the conservation of mental health and for improvement in the treatment of those suffering from nervous or mental diseases and mental deficiency; to conduct or to supervise surveys of the care of those suffering from mental diseases or mental deficiency." [13]

Let us pause just here to say that the need of research is imperative. If this country is to meet this problem adequately it must not be satisfied to care for those who chance to come to the attention of public officials. We must reach the heart of the trouble.

We must know what feeble-mindedness really is; what causes it; how far it is inheritable; just what part syphilis, alcoholism, tuberculosis, etc. play; what effect faulty metabolism has; what part the different grades or types of feeble-minded may safely have in community life; what really happens when good roads, railroads and other civilizing influences come into the districts formerly given over to degenerate defectives. We need methods by which the feeble-minded may be easily recognized. We need places — many of them — where children may be studied and examined so that those who *are* feeble-minded may be so declared and steps be taken for their protection and care and those who are questionable, but are normal, may be recognized at once.

This great National Conference draws together those engaged in social work of every character. Not one of these workers rounds out his year without finding feeble-mindedness forced to his attentoin. Therefore I ask that you take definite steps to stimulate interest in the feeble-minded in your own community, your commonwealth and throughout the nation.

Research

Departments of research should be established in every institution in the country. Here should be made a complete study of each child. The investigator must determine the peculiar mental content of each mind. He already suspects that a case of hereditary feeble-mindedness differs in its mental content from a case of the same grade which is due to disease or to accident. He has found a different reaction to his tests upon the part of the child who is simply feeble-minded and the one whose condition is complicated by a psychosis. He sees that their associa-

tions are by contiguity rather than by similarity, that they do not generalize; that while they have imagination, their imagination is not the same as that of normals; that while they are often wilful, this is not will power in the ordinary sense. He thinks that their inheritance is by degrees, i. e., the off-spring of morons are morons, of imbeciles, imbeciles, etc.; that in little children showing no present signs of defect he may by his studies discover those who are potentially feeble-minded.

He would make a complete study of their metabolic processes and find among other things whether these children's bodies do the right thing with the food they take; of the so-called ductless glands and find what effect they really have on the functioning of the mind and body. He would find if it *is* true that certain types have a higher sugar tolerance and why. Studies of urine, blood, spinal fluid, etc. cannot but be of great value.

Our investigator must make a histological study of the brain of the feeble-minded. With a complete clinical history he may be able to discover the location of various difficulties. The relation of the various diseases to feeble-mindedness must be discovered.

These research laboratories must devise and perfect methods of examining and testing. They should become clinics for the examination of suspected cases, where psychologists, physicians and other scientists may come to study. They should establish out clinics. They should furnish men sufficiently expert to make surveys that would be accepted without question by intelligent people. It takes much money to run research laboratories. Thus far, I believe, New Jersey is the only state whose legislature makes definite appropriation for research in the field of feeble-mindedness. Public opinion should be stimulated in every state until this is accomplished.

Surveys

Careful, systematic and thorough surveys should be made in every state to the end that the citizens may know their own problems. The almshouses and orphanages, the reformatory and penal institutions, the villages for epileptics and hospitals for the insane should be surveyed and the presence of the feeble-minded be called to the attention of the citizens. A study of the public and private schools and of the schools for the deaf and blind should be made. There should be careful surveys of certain districts where mental defectiveness is suspected to be present in a large degree. Nor should the survey work be con-

fined to the discovery of those who are feeble-minded. It should take into account hereditary and environmental conditions and search for the cause of prevalent diseases. If any state does not feel able to attempt such wide-spread work alone, it may secure the assistance of the national bodies mentioned above, the Public Health Service, the Eugenics Record Office, the Bureau of Education and the Federal Children's Bureau. Several may be asked to co-operate as has been done in Delaware, Missouri, Indiana and other states.

Much as we would like to ignore the fact, surveys cost a great deal of money. If this work is to be fostered or directed by the states this money must be raised by taxation and the stimulating of public interest is necessary to do this.

Laws

While everyone will probably agree that there is great need for research and surveys there may be some disagreement as to what we should have in the way of laws. One of our statesmen has said, "A good law is often the ideal toward which the people are striving." My own state is well supplied with laws and I offer it merely as suggestive. We have:

a. Compulsory medical inspection in all school districts.[14]

b. The compulsory establishing of special classes in the public schools.[15]

c. The power of retention for cases admitted to institutions.[16]

d. The right to parole feeble-minded males.[17]

e. Sterilization (since declared unconstitutional for epileptics.[18]

f. Prohibition of the marriage of the feeble-minded.[19]

g. Requiring the registration of all feeble-minded persons by local physicians.[20]

h. Making the Commissioner of Charities guardian for all neglected feeble-minded persons.[21]

To secure these laws it was necessary to greatly stimulate public interest.

We have not as yet a commitment law. There is some question as to the need of it as long as there are long waiting lists

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[14]—Laws 1909, Chapter 92, New Jersey.
[15]—Laws 1911, Chapter 234, New Jersey.
[16]—Laws 1909, Chapter 134, New Jersey.
[17]—Laws 1910, Chapter 212, New Jersey.
[18]—Laws 1911, Chapter 190, New Jersey.
[19]—Laws 1912, Chapter 199, New Jersey.
[20]—Laws 1912, Chapter 182, New Jersey.
[21]—Laws 1912, Chapter 182, New Jersey.

at the instituitions. But when we realize that the family history studies show in so many cases that one or two of a family are under care, as with the Kallikaks, Nams, Ishmaels, etc., and the other members are continuing to bring feeble-minded children into the world it seems that the state should take prompt action to check the stream at its source.

We have no law to provide psychopathic chinics or hospitals although the need is felt daily. Various suggestions have been made as to the best method; a clinic in existing institutions; separate intermediaite institutions for the reception, study and classification of new cases; a chain of clinics under the control of a Mental Deficiency Commission, etc.

We have no law for following up extra-institutional cases; those who are kept in the homes, those who leave the institutions and especially those who pass through the special classes and are then turned out. Here, too, there is a difference of opinion with all of the facts to be settled. It is claimed by some that a large percentage of children who have passed through the special classes and institutions have formed such good habits that they live fairly useful, happy lives. Others claim that they almost immediately drift into bad habits and companions and again become burdens to society. We need research and surveys to tell us just what to do and then laws to insure the doing of it.

Our knowledge of feeble-mindedness is very limited. Indeed, one member of this committee says, "I would combat in every way the idea anything whatever is settled about feeble-mindedness except that we must study it carefully for many years, and utilize the information we get as fast as it is received." So we, you, everyone who can be interested must use every endeavor to push the research and surveys. We must urge the enactment of laws as rapidly as we know what those laws should cover. We must state the questionable points as questionable points.

Let us then be conservative, very conservative. Let us take the statements made at the beginning of this report at one-half or one quarter of their value, although they are made by experts. But let us realize that in spite of this we have a big job before us that requires immediate action. Let us remember that every community, however small, has at least one feeble-minded person needing care: that there is one in each primary school: that every worker with the insane and epileptic; the criminals, juvenile delinquents and truants; the syphilitics, prostitutes and other sex offenders; the tramps, paupers and homeless; the drunkards and drug habitues; the inefficients and ne'er-do-wells; is con-

stantly finding them: that they are often in evidence when we speak of tuberculosis, children's diseases, saving babies, tenement reform and the slums. Now in order to be conservative cut this in two or believe but one-quarter of it and still you have a large number of innocent, unprotected feeble-minded persons who need immediate care.

My plea today is for Johnny Jones and Sally Brown who are at large; the butt of their companions, the laggards in the schools, the tools of designing men and women, the problem of the courts, the potential criminals, the possible mates of your relatives and mine. Of course we do not know enough about feeble-mindedness but we dare not stop our provision for those of whom we do know. We may make mistakes, we are sure to do so. We shall start many things and stop them as soon as we find we are wrong, but we must go on. We must urge proper provision for the Johnnies and Sallies of whom we *know* and about whose mental deficiency there is no question. And to do even this requires a great stimulation of public interest.

The Plan

The plan outlined has been successfully put into effect. This is a report rather than a theory.

The logical place to begin is with the mentally defective individual. Here is a feeble-minded person needing care. You know the case. You write to your state department of charities or to the governor or to some state official and you are told that there is no place or no money or no room. To secure these you must have action by the legislators. To get the legislators to act there must be a demand upon the part of their constituents, so you undertake to stimulate interest until this demand shall be so insistent that they will do something.

Your first step is to form a committee of interested people who will work. They should be people who have the confidence of the community. Then you must raise a few hundred dollars for postage, clerical service, etc., and go to work. Your letter head may simply say such-and-such a State Committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded. Your object should be to stimulate public interest to the end that known cases of feeble-mindedness shall be cared for adequately. You should not attempt surveys, research work, etc., that is the function of other bodies. Propaganda is your work. It will be hard enough to raise money to do your own job properly. Personally I believe an independent committee with this one object in view will do better than if it

be affiliated with some other body with other things to accomplish.

Now must be secured the names of as many as possible of those who need care. These may be secured from the lists of those who are awaiting admission to the institutions for the feeble-minded, from charitable societies, public school teachers, physicians and parents of these children. Letters explaining the purpose of the committee should be sent to all persons who may be interested. They should be told how they can co-operate.

Whenever the names of defectives are received, inquiry should be made as to whether the parents or guardians are desirous of having them properly cared for and trained. Then letters should be sent to those parents or guardians telling what the committee proposes to do and asking them to return (on a blank enclosed) the names of business and professional men and women who know the child personally. Send a stamped return envelope. If the parents or guardians will take these blanks and have people sign their own names, they will secure greater interest and co-operation from them than if they (the parents) simply give your Committee the names.

Letters must now be sent to these people explaining that the committee is endeavoring to obtain care for this child, that there are so many other children known to need care (giving all of the local facts possible) and that only legislative appropriations can secure it. The names and addresses of the members of the legislature from their own counties must be sent these people (as well as the names of the appropriations committee, just as soon as they are known) and they must be asked to write—or better—call upon the legislators and present the needs of the child in question. Printed matter and leaflets as well as other general facts relating to the feeble-minded should also be sent. If there is an institution for the feeble-minded in the state, urge them to write the superintendent for a copy of his annual report. The reports from other state institutions will give some information about the feeble-minded.

Ask your institution superintendents to give you the names and addresses of interested visitors and put them on your mailing lists. In all cases secure the home as well as the business addresses so that certain of the mail may be sent home in order to stimulate the interest of the entire family. Keep the local health boards, the township trustees, boards of freeholders, commissioners and other official bodies informed; also lodges, churches, labor unions and even social clubs. Above all, secure the interest of the women's organizations. They have done more in the past than any other group. They are interested and will

take the time to understand and act. As their interest is aroused they will co-operate with you.

If you can thoroughly interest but one live member of any such organization he will get the matter before it from time to time. The subject of the feeble-minded is always interesting, to many it is new and to all it is important. Ignorance of the facts is largely responsible for failure to act in the past. Enlightenment will be followed by action.

While printed matter is to be sent to physicians, clergymen, school teachers and other interested parties there must be a great deal of general newspaper publicity. More and more the newspapers are willing to give space to social problems. Most things relating to the feeble-minded make a good newspaper story. Short paragraphs and even articles from one-half to a full column in length will be freely published. Many of the metropolitan papers have given full pages to the subject in their Sunday editions.

Your committee should see that a place is secured upon the programs of the local women's club, medical and teachers' society, the grange and indeed any body of the kind. Members should be encouraged to write papers and should be given facts to use in their preparation.

In many states little or nothing is known of the state institutions for the feeble-minded. They are only heard of when something goes wrong and so the average citizen thinks of bolts and bars, cruelty and mistreatment when the word "institution" is mentioned. The school for the feeble-minded is a place of happiness. Here the child who has always lagged behind, who has been imposed upon and neglected because he has been misunderstood, who has been dragged into trouble because he did not know enough or have will enough, to keep out; here, in this village of the simple, this land of eternal childhood, he finds joy and gladness. He finds here appreciation for his weak efforts, safety from temptation, opportunity to develop as far as possible, both physically and mentally. And because these institutions are dealing with minds that are moving so slowly or are entirely stopped, many things may be learned which are of great value to the teacher or parent of normal children.

Not only may they ascertain the facts suggested in the paragraph on Research, mentioned above; they may also learn much of value as to our attitude toward childhood. It appears that children lose confidence in us because we make promises which we do not keep; that the depressing effects of failure should lead

us to require only those things that can be successfully accomplished; that praise increases energy and censure takes it away; that so-called egotism is often merely consciousness of power which should be recognized and directed; that a child does the thing which is made a special privilege, with gladness but objects to being ordered to do the same thing; that he works for rewards even as we do but that they must be tangible and appear soon; that when he is angry he elects to do the thing which we have established as "bad" so as to indicate the degree of his temper.

Dealing with the feeble-minded may show us that an extreme sensitiveness, coupled with a lack of understanding, often brings about a condition which we call stubbornness and teach us to be sure our meaning is clear. It may impress upon us that a cheerful face and a pleasant voice are particularly welcome to a child, especially when he gets into trouble. It may even change the average official institution inspector, who too frequently brings gloom, fear and uneasiness, into an institution visitor who brings brightness, confidence and comfort, because one must always see the good, the success of the feeble-minded.

And so, because such an institution may become a laboratory of sentiment as well as of science, shall we not try all the more to stimulate interest in the feeble-minded?

If your committee will make known all of the above facts—if it will show the real institution—parents will no longer be afraid to send their helpless children. This can be done not only by printed matter and lectures but also by charts and pictures, by stereopticon slides and even moving pictures, for now all of these are available.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene and its state branches will co-operate in every way possible and the national Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded is organized for the specific purpose of giving assistance to any body or committee that will undertake the work of propaganda. Its great business is to see that Johnny Jones and Sally Brown receive training, care and such happiness as may be theirs.

If you really wish to do something and not just talk about it, go home and start your committee. Do not wait for a legislative commission. Dozens have been appointed in the last ten years. Some have done wonderfully well, some have been worse than useless. If you want something to be done *you* must start it. Do you not get tired hearing papers on the subject? Since 1884—for thirty-two years—the need of provision for the feeble-minded has been presented to this Conference, and we are caring for less than one-tenth.

If you have been doing your share, it is well, but why not do a little more? If you have been listening and thinking how much something needs to be done, it is time you get to work. Form your committee. Ask for information. Give justice, care, training, happiness to the most misunderstood, helpless and innocent of mankind.

THE SCHOOL AS A FACTOR IN THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

Taliaferro Clark, M.D., Surgeon, United States Public Health Service

It is now generally conceded that inherited characteristics and environmental influences are the leading factors in the development of intelligence and maintenance of mental stability. It has not been determined, however, which of these is the more responsible cause of mental deficiency. The school offers ready opportunity for the study of these influences. A practical solution of the question seems possible by the study of large numbers of growing children, both normal and sub-normal, under similar conditions such as are found in the schools, and by making the results of these observations a part of the school records available for future reference, in the event of the subsequent development of a psychosis among them.

Our personal experience has been largely with psychological problems arising in connection with developing school children in rural communites. In the course of investigations of school hygiene by the United States Public Health Service during the past year and a half, mental examinations have been made of over 18,000 school children in four states. Nearly all of the children examined resided in rural districts. These studies, therefore, relate more particularly to the rural school child.

Retardation

The problems observed which require solution, while closely related to those arising in urban communities, present characteristics distinct from them. The most outstanding of these problems from the standpoint of mental hygiene, by reason of the close association of simple retardation and permanent mental deficiency, are those connected with the large number of mentally retarded children observed in the course of these investigations of rural school conditions.

All of the data collected which bear on this relationship has not been compiled, owing to the fact that these studies are still in progress. Compilations have been made, however, in the case of the rural school population of one whole county. The average attendance in the rural schools of this county was 2,512. The number of children who were examined mentally was 2,185. The results of these examinations, therefore, should be representative of the district in question. Of these 2,185 children, 8.7% were retarded as follows: Children of six and seven years of age who were retarded two years; eight and nine years of age, two and three years; ten and eleven years of age, three and four years; fourteen and fifteen years of age, five years; and sixteen to seventeen years of age who were retarded six years mentally.

The average retardation of these children in school work, as graded by teachers, was 1.28 years for girls and 1.5 years for boys. In other words, the total retardation in school work amounted to 268.27 school years.

Furthermore, intensive studies were made of the physical condition and school environment of these children. The following physical defects were recorded: Of the retarded girls, 35.5% were undersized, 58.8% had noticeable visual defects, 26.4% had defects of hearing, 17.6% had two or more defective teeth, 2.9% had enlarged tonsils and an additional 1.7% had enlarged tonsils associated with adenoids.

Of the boys, 38% were undersized, 47% had noticeable defects of vision (of which number 19 had confused color sense), 34% had defective hearing, 17% had defective teeth; and 6% had adenoids and enlarged tonsils.

These children were not feeble-minded. A clear distinction must be made between these two conditions for a proper appreciation of the role of retardation in mental deficiency.

The rate of intellectual development varies at different age periods. In very young children the rate is relatively rapid. In fact, it can be easily observed without special methods. As the child grows older, however, the progress of intellectual development from year to year is less easily detected, so that, between the ages of twelve and thirteen, it cannot be recognized. In the case of older children, therefore, the correlation of retardation and permanent mental deficiency is relatively easy. In other words, the greater the discrepancy obtaining between the chronological and actual mental ages, the more definitely it may be asserted that the child is feeble-minded,—that his intelligence will never be greater than that of a child when he becomes an adult. This is due to the improbability that a great amount of

retardation will be overcome in a short time intervening before maturity and at a lessened rate of mental progress.

In the case of very young children, however, one of two things may take place. First, the retardation may be temporary only. The annual increments of intellectual development may be so great as to overcome the retardation in the longer period which must elapse before maturity. On the other hand, mental development may remain stationary, or develop so slowly that the individual still presents the mentality of a child when the adult stage is reached.

Rural children are exposed to influences causing retardation that are quite distinct from those affecting children in urban communities. Broadly speaking, these influences may be considered from the standpoint of (1) sanitation and (2) education.

(1) School surveys have shown that 12% of the population in certain sections of our country is afflicted with trachoma. The amount of mental retardation observed in these sections is very great, due to the fact that the damage to vision caused by this disease hampers intellectual training.

It is known that there are many thousands of people suffering from hookworm disease in this country. It is common experience that children suffering from hookworm infection show evidence of mental retardation.

Furthermore, mental retardation is frequently associated with certain nutritional disorders. Of particular interest in this connection is pellagra, which is known to be largely a nutritional disorder due to an improperly arranged dietary. It is estimated that there are 75,000 people in this country who are suffering from pellagra, a large proportion of whom are children. Not only is this disease associated with mental retardation, but from four to ten per cent of pellagrins eventually become insane.

Finally, certain physical defects, especially those involving the organs of sight and hearing, operate to cause retardation. Failure to provide for the health supervision of the school children, so common in rural communities, is largely responsible for the continuance of a number of these defects which react injuriously on mental functioning.

(2) Of the educational influences operating to cause mental retardation may be mentioned the school environment, the sanitation of the school building, the arrangement and equipment of class rooms, the maintenance of too large a number of children in different grades in one room schools and faulty teaching methods.

The bad effects of improper heating and ventilation and faulty

illumination on the mental processes of school children are well recognized. The large number of retarded children observed in connection with the school facilities of this county is quite significant. Eighty-nine per cent of the rural schools inspected were one story structures, and 57% were more than 20 years old. Adjustable desks were found in only 9.5% of the class rooms, 41.1% were heated by closed stoves, 27.6% were without aids to ventilation and the illumination was from the right direction in only 42.2%.

Finally, retardation is itself a cause of retardation. The home environment and the mental attitude of parents who are themselves retarded are potent factors in the mental retardation of their children. Furthermore, the presence of a number of retarded children in a class exerts a hampering effect on the mental advancement of the class as a whole. This condition is very common in rural schools, due to the absence of facilities for the formation of special classes for the training of children in need of individualized instruction.

The great significance of simple retardation from the standpoint of mental hygiene lies in its parallelism to inferior grades of mental deficiency. Mention has been made of the numbers of retarded individuals observed in communities where certain endemic diseases and nutritional disorders are common. When a child retarded by hookworm disease has been cured he has promptly passed to a higher grade. Again, instances are not lacking to prove that the longer the infection persists in these cases the more permanent the effects of retardation are likely to be from the standpoint of both physical and mental development. It is clear, therefore, that constitutional conditions operating to produce mental retardation, unless removed, may finally bring about permanent mental impairment.

Of more general interest, however, because of the more extended field of operation, is the rôle of retardation from causes not clearly understood in inducing feeble-mindedness. The investigations of Holley show that the tendency is for men and women to marry those who are approximately of the same educational level. The intermarriage of men and women who have become discouraged through retardation and have quit school with but meagre educational attainments in quite common. The poor judgment so noticeable in individuals of this type, the weakened will, the ready yielding to desires frequently bring about unfortunate marriage selections, the formation of vicious and intemperate habits, an increase in venereal affections, influ-

ences that are largely responsible for social and economic conditions provocative of feeble-mindedness.

Feeble-mindedness

The percentage of feeble-minded persons in the general population is not known. It has been placed as high as four per cent by some observers. In this respect each community is a problem in itself. This is because of the modification of hereditary and environmental influences by immigration and geographical location.

The percentage of feeble-mindedness observed in the course of the recent extensive investigations of the Public Health Service varied from .3% to 1.1%, according to locality.

The results of the physical examination of feeble-minded children were at considerable variance with those of other observers who are so frequently quoted. Under-physical development was not found frequently associated with exceptional retardation (feeble-mindedness). In the case of feeble-minded girls, 57% were above the average physical development determned for the county, and 42.8% of the boys. Furthermore, 42.8% of the girls had visual defects, 14.2% had defects of hearing and 2.9% had enlarged tonsils. Of the boys 34.2% had visual defects, 57.1% defects of hearing and 7.1% enlarged tonsils. These observations seem more in accord with what might be expected in the case of feeble-minded children. It is natural to suppose that these children simply vegetate,—grow rapidly in a fairly good environment.

Constitutional Inferiority

On the day this paper was written, a boy was observed in a rural school who was noisy, vain, said to be cruel to animals, inclined to impose on younger children, given to lying and petty pilfering. Children of this constitutionally inferior type are of average intelligence. Quite early in life, however, they give evidences of a perverted moral sense that make them potential criminals in a bad environment. The number of such children found in any one community is not large. Nevertheless they are found in numbers sufficient to make them a serious problem from an educational and sociological standpoint. Especially is this true of rural communities where compulsory school attendance is required by law, but where no provision is made for the care and training of defective children.

Owing to the tendency to imitation exhibited by young children, the compulsory school attendance of the constitutionally

inferior is a menace to the morality of the community far greater than seems to be warranted by their number. The presence of such children in the general classes is undesirable, yet it is unwise to throw them back on the community without the hope of future training or restraint. To do so will but crystalize vicious tendencies which make of them a menace to society. The school offers that ready opportunity for the early recognition of children of this type which is so desirable for the successful application of necessary training methods.

Insanity and Epilepsy

During our investigations several insane children and a number of others with a marked psychopathic tendency have been noted. The occurrence of insanity in children has received but little recognition until within comparatively recent years. The early recognition of psychopathic tendencies is of vast importance from the standpoint of mental hygiene. It must be remembered that children who exhibit these tendencies have sick minds, just as other children have sick bodies, which require appropriate treatment. Ultimate recovery in cases of this kind depends largely on the prompt recognition of symptoms and early application of remedial measures. Continued studies of this character among school children are demanded to show the necessity of this form of health supervision for the protection of the mental health of communities.

An appreciable number of epileptic children have been observed in the course of these surveys of rural schools. The epileptic school child requires careful supervision because of the not infrequent occurrence of temporary mental disturbances in close association with an attack, during which serious bodily injury may be done to other children. Here, again, rural districts are sadly handicapped by the absence of medical school inspections and facilities for the care of epileptic children.

Our investigations have demonstrated the value of the school as an instrument to promote the mental health of rural communities, and have indicated a number of ways in which it may be utilized for this purpose. Of these may be mentioned measures intended (1) to determine the prevalence of mental deficiency, (2) to promote rural sanitation, (3) to train the individual child in the formation of correct habits.

(1) Our experience has shown that it is necessary to confront the average rural community with a specific problem before the co-operation of the whole community can be obtained in the application of measures intended to meet a particular situation.

It is of prime importance, therefore, to determine the number of mental defectives in a given community. Because of the close association between the home and the school, a mental examination of school children is the most practical means by which the prevalence of mental deficiency may be determined.

It is very desirable in this connection, however, to adopt uniform methods of procedure. For example, the considerable variation in the percentage of feeble-mindedness in the general population, as given by different observers, is too great to be accounted for by differences in local influences. These variations are due, in large part, to (a) the absence of a definite recognized feeble-minded "complex" and (b) the need of practical uniform tests of certain mental functions.

The proper classifications of persons who are patently feeble-minded is not difficult. It is a far different proposition in border-line cases, however, to say just when retardation ceases and feeble-mindedness begins. There is need for far greater diagnostic precision in these cases, than obtains under present conditions, to bring about uniform results. As it is, the classification of a number of border-line cases depends largely on the personal equation and experience of individual observers.

Furthermore, our investigations have shown the desirability of employing psychologists having biological training to conduct examinations of this character. In studies of mental deficiency a distinction must be made between acquired mental defects and those that are transmissible. For example, children who become defectives through traumatism, severe organic lesions, and more or less prolonged action of certain infections and improper dietaries are not defective in the true meaning of the term.

(2) Not only does the continued presence of endemic diseases entail great economic losses to communities where they prevail by reducing the physical efficiency of a great part of the population, but they are also accompanied by a similar reduction in mental efficiency. These harmful influences continue to exist because of the general lack of information so common in rural communities concerning their cause and prevention. In a number of instances it is a difficult matter to secure the co-operation of the adult population, which is set and fixed in its habits, in measures intended to improve the community health. Health supervision of school children not only gives valuable information concerning the prevalence of these conditions, but it also exercises an educational effect on the rising generation, through whom the sanitary redemption of these communities is largely to be brought about.

The control of hookworm disease is a matter of personal hygiene and community sanitation. The school is an effective agent for the demonstration of measures for its control, and in addition offers exceptional facilities for the early detection and prompt cure of hookworm sufferers so necessary to prevent permanent mental impairment.

Mention has been made of the effect of poor nutrition on mental development in connection with pellagra. The ill effects of faulty feeding in infancy and early childhood on the physical and mental health are well recognized. It was not discovered until recently, however, that food value means much more than its estimation in terms of calories. It is now known that a diet sufficient to supply the demands of normal metabolism must contain a due proportion of a recently recognized substance to which the name "vitamine" has been given.

This substance occurs in very small amounts and in varying proportions in different food stuffs, a fact which must be taken in consideration in arranging a dietary for the cure and prevention of nutritional disorders. The mental hygienist is deeply interested in the school, therefore, as a factor in the prevention of these disorders through the teaching of food preparation and food values and the extension of this knowledge to the home.

(3) It has been asserted that a large percentage of school children are pre-disposed to mental "complexes" usually found associated with what are now considered functional disorders of the mind. Incorrect habits of thought and feeling in the child, unless corrected, are possible causes of the failure of the child later in life properly to adjust himself to his environment. We have observed in rural communities children who present one or more of the symptoms usually enumerated as forming a mental "complex" in such numbers that grave doubts are raised as to the correctness of this general form of *a posteriori* reasoning. Certainly there is need of something other than indefinite statements regarding the relation between personality and psychoses. The most practical plan for supplying this want, I believe, is the study of personality in developing school children somewhat after the manner outlined by Hoch. Data so collected and filed for future reference will be of the greatest value in the correlation of certain mental traits and psychoses appearing later in life.

Studies of this character also serve to draw attention to the milder forms of abnormality which, when neglected, crystallize into faulty habits productive of grave consequences to the mental health.

To be effective, the teaching of correct "habit formation" should begin in the home at an age earlier than that represented by the school period. Unfortunately, this is not of general application in most rural districts, where the tendency to the formation of incorrect habits is largely due to the comparative isolation of families, the limited association with persons of superior training and the lack of contact with the broadening influences of the outside world. The school, therefore, stands in a very definite relation to such communities in supplying the training for the prevention of faulty habits which so materially reduce individual efficiency.

A STATE PLAN FOR THE CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

Joseph P. Byers, Executive Secretary, Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

A plan that involves the adoption or enlargement of a state policy affecting the lives, liberty and happiness of any part of our citizenship ought to have back of it, first of all, a recognized need. We have no right to ask public approval to any such policy that is founded on guesswork or mere theory. We require, therefore, in the formulation of a plan for the care of the feeble-minded, a groundwork of proved and accepted facts.

Assuming that our facts clearly indicate a need wholly neglected or only partially met, our plan must, in the second place, provide a reasonable method for its development and operation. This reasonable method must be at once practical, humane and economic if we expect it to receive public approval.

The third step will be that of making the plan effective by an intelligible and persistent presentation of the need, the facts and the method to the people of the state.

The first question for us to answer is, therefore, "Why do we need a state plan for the care of the feeble-minded?" How shall an intelligent public know that this question of the feeble-minded is a social menace of such large aspect as to justify, if it does not *demand* the adoption of a plan for its control? Our intelligent public will rightfully require from us something more than a dogmatic assertion or a mere expression of our belief that feeble-mindedness is a present and growing menace to our national life. It should, and it will, demand from us a statement of the whole problem and reasonable proof of the correctness of the solution we have to offer.

Are we prepared *now* to furnish facts in regard to feeble-mindedness and the feeble-minded? Are they conclusive enough to justify immediate action or must we wait until scientific research, of which there is urgent need, shall have told us all the "whys and wherefores" of mental defectiveness? Must we know why it rains before we raise our unbrellas?

Is our proposed solution of the problem based on present knowledge, worthy of acceptance? All of these questions, you, the intelligent public, must answer.

Several years ago a New York oculist told me the following incident that had occurred in his office the preceding day:

"You know," he began, "that I have been doing considerable work in examining the eyes of some of the public school children. Yesterday the principal of X—— School sent to me a little boy, six years old. He was brought by his teacher. She told me the child had just entered school, that his eyes seemed to be very defective, and that, so far as she could learn, he had never had any treatment for them. The boy came from a poor home.

"When the teacher had told me what she knew about him and his home, I examined him. He had apparently good eyes, yet he could only distinguish day from night. He could not see objects. I found that his eyes lacked the power to focus. He had been born without lenses. He was blind.

"I adjusted the frames to his head, selected a pair of lenses, and dropped them into place. There was an instant transformation in the child's face—a wonderful illumination—and he fairly shouted, 'Oh, I see flowers!' Sure enough, he did, for the glass lenses, doing for him what nature had denied, had caught up the rays from some American Beauty roses there on my table, focused them, and shot the image of the roses along the optic nerves to his brain. And so his first sight showed him the beauty of the flowers. It was like working a miracle! All the boy needed to give him clear vision was the focusing power of the lenses."

There is a striking analogy between the blind boy and our problem of the feeble-minded The discovery and adaptation of methods for measuring intelligence, supplemented by heredity research and investigation of personal and family histories are the new lenses through which, during the past eight or ten years, we have been getting greater light on the feeble-minded. We begin to see clearly some things of which we were before but dimly conscious.

We know now, as we never knew before, that feeble-mindedness enters into and complicates every one of our great social problems, and we are beginning to know that the first step in

their solution must be the identification and elimination of this feeble-minded element.

Let me here speak a word of warning. We must remember that the garment of immunity with which we cover the feeble-minded is not a magic cloak under which all criminals, paupers and other social misfits may hide.

What more do we know?

We know that at least three in a thousand of our population are feeble-minded, and that on this basis, there are 275,000 of these people in the United States. Some conservative authorities say *four* in a thousand, but we can afford to be even more conservative than they, since three in a thousand, taken in connection with other known facts is both impressive and satisfying.

We know that on April first, 1916 (six weeks ago), the number in the United States actually under public care in institutions for the feeble-minded was 30,365, or just about eleven per cent of our *very* conservative estimate of the whole number.

We know that sixteen states have failed to establish such institutions and that in each of the other thirty-two the provision made is woefully inadequate.

We know that in the state having the greatest number of feeble-minded under public care in proportion to the general population, Massachusetts, the ratio is but one to 1,245 on the basis of the 1910 Census. So that here, in the leading state, three out of every four feeble-minded persons are not under proper care. In Minnesota, the second state, the ratio is one to 1,319, and Iowa comes third with one to 1,511. The remaining twenty-nine states show a steadily decreasing ratio until we reach Vermont with one to 11,482, Virginia one to 12,648 and North Carolina one to 15,647.

We know that in every state feeble-minded persons are in hospitals for the insane, where they do not belong; that many more are improperly classified with and treated as criminals and delinquents; that many more are in almshouses where, in a majority of cases they are not and cannot be adequately protected; that many more are in institutions for children from which they must of necessity be discharged presently; that a greater number, greater than all the foregoing, are at large in their communities, free to perpetuate their kind.

We know that feeble-mindedness is inherited and that to this fact is due at least two-thirds of our present feeble-minded population.

We know that the feeble-minded mother is more prolific in the bearing of children than the normal mother.

We know that the feeble-minded lack in judgment and resistance to evil influences and that they are therefore unable to adjust themselves to normal life in the community.

We know that the social evil is fed from the ranks of feeble-minded women.

We know that public and private organizations dealing with pauperism, vagrancy, inebriety, family desertion, and illegitimacy find this same element of feeble-mindedness entering into and complicating their work.

We know that in all our schools there are children we call backward or retarded. That while much of this lagging behind is undoubtedly due to remediable causes, just as certainly a considerable part of it is due to a mental defect that is irremediable. We do not know how large this per cent is, but we do know that it is large enough to affect, and that it is affecting our whole system of education.

These are some of the things we know. Are they not sufficient to suggest the necessity for present action? Must we wait until our scientific men have agreed upon a method or series of tests for border-line cases before we begin to provide for those concerning whose condition and need there is no doubt?

There is ample evidence that we are unwilling to await! Nearly every state in the Union is beginning to *see* as they have long *felt* the burden and menace of the feeble-minded, and they are asking the questions "What shall we do?" "How shall we do it?" "Where shall we begin?" The answers to these questions in the light of our knowledge and experience are not difficult.

First: *Prevent* feeble-mindedness by cutting off the recognized source of two-thirds of it. This source is the feeble-minded parent. Therefore prevent parenthood as far as they are concerned. The only sure method we are now prepared to accept is permanent segregation in suitable institutions under state control. *Provide the institutions.*

Second: Begin with the known cases. There are enough of these to keep us busy while our men of science are devising and perfecting methods for the identification of high grade cases and pushing their research work.

Third: Provide for medical and mental examination of all school children, by *competent persons.*

Adjust the work of the schools so that *every child* shall have the benefit of an education adjusted to his mental and physical capacity to acquire and that shall fit him for the position in life he is destined to occupy. This will require the establishment of

special classes and special schools. These special classes and schools must not become mere receptacles for defective children but rather clearing houses from which the backward and retarded child shall be presently returned to the regular classes and the mentally defective child transferred, at or before the period of adolescence to the permanent custody of the state.

Fourth: Establish mental clinics for the examination of all persons brought before the courts charged with crime or delinquency. Extend the work of these clinics to include all persons dependent upon public relief or upon organized charity.

Fifth: Enact a commitment law that shall provide for the safe and permanent custody or supervision by the state of all persons who after competent examination and by reason of mental defect are found to be or about to become a mental, moral or physical menace to themselves or others.

Sixth: Provide properly equipped institutions for all of these people in which care suited to their needs and training adjusted to their capacity to receive shall be provided. A large proportion of them can be usefully employed if intelligently directed. They can be economically housed if we discard the up-to-now prevailing and mistaken notion of elaborate buildings and equipment. They can be protected and at the same time made happy and contented and useful. The proof of these statements is found in their accomplishment in many states.

In connection with this institution or training school, colonies should be established. Here, under direction, outdoor employment can be given to the larger and older inmates. In several states these colonies have been located on state forestry lands and the colonists have been used in tree planting, clearing, cutting fire lines, fighting forest fires, draining and doing practically all of the common labor that falls to the lot of the dweller of the forest and the farm.

The advantage of the forest reserve is that it is usually big enough and that it entails no expense for the purchase of a site.

Colonies for men have been carried beyond the experimental stage. There is no reason why colonies for feeble-minded women, carefully located to afford the inmates the greatest measure of protection, should not be equally successful.

The state that expends more than $300.00 per bed for the buildings and equipment of a colony for from one to three hundred inmates, spends too much.

Now, how shall we go about getting a plan for state care adopted and made effective?

First, by getting the home facts. The people and legislature of Indiana are not greatly concerned or moved by feeble-minded facts from Vermont or California or Kentucky. We need, therefore, to know how the matter stands with our own state and community. The records of every almshouse, jail, children's home, charity organization society, overseer of the poor, workhouse, Florence Crittenton Mission, reformatory and court will give you *some* of them. The schools will give you *some* of them. Your own neighborhood or circle of acquaintances will probably give you *some* of them. Your waiting lists for institutional care will yield a rich harvest. One well developed case showing the cost of the states' neglect to the feeble-minded girl and her nameless child, or the neglected and defective children of a feeble-minded mother, or the home, racked and torn and wrecked by the effort to safeguard a feeble-minded child from the dangers of the street, the jeers and ridicule of thoughtless children or the gossip of the neighbors, any of these, *one* of them, is enough to start a campaign in your town or county or state for adequate provision for the feeble-minded. Only it will be necessary for somebody to begin to really care to have it done and to care enough to talk about it and work for it.

You may know of a case that your representative in the legislature never heard of: tell him about it. Get someone else to tell him about it, or another one. Let him begin to feel that the state has neglected a duty to the people of his district and that the only relief is through state legislation. Suppose this happened to every member of the next legislature in your state!

What can be done? Do as they have done in Arkansas, Utah, Florida and Kentucky in the past twelve months, have the legislature direct the governor to appoint a state commission on the feeble-minded; or, as they have done in the past six months in Indiana, California and South Carolina, secure the appointment of an unofficial commission; or, as they are doing in New York, Massachusetts, Delaware and Pennsylvania, in Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Rochester and other states and cities, organize a group of men and women who will be willing to act as a center of disturbance for a campaign for the feeble-minded. Then get all the facts you can and send them to the commission or group.

Don't forget to use the greatest agency we have in the country for such work; the women's clubs. They want to help. They *are* helping.

A little more than a year ago a small group of men who had long been interested in the subject of feeble-mindedness discussed the need for a national organization which should devote itself

to the stimulation of public interest in the subject and to securing adequate provision for the feeble-minded, with the ultimate purpose of the eradication of feeble-mindedness from the American people.

The first question they asked themselves was, "Do we know enough? Have we established enough facts with regard to these people, to warrant the initiation of such a movement?"

The answer was "We know too much to delay longer."

The next question was "Will not the cost of adequate provision prove prohibitive?" and the answer was, "Care costs less than neglect."

Out of that meeting came the National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded.

The first step taken by the Committee was to secure for its Field Secretary the services of the best equipped man in the United States, Alexander Johnson.

Since last June the resources of the Committee have been taxed to meet the calls coming from nearly every section of the country for help. Those calls are for the services of the Field Secretary, for literature, for field work, for suggestions and advice as to how and what to do in order to reach the public and legislative bodies effectively.

The Committee realizes the magnitude of the work ahead of it. It will not turn a deaf ear to any call for help that may come, and that its resources will enable it to meet.

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THE RELATION OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS TO OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS*

Helen MacMurchy, M.D., Inspector of Feeble-Minded of Ontario, Toronto

What are social problems? The difficulties and dangers which confront us as members of organized human society, whether it be in the smaller units of neighborhoods and communities or in the larger units of municipalities, sovereign states or provinces, nations or empires. As citizens who feel and acknowledge community responsibilities we must think of and plan for public duty, public morality, public safety, public health, public welfare and prosperity.

It is evident that organized society rests upon the home.

*Section meeting, Thursday, May 11, 9:15 A. M.

No home—no nation. If the problems of the home are satisfactorily solved we have a happy, permanent and prosperous state and nation. The home flourishes and is free under the protection of the state, and public health, for example, is secured by good public housekeeping, whereby pure water, pure air, pure food and healthy home conditions are secured for all citizens. It will be found that the problem of the feeble-minded is essentially a problem which begins, continues and sometimes ends in the home, if indeed, it does not end the home, as often happens; for mental defect tends to the destruction of any home where it appears.

Under the problems of public prosperity we must deal chiefly with

Industrial Problems

Unemployment: Mental defect is a constant cause of unemployment. One feeble-minded man is often found in twelve different jobs in as many months. He seldom or never can keep a job unless he is in an institution. It is the same with the feeble-minded woman. No matter how simple the work, or how anxious her employers are to keep her, or how kindly she is treated, or how often she is taught, she is out of a place all the time. One such woman who had friends and relatives to interest themselves in her (and they *did* interest themselves in her), was employed in a laundry. Times were good, help was scarce, wages were high, but the laundry manager finally gave up the struggle, saying, that he could not afford to keep her any longer. She could do the laundry work, but she was late so often, that she never worked more than five days out of six at the best, and he could not teach her to be punctual.

Modern methods of preventing unemployment and poverty, such as vocational and industrial education, labor bureaus, and industrial insurance have little or no application to the feeble-minded. Their vocation is institutional life, where alone they can be employed and happy. If we would eradicate one of the chief causes of dependency and pauperism we must care for our mental defectives in farm colonies.

Poverty: The poverty of the feeble-minded is proverbial. They never understand the value of money. They not infrequently get fairly good wages, partly on account of certain modern industrial ideals, which may be all very well among normal people.

Near a certain town we had a family, all of whom apparently were feeble-minded—father, mother and children. The father had pretty good wages for awhile—so they fell a prey to the

"instalment plan." The woman signed papers promising to pay $1.00 a week each, respectively, for a sewing machine, certain expensive furniture, an organ and a stove, quite incapable of course of realizing that these various instalments totalled almost the weekly wage and left little for such trifles as food and clothing. Had more agents come to the house she would have promised more instalments.

The abject poverty of the feeble-minded is beyond description and is irremediable.

Public Health Problems

Infant Mortality: Miss Mary Dendy and other eminent authorities on the feeble-minded have drawn attention to the enormous infant mortality among the large families of the feeble-minded. It is no infrequent sight to see in infants' homes and industrial refuges for women that the matron has had to take away her nameless infant from a feeble-minded mother, because she cannot be trusted for an instant to take care of the poor, poor baby, who should never have been born. Place it in her arms and even the mother's instinct fails. She may idly let it fall from her arms, or from her lap, and view its destruction with the terrible complacency of the ament. When we remember that the infant mortality rate is declared by the greatest living authority, Dr Arthur Newsholme, to be the most sensitive index to the sanitary condition of any community, and that motherhood is the highest and the noblest and most skilled of all occupations, we may well hang our heads in shame that we have not kept it sacred, but allowed its holy duties to be profaned by such sacrilege as this.

Contagious Disease: Do you seek a focus of contagious disease? Are you wondering where the "carriers" are? Have you a register of the feeble-minded of the city in the office of the medical officer of health? You will seldom miss your mark if you begin there.

Tuberculosis: Have you ever tried to care for a tuberculous patient who was feeble-minded? It can hardly be done—even in an institution. It takes intelligence to keep well, and more intelligence to recover from sickness. The feeble-minded help to cause and complicate this great problem, too. This very day a feeble-minded woman has been sent back from a sanatorium to our women's reformatory. They have done their best for nearly a year with her, but they now say they cannot take care of her. What does that mean in the community? It means that this is one reason why we progress slowly in the battle with the White Plague.

Alcoholism, as is now well known, is another effect of feeble-mindedness. This temptation too, the feeble-minded are unable to resist. Dr. Branthwaite, Inspector of Homes for Chronic Inebriates, found over sixty per cent of the inmates of these homes feeble-minded. Feeble-mindedness was the cause.

Specific Disease: It is possible that more people are contaminated with specific disease through a feeble-minded woman, who has one or other, or both of these diseases, than in any other way whatever. There must be many people here who have proved this in the course of their investigations, and this problem must be faced. The conspiracy of silence is broken. New York and other great cities are taking steps to treat this as a public health problem. The report of the British Royal Commission on Venereal Disease, just published has been so influential and so much in accord with public opinion that on April 14, 1916, Mr. Walter Long, of the Local Government Board, told a deputation that His Majesty's Government would give to all local health authorities a money grant equal to seventy-five per cent of what they pay for the diagnosis and treatment of venereal disease. The care of the feeble-minded would save the other twenty-five per cent.

Housing: The problem of housing in new nations or younger nations is in the nation's own hands,—a great opportunity. But where the feeble-minded go they make slums around them. Have you ever, anywhere, and under any circumstances, in a house where normal people live, smelt anything to compare with the indescribable, compressed, complex, horrible odor of the air in one of these abodes of the feeble-minded? They complicate the housing problem and they cannot help making slums.

Problems of Public Safety

As for problems of public safety—in other words, crimes—an eminent English authority, Dr. Charles Goring, Medical Superintendent of His Majesty's Prison in Parkhurst, points out that though there are only .46 per cent. of mental defectives in the general population, there are these percentages of mental defectives among those convicted of:

	Per cent.
Willful damage, including maining of animals	22.2
Arson	16.7
Rape (child)	15.8
Robbery with violence	15.6
Unnatural (sexual) offences	14.3
Blackmail	14.3
Fraud	12.8
Stealing (and poaching)	11.2

Burglary	10.0
Murder and murderous intent	9.5
Rape (adult)	6.7
Receiving	5.1
Manslaughter	5.0
Coining	3.3
Wounding, intent to wound, striking superior officer	2.9
Embezzlement, forgery, fraudulence as trustee, bigamy, performing illegal surgical operation	0.0

What is the relation of the problem of the feeble-minded to these social problems? Cause and effect, once more. Dr. Fernald says, and we all agree, that every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal. On the whole, at least from ten to twenty per cent of all inmates of penal institutions are feeble-minded.

Public Morality Problems

This problem (the social evil) is as old as human history, and still unsolved. Why?

No one denies that those who are arrested are not the clever ones, not the sharpest and best able to escape at the expense of their companions, but there are many women in immoral houses who are victims, and there are few modern investigators who do not take account of this and of the fact that a large proportion of the victims of the white slave traffic are mentally defective. Dr. W. F. Snow has published a study in which he tabulates the results of recent investigations.

	Number Prostitutes Examined.	Per cent Aments.
State Board of Charities and Correction, Richmond, Va.	120	83.3
Chicago Morals Court	639	62.0
Chicago Morals Court	126	85.8
Illinois Training School for Girls	104	97.0
Massachusetts Vice Commission	300	51.0
Massachusetts State Woman's Reformatory	243	49.0
New York State Reformatory for Women	193	29.8
Bureau of Social Hygiene	100	29.0
Total	1,825	

Mental defectives, with little sense of decency, with no control of their passions, with no appreciation of the sacredness of the person and of the higher references of life, become a centre of evil in the community, and inevitably lower the moral tone.

Problems of Public Duty

We have sat down at the banquet of life. Shall we rise and attempt to escape without paying the reckoning? Having received life and liberty, and being free to pursue our happiness, are we to be content to pass into oblivion without doing anything to repay to the generation soon to succeed ours, what we ourselves received at the hands of the generation that preceded ours? That generation bore us, nursed us, taught us to walk and think, and work and pray. They made us their heirs. Have we no heritage to pass on to our heirs? Life is a trust. We are only life tenants of the national heritage. It is not ours to lessen or destroy—it is ours to increase and enjoy. So we must consider all these social problems in the light of public duty. We must *not*

"Promise, pause, prepare, postpone
And end by letting things alone."

The very least we can do for society—the society that gave us our opportunity, and made us what we are—is to leave behind us other trained hands to take hold of the steering wheel when our voyage is done—hands that we have helped to train and that we have sacrificed somewhat for. "There is no wealth but life. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." It is also our duty to have a care of that which is not so much the heritage of the nation-to-be as it is the very nation-to-be itself. "Our duty to our neighbor must now be held to include our duty to posterity." It is a great public duty to see that as the nation rests upon the home for its foundation, so those who can never make or help to make a home, are not permitted because of our selfish hearts and slack hands to debase the national life and to degrade the glory of the national character. Knowing what we know now about the feeble-minded, it is a sin to permit them to raise up children in their likeness, as we now do. We are bound to make our knowledge tell on the national policy. "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Zion," said the prophet, "which shall never hold their peace, day nor night." We have but to follow their example, and look for the day.

"We stand on the threshold of an age which is to herald the recognition of the mother and her child, to give public health work that human touch it has hitherto lacked, and to modify those glaring inequalities in social life and conditions which are destructive alike of infancy and the ideals of Christian citizenship."

This is partly a question of education—it is a question of remedying the deficiencies of our modern educational systems, which have not reckoned with the feeble-minded, and there never was a time when it was more plain that to economize in education is to endanger one of the surest foundations of national freedom and national greatness.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN SECURING A COMMITMENT LAW FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED

Edward H. Ochsner, M.D., President, Illinois State Charities Commission, Chicago

As I take it for granted that most of you are workers in this particular field and consequently probably more or less familiar with the commitment law for feeble-minded passed by the last session of the Illinois Legislature, I will discuss the matter chronologically, taking up first, the consideration that led to the drafting of the bill; second, the principal provisions of the bill, and finally, the steps which were necessary to secure its enactment into law.

The chances of a mentally defective person having a numerous progeny, a large per cent of whom will attain maturity and will in turn have numerous offspring, is probably greater today than it ever has been in the world's history. The firm conviction that the above statement fairly represents the facts, coupled with the fact that many of the defectives are unfairly treated and some most shamefully exploited, and with the belief that in the overwhelming majority of cases the best solution of the problem is the permanent segregation of the mentally defecttive, induced a group of Illinois citizens interested in this subject to secure the drafting of a commitment bill and its enactment into law at the last session of the legislature.

When we made up our minds to seriously undertake the work, we fully realized that the first and probably greatest difficulty would be to secure a broad-gauged, public-spirited, constitutional lawyer to draw up the bill. Several unsuccessful attempts were made by members of this group to get a suitable law drafted and quite a number of those interested were about ready to give up the attempt before we had really gotten well under way, when Mr. Joel D. Hunter, Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, and Dr. Clara Harrison Town, former State Psychologist, appealed to Dean Wigmore of the Northwestern University Law School,

who prevailed upon Prof. Henry Scofield, of that institution, to undertake the work. This was a piece of unusual good luck and to Prof. Scofield we are largely indebted for the splendid bill which was drafted and which is now the law of the state. He brought to the work a brilliant mind, splendidly trained in constitutional law and a spirit of co-operation and willingness to take suggestions from experts in their special lines, quite unusual, I am sorry to say, in most professional men. Prof. Scofield hit upon the idea of modeling the new commitment law for the feeble-minded on the commitment law for the insane, known as the "Lunacy Act of 1893." The first bill was drafted along this line, taking chapter by chapter of the Lunacy Act and changing it to conform with the requirements of the feeble-minded. This was subsequently modified by substituting portions of the Juvenile Court Act, on the suggestion of Judge Harry Fisher of the Municipal Court, because the court procedure of the latter act was considered simpler and hence easier to administer and because the constitutionality of the latter act had been passed upon and approved by the Supreme Court of the state. Later the bill was made to conform, at the suggestion of Judge Henry Horner of the Probate Court, with the laws pertaining to minors and guardianships. Those of you who are familiar with these difficult problems, will instantly realize that this was very important in order to make the law practicable and workable. In fact, one of the prominent lawyers of my city, after a careful study of the law, told me that from a legal standpoint this was one of its strongest features.

The next problem,—one probably equally difficult,—was to secure a suitable legal definition for feeble-mindedness,—a definition which would be workable in the courts, be practicable and yet be reasonably scientific. Here again Dr. Town came to our rescue. She took portions of the definition submitted by the English Commission on feeble-mindedness, eliminating the ultra-scientific portions, and adapted the whole to our needs. A prominent medical friend, who has made a life-long study of psychiatry and feeble-mindedness, expressed the opinion that this definition was the keystone of the law and a distinct achievement. The definition is short and of such vital importance that I will quote it here:

> The words "Feeble-minded person" in this Act shall be construed to mean any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from any early age, so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs or of being taught to do so, and requires supervision, control and care for his own welfare, or for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community, who is not classifiable as an "Insane person" within the

meaning "an Act to revise the law in relation to the commitment and detention of lunatics, etc."

In Section 3, the following statement is found:

> When any person residing in this State shall be supposed to be feeble-minded and by reason of such mental condition of feeble-mindedness and of social conditions, such as want of proper supervision, control, care and support, or other causes, it is unsafe and dangerous to the welfare of the community for him to be at large without supervision, control and care, any relative, guardian or conservator or any reputable citizen, etc., may ask that legal proceedings be instituted for the commitment of such supposed feeble-minded person.

You will see from the above definition and the portion of Section 3 quoted, that in order to have a person adjudged feeble-minded his feeble-mindedness must be of such a degree or his environment must be so bad that it is unsafe for the individual himself, or dangerous to others, or dangerous to the welfare of the community to allow him to be at large.

These provisions, I believe, are of the greatest importance and will protect feeble-minded persons who are living under good environment and who are carefully supervised and protected from being unjustly committed, and I am firmly convinced that if this portion of the bill had not been so carefully worded it would never have passed the legislature or received the approval and signature of Governor Dunne.

A third and almost equally important provision of the law was incorporated at the suggestion of Chief Justice Harry Olson, of the Municipal Court, and is found in Sections 20 and 21, which provide that, when the trial judge is convinced that a person who is charged with crime, misdemeanor or delinquencies, etc., is feeble-minded, the judge may adjourn the proceedings and direct that a petition be filed under this act, instead; or, if a person has been convicted and the judge is convinced that the person is feeble-minded, he may suspend sentence and direct that a petition be filed under this act, instead, and the case disposed of as one of feeble-mindedness.

Section 22 makes suitable provision for the transfer of feeble-minded persons from insane asylums to the home for feeble-minded, and for insane persons from the home for feeble-minded to insane asylums.

As these three sections of the law are of vital importance, I will give them in full for those of you who are particularly interested in this subject.

> Section 20. When a child is brought before a "juvenile" court as a dependent or delinquent child, if it appears to the court on the testimony of a physician or a psychologist or other evidence that such person or child is feeble-minded within the meaning of this Act, the court may adjourn the proceedngs and direct some suitable officer of the court or other suitable person to file a

petition of this Act; and the court may order, that pending the preparation, filing and hearing of such petitions, the person or child be detained in a place of safety, or be placed under the guardianship of some suitable person on that person entering into recognizance for his appearance.

Section 21. On the conviction by a court of record of competent jurisdiction, of any person of any crimee, misdemeanor, or of any violation of any ordinance which is in whole or in part a violation of any statute of this State; or on a child brought before a juvenile court for any delinquency being found liable to be sent to any reformatory school, a training school or an industrial school, the court, if satisfied on the testimony of a physician or psychologist or other evidence that the person or child is feeble-minded within the meaning of this Act, may suspend sentence, or suspend entering an order sending the child to a reformatory, training or industrial school, and direct that a petition be filed under this Act. When the court directs a petition to be filed, it may order that pending the preparation, filing and hearing of the petition, the person or child be detained in a place of safety, or be placed under the guardianship of any suitable person on that person entering into recognizance for his appearance. If upon the hearing of said petition or upon subsequent hearing under this Act, the person or child is found not to be feeble-minded, the court shall impose sentence.

Section 22. When the mental condition of a person under guardianship or in an institution for feeble-minded persons pursuant to an order of court under this Act, becomes or is found to be such that he ought to be transferred to an institution for lunatics, the guardian or managers of the institution, or the Board of Administration, as the case may be, shall cause such steps to be taken as may be necessary for his removal to an institution for lunatics under "an Act to revise the law in relation to the commitment and detention of lunatics, and to provide for the appointment and removal of conservators, and to repeal certain acts therein named" approved January 21, 1893, in force July 1, 1893. And when the mental condition of a person in an institution for lunatics under such Lunacy Act of 1893, becomes or is found to be such that he ought to be transferred to an institution for feeble-minded persons, or placed under guardianship under this Act, the managers of the institution for lunatics, or the Board of Administration may cause such steps to be taken as may be necessary for having an order that he be sent to an institution entered by the court of original jurisdiction for feeble-minded persons, or placed under guardianship under this Act.

These then are briefly the important provisions of the law. Those of you who are interested in legislation along these lines in your own states may feel the curiosity expressed by a prominent man in a discussion of this subject some time ago in the following words, "Since studying this law, I have wondered how it was possible to put across a piece of legislation of such fundamental importance and far-reaching effect as this." Briefly I will say that it happened in the following way:

By getting the right man to draft the bill and then getting in touch with and getting suggestions and help from every person who we thought could be of assistance and incorporating all suggestions that seemed to strengthen the measure. Several

hundred persons were interviewed and corresponded with and many excellent suggestions were thus secured.

By laying great stress upon the necessity of such a law for the protection of feeble-minded persons themselves, and by never mentioning the race improvement side of the problem in our efforts with the legislature. In fact, every person who was asked to correspond with or interview any member of the legislature or who had anything to do with the public press campaign was carefully cautioned never to use the word "eugenics." This precaution was taken because in recent years the daily press has brought this word into ridicule and disrepute.

By not permitting any person connected with the movement to use the movement for personal advertising.

By being fortunate in the selection of the gentlemen who introduced the bill and its reference to a committee of the House presided over by an unusually capable gentleman. Representative Hamlin, who introduced the bill and who had it in charge in the House, Representative Gausche, Chairman of the House Committee on Charities and Corrections, and Senator Cornwell, who looked after the bill in the Senate, all deserve the greatest credit.

And finally, by securing the most splendid co-operation of the Illinois State Medical Society, the Municipal Courts of Chicago, the Juvenile Court of Chicago, the State Board of Administration and particularly its President, Mr. Fred J. Kern, and its Alienist, Dr. Geo. A. Zeller, the Federated Women's Clubs and twenty-five other large organizations, and many influential, public spirited, private citizens interested in common justice, in race improvenment, and in social betterment.

DISCUSSION: The following named delegates spoke informally: Isidor Kadis, Savannah; Mrs. W. C. Butterfield, Pittsburgh; Dr. Hickson, Chicago; Dr. Kenosha Sessions and Mrs. J. W. Beck, Indianapolis; Dr. Charles Bernstein, Rome, N. Y., George William Cook, Washington, D. C.; Mr. John H. Johnson, Richmond, Ind.; Rev. A. J. D. Haupt, St. Paul; Dr. Hastings H. Hart, New York; Alexander Johnson, Philadelphia.

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THE NEW COLONY PLAN FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED*

Joseph T. Mastin, Secretary, State Board of Charities and Corrections, Richmond, Virginia

The introduction of the Binet tests into this country by Dr. H. H. Goddard of Vineland, N. J., marks the beginning of a

*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 11:00 A. M.

saner era in the study of mental deficiency. Up to that time, we really knew nothing of either high-grade imbeciles or morons, and the motives that actuated us in our treatment of the feeble-minded in general were largely emotional. Indeed, it can hardly be said that as a people we gave them any serious thought at all. We were impatient with them mainly, it must be confessed, because they persisted in living, and we did not care to think of them. If we had any opinions about them at all they were usually ready-made formulæ which we had picked up here or there, rather than convictions resulting from our own active attention and deliberation. Consequently, when one of these unfortunates broke the law we brought him into court, convicted him and sent him to prison or to death with unseemly haste. We rarely stopped to look at him, and often there was no little vengeance in the proceedings. If he happened to be a pauper we hurried him on to the almshouse where after grudgingly providing for his keep at the lowest possible cost, we took our final leave of him with the hope that the remaining days of his sojourning on earth might be few and short. If he happened to be harmless, but not dependent, we gave him our pity, thanked God that he had no direct claim upon us, and then got him out of sight and mind as soon as possible.

Too often, even now, we urge provision for the feeble-minded merely because of their pitiable condition, or upon the plea that they are a burden to their families or dangerous to the community.

If we should cast aside precedent and the influence of ancient formulæ that never had any foundation in fact, and stand in the light that has been focused upon the mentally incapable by recent investigations, we would realize that these unfortunates, all of whom are simply grown-up children, as they pass through this world have the right of appeal, not merely to the pity, but to the judgment and conscience of their stronger brothers. We cannot deny this right on any scientific ground any more than we can deny it on religious grounds. Whatever we may think of the law of the survival of the fittest, as related to the lower forms of life, when we come to man we are bound to admit in the light of modern scientific experiments with the feeble-minded, that it is not merely good religion, but good science, to say that the strong must bear the infirmities of the weak.

It is upon the great truth, therefore, that mental defectives have certain *inalienable rights* and are not merely helpless calls upon our pity, that we base our plea for the extension of the new colony plan for the feeble-minded.

We Americans are very jealous of what we believe to be our individual rights. Our forefathers came to this country in order that they might enjoy, unmolested, certain privileges in the exercise of which they had been restricted by their rulers across the sea. And from that day to this the world's greatest battles for individual liberty have been fought on our American soil. We have abolished slavery; we have been slowly, but steadily, awakening to the rights of women and children, of capital and labor, of criminals and paupers, and now at last some of us are beginning to realize that it is our duty to consider very earnestly the rights of our mental defectives. I wish this could be said of our people as a whole, but many who have risen to great heights in the direction of other high American ideals have yet to take notice of this new path. Many who are today boasting that our nation is the champion of the rights of weaker nations and declaring themselves ready to do battle in their behalf, have strangely overlooked the fact that there are many thousands of their own weak-minded brothers and sisters here at home whose cause they have never thought to champion. Surely, here is something in the line of vital American rights which no true American can afford to ignore.

No one will deny that all men have an inherent right to life and to liberty. These rights lie at the roots of our civilization. Allied to these and growing out of them are the rights of property, contract, education, freedom of conscience, and whatever else may be necessary to secure to every man a square deal among his fellow men. God alone has a perfect knowledge of man and his environment. He understands our thoughts afar off and compasses the path of our lives. He alone has the right to take life; our part, the part of the community and the state, is to prolong it.

So deeply rooted in our civilization is the sacredness of human life that when in Chicago last November a hopelessly defective baby was allowed to die when an operation *might* have prolonged its life, a nation-wide storm of protest arose. Although the verdict of the medical fraternity in general was that the physician in the case had acted according to medical ethics in refusing to perform an operation which his conscience did not sanction, yet the coroner's jury, composed of six physicians, concluded their written report with the declaration that the physician's highest duty is to relieve suffering and to save life. Here was a spontaneous outburst of the deep-rooted conviction

that every human being, however defective, or feeble it may be, has an inalienable right to life.

Rights and duties are correlative: to every right there is attached a corresponding duty. The possession of life carries with it the duty to improve, protect and make useful the lives of others as well as our own. Therefore, we who possess a more abundant life are under obligations to preserve and develop the life of the weaker members of society. That we do not yet fully realize this obligation is shown by the fact that of the 300,000 mental defectives in the United States, only 20,669 are adequately provided for, and by the further fact that by means of capital punishment, a large number of these people are still being murdered every year.

A study of homicides in the United States has shown that fully eighty per cent result from trivial causes. For instance, in twenty cases of murder resulting from disputes over money, the total amount involved was less than three dollars. This means that twenty persons were deprived of existence to secure an average of less than fifteen cents a life. We can hardly conceive of normal persons acting so irrationally, and we are not surprised, therefore, when we are told that a very large proportion of those who commit capital offenses are feeble-minded.

For the last ten years, the average number of homicides in the United States has been 6,500 a year, and at least fifty per cent of the victims were slain by mental defectives.

The almshouse population of this country is about 100,000. Of this number fully 10,000 are feeble-minded women of child-bearing age. These women give birth to approximately two feeble-minded children each, thus multiplying themselves by two as their contribution to the burden of pauperism in the coming generation. Here are two of the ways in which our mental defectives retaliate for our unscientific and unjust treatment of them.

Our *Bill of Rights* guarantees to every man life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In ancient times, the oriental peoples declared "One only is free," namely, the ruler. The Greeks went further and insisted upon the freedom of their own citizens, but held that all other people were naturally fitted for slavery. Modern civilization, under the influence of Christianity, has come to see that all men should be free, and to demand that all shall be free. The problem that God has given this nation to work out is the problem of securing for and to the individual the

greatest amount of freedom and happiness consistent with the general good of the community. The necessity of the largest freedom in order to obtain the highest civilization is based on the fact that the moral idea is to be realized by the individual will and conscience. Hence, the individual, in order to work out his destiny, must be free in the exercise of his powers. This, of course, does not imply liberty in an absolute sense, for liberty unbridled runs headlong into license and utterly destroys itself. But it does imply that one shall be free to develop one's own life, provided such freedom is consistent with the maintenance of the social order. For instance, a man has the right, if he can afford it, to own an automobile and to drive his machine on the public highway, but if in exercising that right he shows that he has not sufficient control of himself to control his machine, the law will compel him to desist, lest he injure his neighbor. Again, a man has the right to marry and bring up a family, but if he cannot exercise this right without injuring society, without danger of bringing diseased or feeble-minded children into the world, who will in turn curse coming generations, he should not be allowed to marry at all. No man has a right to do anything for his good at the expense of the general good.

Mental defectives lack foresight and will power. They cannot plan wisely; they cannot overcome ordinary temptations. And they reproduce their kind. Therefore, they must not be accorded the liberty that is enjoyed by a normal person. For just as the welfare of the social group makes it necessary to restrict the rights of normal individuals, so the common good demands that guidance be substituted for freedom in the case of those who are not normal. The right of the defective, then, is not the right to live as he pleases, but the right to live the fullest life possible under proper guidance. But the right is just as sacred as our own and we must see that he has it. To deny it is a social crime as well as a violation of the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

It is a serious reflection, therefore, upon the wisdom and justice of a community to allow its feeble-minded children to live in ignorance or filth or immorality or to be treated with cruelty; and it is the height of unwisdom and a travesty upon justice for the state to commit such children to almshouses or to prisons where they will grow up in idleness and associate with evil-doers, and from which they are likely to emerge either as paupers or criminals who will not only be a menace to society themselves but will bring into the world other mental defectives,

thus making it possible for pauperism and crime to keep pace with the growth of the population.

If degeneracy and delinquency, twin curses sent upon society as punishment for its neglect of its weaker members, are ever to be wiped out, certainly we shall have to see to it that our mental defectives are accorded their rights. As I have said, no one will deny the feeble-minded the right to live. Guidance into happiness and usefulness implies education. Therefore, while mental defectives are clearly not entitled to the rights of normal persons, it is indisputable that society is under obligations to give them such training as may be suited to their needs and capacities. In the discharge of this obligation, certain fundamental facts should be emphasized.

1. These victims of arrested development are not suited to normal life. They stand still mentally while their normal associates grow away from them. They are consequently out of place in the family and in the world. Moreover, it is socially ruinous to allow them to reproduce their kind. Therefore, they are happier and safer in an institution where they may associate with their equals and where, placed in congenial groups of the same sex, they cannot multiply themselves to the peril of society in the coming generations.

2. The methods in use for the training of normal children are not effective when applied to the feeble-minded. These defectives are not mentally equipped to overcome difficulties. They shrink from obstacles; if driven, they become bewildered and hopeless. They should be kept happy and drawn forward by persuasion. The only education worth while for them is manual training and this should be given by teachers who have been especially equipped for their work. Such instruction should, of course, be given in schools designed exclusively for the feeble-minded, where the disposition, ability and aptitude of every pupil can be studied and each child trained for the work best calculated to make him a contented and useful inmate of an institution.

3. In providing for them, we should remember that their ancestors, like our own, lived for generations in the country, and that, like ourselves, they have a yearning for the open spaces. Often as we sit in our offices on the crowded street, there comes to us the call of the wild, the call that sent our savage ancestors to the forests and rivers in search of game thousands of years ago. We know that the ice is melting and the sap is rising; we hear the music of the south wind in the pines and the song of the plow boy in the field. How we long to go! But business

demands our attention, higher motives restrain us, and with a sigh we swallow our yearnings and turn to give ourselves to the work that must be done. This call comes to the feeble-minded just as it does to us. For lack of foresight and power to resist, they are likely to forsake the task before them, leave their homes, roam the woods and fields and eventually, if unrestrained, they may become tramps. Under wise guidance this inate craving for the open can be employed to develop a love and capacity for work in the country, which will result in usefulness and contentment.

4. In common with ourselves, the feeble-minded have acquisitiveness, a desire to own something secured by individual effort and sometimes a desire more or less vague to create values and perhaps to add to the wealth of the family or community. They do not analyze their motives; and their actions under the influence of an incentive of this kind, are controlled by impulse which dominates them regardless of consequences; hence, many of them become thieves. Under right guidance, this desire for gain might be led into its proper channels and become an incentive to honest labor and thus many of these grown-up children might become happy in the possession of the rightful reward of their toil.

5. As a rule, mental defectives are descended from the poorer classes, and for generations their people have lived in homes having few conveniences. To expect them to be contented in a great city institution with its up-to-date furnishings and equipment, and its strict routine, is unreasonable. They find little comfort in steam heat and polished floors; and the glare of our electric lights too often adds to their restlessness. It is useless to hope that they will ever be happy as it is possible for them to be if we do not gratify their love for open spaces or provide for them the opportunity to live the simple out-of-door life under circumstances which will enable them not only to keep busy but to enjoy the fruits of their labor.

6. Physical labor is necessary for both high and low-grades. When the minds and bodies are kept busy they are likely to be contented. Exercise gives them a good appetite, furnishes a sufficient outlet for their energies to keep them from making trouble, and helps them to sleep well at night. It is a well known fact that in institutions for the feeble-minded there is comparatively little difficulty in managing the inmates as long as they are kept at work, especially out-of-doors. The trouble comes on rainy days and Sundays.

7. Simple farm work is best adapted to the feeble-minded. To clear waste land, to grub stumps, to pile brush for the bonfire at night, to move dirt in a wheel-barrow one can call one's own, to cut and pile wood for the winter, to help cultivate and gather crops, to feed stock, to aid in simple building construction, all with the consciousness that one has part ownership in the farm and stock, and that by one's labor one is helping to make a home for one's self and companions. This is the kind of work mental defectives can do best and from which they can get the greatest amount of contentment. And, of course, there is nothing healthier.

Recognizing these facts, the new colony plan contemplates:

1. The education of feeble-minded children in institutions where the ability and inclination of each child can be studied and where suitable vocational training can be given; and when the school work is finished,

2. The transfer of those who are sufficiently developed by such means to colony farms composed of cheap land on which simple buildings can be erected at small cost and where by their own labor they can make a home, help earn their own living and add something to the wealth of the state.

The new colony plan is being worked out by the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded, the School for Feeble-minded Boys and Girls at Vineland, N. J., and the New York Custodial Asylum at Rome.

Successful Experiments in the New Colony Plan: Templeton

The Templeton Colony was established in 1899 by the trustees of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded "as an outlet by which the trained capacities of chronic adult imbeciles could be judiciously exercised." It consists of 1,920 acres, made up of seven abandoned farms which had been neglected and allowed to grow up in bushes and vines. It cost about $10.00 per acre. There is some timber and a good deal of building stone. In the beginning fifty feeble-minded men were transferred from the parent institution. They dug wells for a water supply, dug the cellars, put in a sewerage system and in other ways helped to fit the colony for permanent occupancy. The farm houses were turned into dormitories and frame living rooms were added. The houses were heated with wood stoves, the wood being cut from the place by the inmates. The cost of buildings and furniture amounted

to a little less than $200.00 per capita. It should be added that the doctor's bill for the first year was seventy-five cents.

The energy of the inmates has since been devoted to clearing the land, cultivating crops and looking after the stock. By 1912 they had redeemed over two hundred acres of rough woodland. This land was covered with stones, some of which weighed tons. The work of clearing has been done with the simplest implements, like the grubbing hoe and the crowbar. In 1912 they gathered 1,300 barrels of apples, 6,700 bushels of potatoes and 620 tons of ensilage, besides great quantities of vegetables and milk for the table. In his last report, the superintendent says: "The work of the boys has practically transformed this absolutely worthless land into fine arable virgin soil ready for cultivation. . . . There is no comparison in the comfort, content and health between the boys at the colony and the best housed patients at the institution."

There are now about three hundred boys at the colony.

Menantico

In the summer of 1913 the directors of the Vineland Training School established their first colony, located four miles from the parent institution on a piece of land covered with scrub oak and pine. The tract comprises 530 acres and cost $10.00 an acre. When this land can be planted in potatoes it will be worth $100.00 an acre. If prepared and planted in peach trees, it can be made worth $300.00 per acre.

The first buildings erected were one-story portable frame houses—one for dining room and kitchen, one for dormitory purposes with rooms for attendants, and another for employes and administration. A barn and stable was also built. As soon as these buildings were erected a group of boys was transferred to the colony and set to work making concrete blocks for other buildings under the direction of a workman. A bath-house was constructed, then a workshop and pump-house, and before the winter was over another dormitory was finished, so that early in the spring there were accommodations for forty-five boys. While the building was going on, a water tank, fifty feet high, was erected, water lines for supply and fire protection were run and a sewerage system provided, twenty or thirty hog houses, a feed house and a wagon shed were built. Much of the land has been cleared by the boys and is now in cultivation.

Burlington

This colony is the outgrowth of a study of families by Miss

Elizabeth Kite under the direction of Mr. Joseph P. Byers, who was at that time Commissioner of Charities of the State of New Jersey. Miss Kite, starting with one child, a pupil in the Training School at Vineland, found much feeble-mindedness and other forms of degeneracy in this and other families located in the pine district of Burlington county. The hope to give them all institutional care seemed impossible, so the colony was established in the midst of the district and made a sort of social center, from which practical instruction is wisely given. It was established in 1914 and in addition to its work as a center of information for the community, it is intended to show that by co-operation of the citizens of a county with the various departments of government a colony may be developed on state land at no cost to the commonwealth, the idea being that the inmates can be made useful to these departments by being employed in running fire lines, fighting forest fires, and furnishing a place for agricultural experiment work, while the colony itself would encourage vocational education in the community and thus reduce the cost to the state for maintenance of its defective wards, with the hope that ultimately the colony may become self-supporting.

The colony is located on 87 acres of forest land owned by the state. The buildings and equipment were paid for by voluntary contributions. It is for feeble-minded men who have had training at the Vineland Training School, is under the supervision of Prof. E. R. Johnstone, superintendent of that institution, and is conducted on the same general lines as Menantico Colony.

Colonies of the New York State Custodial Asylum

The New York State Custodial Asylum for the Feeble-minded at Rome, N. Y., under the superintendency of Dr. Charles Bernstein, owns five colony farms. The first was opened with twenty trained feeble-minded men, a farmer-superintendent and his wife, on a farm of 180 acres, which cost $10,000.00. The others cost from five to ten thousand dollars each, and these farms yielded last year $90,000.00 worth of products at a cost of $46,000.00, which is 25 per cent of the total cost of maintenance for the entire population of 1,570 inmates and 230 employes at the parent institution and the colonies.

The superintendent states that it costs at least five hundred dollars per inmate to build large brick or stone buildings like those generally in use in institutions under the old plan (many in the parent institutions cost from eight hundred to a thousand

dollars per capita), while five hundred dollars per bed will provide farms with good buildings and equipment for a farmer and his wife besides the inmates.

Moreover, on the farm the inmates can earn their living. It should also be noticed in passing that in these colonies with the large farms and inexpensive buildings, where the work of the inmates is remunerative, a large number of patients may be provided for at small expense, whereas maintenance at the large institutions, under the old plan, is exceedingly expensive.

In these colonies we have named, hundreds of defective men whose physical ages range from fifteen to fifty, but whose mentality is that of children from four to ten, may be seen working cheerfully and successfully at the laborious task of transforming waste land covered with brush and stumps and great boulders into fertile farms. It is a sight which gives one new hope for waste humanity, for what has been done so successfully here can be done all over the country. In every state there may be found wood-land that has been cut over and over for timber until it has become what is known as waste land, or farms that have been abandoned and allowed to grow up in bushes and briars until they have become worthless, or great stretches of undrained swamp land, or acres upon acres of sandy and hill country, not arable and practically useless. To clear such land and make it productive is heart-breaking and unprofitable work for normal persons, but it will have to be done before the whole country shall blossom as the rose. For this work the feeble-minded, who have heretofore been unproductive and who have been called waste humanity, seem to be particularly fitted, and it appears to be an agreeable, if not a joyful occupation to them.

When all feeble-minded men have been gathered into colonies like those I have mentioned; when the women have been brought to the country and placed on farms where they can help earn their living by engaging in floriculture, horticulture, fruit culture, poultry raising, dairying and the like; when our great congregate institutions for the insane have been torn down and our mentally diseased people have been brought into the sunlight, pure air and the quiet of the country where they can be given congenial and profitable employment, as is now being done at Gardiner, Massachusetts; when our jails and great penitentiaries shall have become useless because those convicted of crime have been put to work on farms where they earn their own living, as is the case at the District of Columbia Prison Farm, at Occoquan, Virginia, and in the state of Indiana; when our almshouses shall be real homes for the indigent and institutions for the scientific

study of the causes and cure of pauperism; when the state shall demand that those in charge of her degenerate and helpless people shall see that they live happy and useful lives and that procreation by them is rendered impossible: then we can look forward with confidence to the coming of an era when feeble-mindedness will become extinct, mental disease will vanish and crime and pauperism will be reduced to a minimum. Then, and not until then, shall we get a clearer vision of the new heaven and the new earth wherein dwelleth *righteousness.*

TYPES OF BUILDINGS FOR STATE INSTITUTIONS FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED*

Franklin B. Kirkbride, Secretary, Board of Managers of Letchworth Village, New York

One of our countrymen is reported to have recorded the fact that the deepest emotion he experienced while exploring in Thibet was the sight of an American sewing machine. In studying the problems connected with the construction, organization and management of public institutions for defectives, I have had varying emotions, but I have never been moved to the depth of feeling which that product of American genius produced in the explorer. While I have seen much to thrill me and to make me proud of the devoted men and women who are giving their lives to the care of their less fortunate fellows, I have seen so much of the handicaps under which they suffer, resulting from mistakes in planning, construction and arrangement of the institutions in which they work, that my emotions have often been very mixed and sobering.

Why, I have often asked myself, have the experiences, the failures and the successes of others not been of more use in preventing the needless repetition of costly mistakes? Local customs, politics, prejudice, lack of initiative courage and vision, and a host of other factors are included in the answer. Frederick Scott Oliver, the author of that delightful book *Alexander Hamilton, An Essay on American Union,* in his latest work, *Ordeal by Battle,* has this to say of political control:

> The smaller fry of politicians, whose fears—like those of the monkeys—are more easily excited by the front-row of things which are visible, than by the real dangers which lurk behind in the shadow, are always much more terrified of opinion than of the facts. . . .

*In the rendition of this program, in the absence of Mr. Kirkbride, a paper on the same subject by Dr. C. S. Little of Thiells, N. Y., was substituted. The latter, as a part of the proceedings of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded, may be found in the Journal of Psycho-Asthenics.

> It is only the very rare type of big, patient politician, who realizes that the facts cannot be changed by opinion, and that in the end opinion must be changed by the facts, if the two happen to be opposed. Such a one chooses accordingly, to follow the facts in spite of unpopularity.
>
> The little fellows, on the contrary, with their large ears glued anxiously to the ground, keep ever muttering to themselves, and chanting in a sort of rythmical chorus, the most despicable incantation in the whole political vocabulary: "We who aspire to be leaders of the people must see to it that we are never in advance of the People. . . . .The People will never stand this: the People will never stand that . . . . Away with it therefore; and if possible attach it like a millstone round the necks of our enemies."
>
> Of course they are quite wrong. The People will stand anything which is necessary for the national welfare, if the matter is explained to them by a big enough man in accents of sincerity.

I have quoted Oliver's words without fear, being somewhat of a politician myself, and having had the good fortune to know not a few of the "big, patient" men to whom Oliver refers, I repeat and emphasize his words, "The People will stand anything which is necessary for the national welfare, if the matter is explained to them by a big enough man in accents of sincerity." Have not the successes in institution building been accomplished by the big and sincere men who have looked to the future, who have taken the time and the trouble to educate the people and whose sincerity has been unquestioned? On the contrary have not the failures resulted from the very lack of these qualities?

I am not here to moralize, but rather to record some impressions, viewed from the standpoint of a layman, of problems vastly important for the success of your work in its broadest aspects.

> No reasonable person at the present day, when planning an institution for the defective, would think it necessary or desirable to propose a building entirely original in its design; for such a structure could hardly fail to lose in usefulness what it gained in novelty. Instead of something entirely new, the object should be to profit by the experience of the past, by the knowledge of those who have a practical familiarity with the wants and requirements of the defective, and after a careful study of existing institutions, to combine, as far as possible, all their good features, and especially to avoid their defects and inconveniences.
>
> These institutions, especially when put up under State authority, while having a plain, but still good and agreeable style of architecture, should not involve too large an expenditure of money in their erection; but, nevertheless, should be so conveniently arranged as to be economical in their subsequent management, and should have every possible advantage for the best kind of classification and supervision of their patients, and for their comfort and treatment.
>
> Everyone concerned in providing accommodations for the defective, may rely upon the fact being established by all experience, that the best kind of institutions, not only best built but with the most perfect arrangements and fixtures of every kind, and managed in the most liberal and enlightened manner, are sure to be most economical in the end—(for true economy consists, not

> only in avoiding all waste and extravagance, but also in doing thoroughly whatever is undertaken)—will fulfill most completely the objects for which they are erected, and ultimately give most satisfaction to every enlightened community.

These sentences quoted from *Kirkbride on Hospitals for the Insane,* with the single substitution of the word "defective" in place of "insane," are just as true today as when my father wrote them in 1854. At a meeting of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane held in Philadelphia in 1851 a series of propositions was adopted relative to the construction of hospitals for the insane, and at Baltimore in the following year an additional series of propositions was adopted, and with the former were directed to be published in the *Journal of Insanity* and to be appended to the annual reports of the different institutions. I desire, not so much to call your attention to those propositions, as to point out the value of such a presentation of the fundamental points in which the body of expert opinion was in agreement and ready to put out as its platform to guide the public and so secure the most enlightened basis for action.

I have heard state officials ask despairingly where the truth lay—after hearing a group of experts stand for one thing, and another set want just the opposite. How far are we today in accord on fundamental problems? How much are those skilled in the care, treatment and training of defectives doing to lead and form public opinion? Has not individual leadership in our day done more than collective action? Has not Fernald's work at Waverly and Templeton, for example, done more than any other single factor to set the standard and the ideal? And should not the notable individual efforts be supplemented and fortified by the whole fraternity if the movement is to accomplish all we can wish and hope for?

There are many problems, most of them non-essentials, in regard to which there is rightly difference of opinion. Facing them we can only familiarize ourselves with the facts and varying shades of belief and then act on independent judgment. I have recently had occasion to seek the advice of superintendents of institutions for defectives as to different types of dormitory construction, and finding conflicting views I have, after studying the evidence, formed decided views of my own; which are, however, heartily in accord with a superintendent who wrote that he did not think salvation depended on being housed in either a one or a two story dormitory. Over the desk in a Denver hotel I recently saw a sign "Honor thy father and thy mother, but not

strangers' checks," and as I have visited institutions for defectives I have often been impressed by the number of "strangers' checks" in the form of architectural monstrosities, abnormalities, blunders and worthless failures for which they had paid real money.

A group of salesmen had spent nearly a day in listening to an expert demonstrate the features of a gasoline engine which they were to sell. Finally one salesman, more frank and courageous than the rest, said, "I've been listening all day but I don't understand a thing that has been said. I've sold a lot of engines on my nerve, but I would like to know what makes the blamed thing go." Just so, too many of us institution managers, and now and then an occasional architect, or commissioner of some sort, or legislator, or even on very rare occasions an all-wise governor basking in the sunshine of temporary power will "put over" a "seven day's wonder," relying more on nerve than knowledge and will leave a monument or more likely a monstrosity in brick, concrete, mortar or lumber as a legacy and a byword and a warning to those who come after, having failed to find the crux of the problem.

So fearful have I been of leading you astray that I wrote Dr. Fernald and asked what I ought to say today. I cannot do better than quote his own words:

> The subject assigned you is a splendid one, although I regard it as a pretty large order. I think it would be very hard to write a paper of that sort without seeming to have some particular institutions in mind.
>
> For instance, if I were to write that paper, I should feel that I would describe Letchworth Village as an ideal institution layout today, even if I felt that the question of one-story or two-story buildings was debatable.
>
> It is obvious that if large numbers of the feeble-minded are to be cared for the cost of housing them must be reduced to a point where it cannot be criticised by the business man and the tax-payer.
>
> The ornamental or decorative features of the old-time institution will have to go, if this is to accomplished.
>
> We have only begun to utilize the beautiful, well-proportioned commercial type of buildings, such as the General Electric Co., the Bridgeport Arms Co., etc. are building.
>
> You would emphasize the point that the classification of inmates is a most important matter, and that such classification is made possible by the use of separate buildings for the housing of different grades of patients.
>
> I feel that the elimination of unnecessary ornamentation and decoration, and the relying upon the suitability of the buildings to their proper purpose will bring about true beauty.

So I feel no hesitiation in referring to the institution with which I am most familiar.

What has made Letchworth Village "go" has been the creation of an intelligent public opinion, backing a program advocated in

season and out of season, early and late, by a group of sincere and unselfish men and women, their program based on the combined judgment of the best experts and interpreted by a capable and devoted superintendent. First came the selection of a suitable site for the Village, then the selection of the best available man for Superintendent, next the development of a plan for the completed institution based in every particular on expert advice. This done, the development of the institution has become only a matter of time and money. A normal growth, not forced, each step taken after convincing the appointing or appropriating power of its wisdom, no compromises made and opposition fought to a finish, have resulted in the creation of an institution being built for the future and embodying the best and most up-to-date principles in the care, treatment and training of defectives.

The willingness of successive legislatures and governors to appropriate funds for the payment of experts has resulted in large savings and made possible the determination of the right course of action in such technical problems as water supply, sewage disposal, mechanical equipment, architectural and landscape features and other phases of the institution's development. From the start, advanced positions taken by the superintendent and the managers based on experience and expert advice have been questioned, fought out and decided on their merits. While time and experience will undoubtedly indicate minor changes and improvements, the fundamental principles on which the institution is planned will undoubtedly stand.

A village community, with a central administrative organization, separated into a number of groups, and in each group buildings of moderate size, giving an opportunity of separation by sex, and also classification and segregation necessary to secure the best results, is slowly being developed. The reports of the commission which chose the site of Letchworth Village and the seven reports of its superintendent and board of managers tell the story of its growth. The groundwork has been laid and 330 patients are now at the Village which will ultimately provide for 3,000 inmates and 500 employes.

From its experience I now want to generalize in regard to certain fundamental problems about which there can be no difference of opinion save on the part of the hide-bound reactionary living in the reflected glory of a dead past.

In planning a new institution these things are essential:

Ample acreage.

Proper transportation facilities.

Adequate water supply.

Adequate sewage disposal.

A plan of development for the completed institution, including separation of the sexes, the division of each sex into groups for the young and trainable, the middle aged workers, and the old and infirm, and in each group separate buildings of moderate size at suitable distances apart.

The proper type and location of each building.

A completely developed plan of mechanical equipment, including light, heat and power.

A general architectural and landscape scheme of development.

Adequate provision for administration, occupation, training and recreation.

There may be differences of opinion as to whether both sexes should be cared for in the same institution, as to the relative merits of one and two-story buildings, as to the relative cost and efficiency of forced hot water and steam for heating, as to whether construction should be durable or cheap, as to the relative value of fire-proof and mill construction and a score of other matters in regard to which there is a large fund of information available. The decision in each separate case must, however, be made after independent investigation and a consideration of local conditions and other pertinent facts.

If you want to know why Letchworth has adopted forced hot water for heating, and the one-story dormitory and how other problems have been solved visit it and read its reports, which give not only each step in the development of the Village, but also the expert opinions on which each step was based.

In connection with a few of these more or less debatable problems let me mention certain definite tendencies:

The increasing recognition of the value of forced hot water as the heating medium: the decrease in size and increase in the number of buildings in order to secure adequate classification and segregation: the elimination of costly non-essentials in ornamentation: the increasing recognition of the fact that permanence in construction with low maintenance cost is far more economical than cheapness in first cost followed by costly repairs, or inevitable dilapidation and decay: the development of the colony idea in connection with a parent institution with the obvious advantages which are thus secured in providing for those who are taken young, trained and finally passed on to the normal and simple outdoor life so eminently suited to the needs of the adult defective.

Some day, I hope, Letchworth will secure a big tract in the Ramapo Hills, a few miles from the Village, and there, back in

those wonderful mountain valleys, develop little communities housed inexpensively, leading a free and happy existence, contributing to their own support and that of the Village, and duplicating the magnificent results of Fernald's genius at Waverly and Templeton. But without early training in the parent institution, the inmate will not be at his best in these little colonies.

The problems of the older institutions are often different from those of the newer ones. But do not the same fundamental principles in maintenance, improvement and enlargement apply? How many institutions in these matters follow well ordered and systematic plans? How much past growth has been haphazard, how much tearing out and enlarging and costly rebuilding has resulted from the fact that like Topsy so many institutions have "just growed"?

It is economy for every institution, whether old or new, to have a definite and well considered plan, based on the best obtainable information to guide in all these matters. How many of you possess topographical maps of your institutions and can show on them the location of every conduit, pipe, wire or other underground structure? Such records are costly in the beginning, but may save untold discomfort, annoyance and cost.

But with this advice let me add just a word of caution: while holding fast to a plan of development for your institution don't let the plan hold you too fast, for the last word has not yet been spoken on many of the problems we must all face, and so such plans ought to be flexible enough to take advantage of such changes and improvements as experience and future knowledge may indicate. Let us all remember that our purpose is not to build costly monuments, at the expense of the tax-payer, to architects, legislators and governors or indeed to ourselves, nor on the other hand to permit the good names of our States to become a bye-word and a reproach by permitting cheapness to become the mother of dreariness and decay, but to so build these institutions that the solid support of the entire public can be secured for wise and farseeing plans.

The movement for more adequate provision for the feeble-minded and epileptic is gaining steady headway all over this country. The superintendents and managers of existing and new institutions by wise or injudicious use of public funds can greatly hasten or retard the movement. There are today two national organizations, a true example of co-operative competition, which are blazing the way in this important work. I am glad they are not only devoting themselves to the education of public opinion—

essential as that first step is—but that they are also becoming clearing houses for the dissemination of information which will make the part of those who are seeking the best in all the problems of construction, training and care far easier than ever before.

Whatever we do and however we plan let us always remember that "the best institution, best planned and best managed is always the cheapest in the end."

DISCUSSION: In the informal discussion the following named delegates spoke: Dr. Ethan Nevin, Newark, N. Y.; Dr. Madeleine Hallowell and Prof. E. R. Johnstone, Vineland, N. J.; Alexander Johnson, Philadelphia; Dr. W. H. C. Smith, Godfrey, Ill.; Jean Gordon, New Orleans; Dr. H. A. Haynes, Lapeer, Mich.

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DANGERS OF CLASSIFYING AS FEEBLE-MINDED CHILDREN WHO ARE MERELY BACKWARD*

J. M. McCallie, Ph.D., Director of Special Classes, Trenton, New Jersey

In my treatment of this subject, I have thought that the main points might be made more concrete and interesting by giving an account of a case which is supposed to have been brought to the clinic for a mental diagnosis.

I will first read my notes which were made during the first interview. I will admit that these are not all verbatim, as the boy said them, but they represent what I saw in the boy and will convey some idea, I hope, of the problem to be solved. I have thought best to let the boy do the talking with as little interruption as possible.

> This boy was about twelve years of age, in the third grade of school, well built, but unkempt and careless in his looks. His Scotch mother had compelled him to come to the clinic to find out, as she said, how much sense he had. With this encouragement she bade him "look at the gentleman and talk," and this is what he said to me.
>
> "I am as old or older than the human race.
>
> "I am my reaction to stimuli.
>
> "To know me, therefore, you must know my reaction to stimuli since mankind has existed and before.
>
> "Because I reacted persistently and consistently in a certain definite way to stimuli, I became an animal.
>
> "As an animal, I persistently and consistently reacted to certain groups of stimuli, in certain definite ways, for ages.

*Section meeting, Monday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

"In so doing, I established certain laws of reaction which differentiated me from other animals, and I became a human being.

"My body, in all its complexity, is a result of the working of one of these fundamental laws of reaction. So are my reflexes, instincts, feelings and emotions, the results of the establishment of other laws of reaction.

"What I call my mind, of course, is conditioned by my body and grew out of my reflexes, instincts, feelings, and emotions.

"My mind works through my nervous system which is made up of a multitude of millions of cells capable of innumerable combinations which I make when I remember, imagine, plan, reason, judge, will. These are only names of the different kinds of reactions that I make. Wherever I have lived I have always made the reactions referred to above; but, I have noticed that the climate, soil and social conditions made a great difference as to how I made them. The way I made these reactions gave me my temperament I remember having to react to a particular kind of environment for a long time, and, when I got through, I was Scotch. I have noticed that other nationalities were made in the same way.

"It has always been my habit to move out of my old body about every thirty or forty years, and, by the help of another, build a new body in which to live another thirty or forty years, and then move again.

"When I first began making these moves, I took with me only the secrets of body building. A long, long time afterward I found I could take some of my reflexes with me; then, much later, I succeeded in taking with me my instincts, emotions, feelings; and now, when I move, I take with me, not only these modes of reaction, but some of my family heir-looms as well. I wish I could take more, for, some time ago, I found life becoming so complex that it was difficult for me to even build the right kind of a body, and, as for my instincts and emotions, my most valuable assets, at one time, I do not now find of so much use. For example, my desire to hunt is quenched with canned meats, the procuring of which is attended by no greater excitement than placing a telephone receiver to my ear and calling, and it comes prepared for eating. When I would engage in the manly exercise of fighting, I am arrested.

"Life is so different now from what it has been. There is a tendency, to-day, to do away with some of the old fundamental things that have made the race what it is and substitute more modern things. Life is now so complex it would seem that a few of these substitutions might profitably be made. For example, if I could, the next time I move, take with me the multiplication table instead of the hunting instinct, or the ability to manipulate a typewriter instead of the fighting instinct, I am sure these substitutions would help me much to get along in this hurrying age in which I now find myself. To be truthful, I have been striving so hard for the past two or three generations to keep in the forefront of what is called progress, that I have neglected to take with me, when I moved all the secrets of my ancestors in body building, and some of the real fundamental racial qualities I have stunted or endeavored to suppress. The result is that I find myself incapable of keeping up with the average in the race of life.

"I know that there is such a thing as being backward and I know that there is such a thing as being feeble-minded. I believe that I am either backward or feeble-minded. I want you to tell me which I am."

This was one of my first patients and what I have recited is only a part of the great amount of interesting information given

to me. Very wisely, I think, I dismissed him and told him to call again the following week, and in the meantime, I called in conference several persons distinguished for the work done by them in the study of mental deviates. All agreed that the study of mental retardation was in its infancy and that it was often difficult, in border-line cases, to distinguish the merely backward from the truly feeble-minded.

The first task we set for ourselves was the formation of a definition of feeble-mindedness. Dr. Treadgold, of England, said that the Royal College of Physicians of London suggested the following definition of the high grade feeble-minded and that this definition was adopted by the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded: "The high grade feeble-minded person 'one who is capable of earning a living under favorable circumstances, but is incapable, from mental defects existing from birth, or from an early age, (a) of competing on equal terms with his normal fellows; or (b) of managing himself or his affairs with ordinary prudence.'" Of course, this implies that any one, however backward, who is able to look after himself and his affairs, in the environment where nature has placed him, is normal and that this includes all persons with mentalities varying from that of a ditch-digger to that of an Edison.

Dr. Barr, of Ellwyn, described border-line cases as follows: "Mental processes normal, but slow, requiring special training and environment to prevent deterioration; defect imminent under slight provocation, such as excitement, over-stimulation, or illness."

Dr. Goddard, of Vineland, defined high grade morons, as "those who can do fairly complicated work with occasional or no supervision; can run simple machinery, take care of animals; only are unable to plan." It is noted, here, that the only difference between the high grade moron and the low grade backward person is the fact that the latter can *plan*, while the moron can not do so.

Dr. Binet, of Paris, was of the opinion that we should call a child feeble-minded if he were two or three years retarded, providing that this retardation was not due to insufficient training.

All agreed that feeble-mindedness, however high grade, was incurable and that backwardness was remediable under proper treatment.

Having agreed in a general way what feeble-mindedness is and what mere backwardness is, we next discussed how these mental states could be diagnosed. It was evident that any diagnosis that we might make would also be a prognosis, and,

that he who assayed to diagnose these mental states must play the difficult role of a prophet.

It was first thought that the simplest, easiest, and surest way to solve this problem would be to enumerate the physical stigmata characteristic of the feeble-minded and the backward. This theory was defended by Lombroso and others. Quite an elaborate scheme of what seemed to be distinguishing physical markings was made out. But, one by one, each had to be given up as a sure sign of feeble-mindedness or backwardness. First, a dentist, present, gave us case after case of children who were cured of their supposed feeble-mindedness by simply putting their teeth in order; and more than one surgeon declared that positive feeble-mindedness had been cured by removing adenoids and enlarged tonsils; and many oculists were just as positive that numerous certified feeble-minded children had been restored to normality by glasses; and so on. By the time all the specialists had given their evidence, it was decided that about all that could be said in favor of certain physical markings was that, in general, the feeble-minded were more likely to have these so-called stigmata of degeneracy than the normal.

At this point in the conference, some one suggested that the only sure way of deciding whether a child might be feeble-minded or backward was to find out what his associates, parents, and teachers thought about him. In other words, it was thought that the bar of public opinion, which must necessarily be the ultimate arbiter in the matter, would render a just decision. In substantiation of this view the maxim: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all of the time," was cited.

Just when everybody seemed to be accepting this method of diagnosis and maxim as infallible, Dr. Shields arose and offered his most emphatic protest against allowing a person to be called feeble-minded simply because the public chose to pronounce him such. Then he cited his own pathetic case, how he was misunderstood, mistreated, and pronounced all but hopelessly feeble-minded by his teacher, mother, brothers, and the public; how the great awakening came; how he grew mentally until he was the peer of any man. This brought Judge Russell to his feet, and he told how, when a boy, he was driven from school by his teachers, because he was so hopelessly dumb, and how he left home because his parents and acquaintances seemed to have the same opinion of him; how he went west, found himself, became a successful lawyer and judge. In his opinion the maxim about not being able to fool all the people all the time was not worth

the paper it was written on, and the public is the last place on earth to go to find out whether a child is backward or feeble-minded. The public, he said, pronounced Christ mad and crucified him.

Mr. Silverstein wanted to tell how he was considered a fool in school and how he had made enough money to buy out all the teachers in the state. But further evidence of the unreliability of the public to pronounce upon the sanity of a child was deemed unnecessary.

Some one at this point brought up the idea that what we do depends upon what we think, and that, what we think and do tomorrow will depend largely upon what we think and do today; and, it was suggested that, if we had some way of measuring intelligence, we would have the key to unlock the door that would lead to a sure understanding of the differences between backwardness and feeble-mindedness.

Dr. Goddard became interested in this phase of the discussion and told the Conference about the Binet-Simon tests for measuring intelligence. He concluded his remarks by saying that, in his judgment, these simple tests, in the hands of a competent person, were all that would be needed, in the absence of other convincing evidence, to determine whether a child was merely backward or feeble-minded. To this statement a dozen or more raised objections. Dr. Wallin, of St. Louis, was very positive that the scale was not at all reliable, for, he said, he had tested an idiot by it, and the test showed the idiot to be normal. He also cited the cases of several farmers and successful business people that he had tested by this scale which showed them to be hopeless idiots or imbeciles.

Mr. Kohs, of Chicago, reminded Dr. Wallin that these tests were primarily for children, that there were not any tests for normal persons over twelve or fourteen in this scale, and that a retardation of forty-eight years, of a person of sixty, would simply mean that the person was, in all probability, normal. Dr. Terman, of Stanford University, and Dr. Yerkes, of Harvard, each expressed the opinion that there were much good and many defects in the Binet scale and each told us that he had removed these defects in his own way, and that he now had arrived at a scale that was very reliable. However, neither was much more impressed with the other's scale than he was with the original Binet scale. Dr. Healy and Dr. Fernald and a number of others had not been very favorably impressed with the Binet scale, so they had invented tests of their own, which were, they thought, more valuable in certain ways than the Binet tests.

Kuhlman, Knox, Porteus, Ballard, Trabue, Nosworthy and several others wanted to tell wherein their scales were superior to others for making certain tests, but time forbade.

Dr. Holmes, of State College, Pa., was of the opinion that mental tests measured merely present mental capacity which might change with the diminution of physical defects, improved environment, etc. Therefore, a child testing feeble-minded today by any of these mental tests might prove later to be normal.

A tax-payer at this point offered his contribution to the discussion. It seemed to him that where there was so much disagreement among experts mistakes in classification were bound to be made, and, since scores of non-experts were abroad in the land making tests and classifying children as feeble-minded that there would be great danger of so many being found in this class that it would be financially and physically impossible for the sane members of the community and state to take proper care of them.

A sociologist in the company observed that to call a merely backward child feeble-minded was a crime against the child. It was bad enough to be backward, but, to have to carry the stigma of being feeble-minded with the burden of being backward throughout life was intolerable. He said also, it was a crime against the father and mother to be made to believe that their child was feeble-minded when he, in fact, was merely backward; and, to these statements, all agreed. He, also, pointed out the fact that, to classify a merely backward child as feeble-minded would not only cast a gloom over the child and his parents, but that such a child might be segregated from normal people and placed in an institution or colony for life, thus depriving him of the right to live a natural life and earn his own living.

A lawyer called attention to the fact that often the disposition of vast estates depended upon the classification of children as feeble-minded or merely backward, and that frequently the kind of punishment meted out, or life itself, depended upon whether the individual was classified as feeble-minded or merely backward.

With this remark our conference closed. You say that this was rather an elaborate conference of experts and of persons interested in the feeble-minded and the backward. Yes, I agree with you, but would it be too elaborate or would I seem to be too careful if the boy, whose mentality I am to decide upon, were your boy?

No one should claim to be competent to pass upon the mentality of any person until he has had many conferences, per-

sonally, or through their books, with most of the men whom I have mentioned, and many others that I have not mentioned, and he should have had much experience in the diagnosis of doubted and undoubted cases of backwardness as well as of feeble-mindedness. The child, the home and society demand it.

THE DANGER OF CLASSIFYING AS MERELY BACKWARD CHILDREN WHO ARE FEEBLE-MINDED

George S. Bliss, M.D., Superintendent, Indiana School for Feeble-minded Youth, Fort Wayne

For a great many years our social workers, especially those of a strong religious tendency, have encountered an immense amount of trouble with a class of people who do not seem to be much below normal mentally, but who come back on their hands again, and again, and again, because of a repetition of the same kind of social and moral offences. Practically all this class of people belong to the so-called moron type of mental defect. They appear so bright to the casual observer, and untrained social worker, that they are seldom classed as defectives; but are usually treated in all respects as normal, or at least responsible individuals.

The mistake of doing this is apparent at once, to one who knows the feeble-minded, and to most of the trained social workers. In the first place you are dealing with an individual with the mind of a child of from eight to twelve years; an individual incapable of mental growth beyond this point, no matter what you do for him in an educational line. This individual, in fact, has even less of responsibility than a normal child of an age similar to the mental age of this person. His moral sense apparently does not exist, yet he may have the physical appearance of a well developed individual, may even be what is called handsome in person and face. Those not informed will hardly ever believe the kind of immoral acts, and the sort of anti-social conduct, that is possible with such an individual. His absolute untruthfulness rivals that of the opium eater; his respect for property exists only as long as he is under observation; his absolute inability to control himself is only equalled or surpassed by those more defective mentally than he. Individuals of this class are always egotistical and vain, loving fine clothes, yet never careful of them, often cruel, not only to other children, and to small animals, but to their own fathers and mothers, brothers

and sisters. They are always ready with an excuse for their wrongdoing, often with a most plausible one. Others, usually those nearest to them at the time, are blamed by the moron for his bad conduct. In an experience with more than 1,000 of this particular grade of the feeble-minded I have never heard one of them blame himself for what he had done.

The almost unbelievable debauchery and vice that some of these people are capable of, renders them most dangerous members of any community in which they are permitted to grow up, to live, and to reproduce their kind.

It is extremely important that the true defective be recognized as a defective just as early in life as it is possible to do so, and at any rate that these cases may and should be recognized before puberty, in order that their mental, moral, and physical limitations may be understood, and the right kind of effort, in the right direction, be applied toward their development and care. To illustrate: these people are often musical to a considerable degree, and cases have been known where well meaning people with a genuine interest in some child, have endeavored to make a musical virtuoso of him, sometimes spending large sums of money in the attempt. The uselessness of the effort is at once apparent, if we consider that these people are absolutely lacking in perseverance, in judgment, in moral sense and real feeling, qualities as important to appreciation of and expression in music, as is a correct ear for pitch and rhythm.

The same reasons tend to block the success of the moron in any field of endeavor that requires judgment, perseverance, moral stability, self-sacrifice, or continued effort in any one direction.

There is a danger in leaving these morons in the public schools unrecognized, that should appeal to every father and mother as well as to every good citizen. Just as a chain is not stronger than its weakest link so a class in school can progress no faster than its slowest members. Now if one or two of those members be feeble-minded with the limitations to which reference has already been made, the progress of the whole class must be less than if defective children were not there. And that is not the whole story by any means. These children with weak wills, high tempers, and faulty morals are hard to control in a class with other children, are often disobedient and unruly, making the discipline of the class faulty, and the strain on the teacher needlessly heavy. These children are often the butt of ridicule of the class, laughed at and teased by the other children, who like to see them get mad. They are frequently precocious sexu-

ally, and may, and often do, come from the worst environments. Under such conditions it is to be expected that they have bad and vicious habits and practices, which they are only too ready to teach other children.

With modern means of testing mental intelligence and better training of the people who make the tests and pass final judgment, it should become far less common than it is now to see defective children in the public schools; the bane of the earnest teacher, a moral menace to the other pupils, and with the certain result of a bad citizen after he reaches puberty.

It is generally conceded now by most students of the subject that a child more than four years backward in mental development is hopelessly retarded, so far as catching up with the normal standard for his age is concerned. Less than four years behind may leave some hope of development if the factor or factors which caused the retardation can be removed.

My colleague in this symposium has already indicated what those are. It seems to me that the benefit to normal children as well as to teachers and social workers, would amply justify every county or city in Indiana, or any other state, in employing a trained person to select from our schools all children over four years backward, and then to demand of the state provision for these defectives.

I want here to pay a tribute to those places where careful—not cursory—medical examination of school children is made, for such examination results in eliminating the children, backward merely because of adenoids, hearing, eyes, nutrition or whatever reason has retarded their development. This leaves most of the backward children in such schools true defectives, and makes the problem a somewhat simpler one than where no such examination exists.

If the moron girl be not recognized before puberty, her fate will almost invariably be the life of the underworld; she may and often does become a criminal. In any event, she almost certainly becomes the mother of defectives and, given a chance, is capable of founding a family like the *Jukes*.

The moron man becomes the petty offender against social laws; he may marry, but, married or not, he certainly becomes the father of other defectives. He helps fill our police courts, industrial schools, jails, reformatories and prisons, costing the state a great deal of money that would be better expended in keeping him from harm on some large farm where his labor would be of some value to himself and others.

Up to the present time we have been merely dallying with the

problem of the defective. When are we, as a nation, going to wake up and face this mighty task with the consideration and care it deserves? When are we going to lay out a concerted and comprehensive plan for dealing with the problem of the feeble-minded? I can not answer the question, but for the sake of the coming generations, I hope that time will be soon.

DISCUSSION: The following named delegates spoke in informal discussion: Dr. R. L. Neill, New York; A. Fairbank, St. Louis; Dr. A. W. Wilmarth, Chippewa Falls, Wis.; H. C. Bowman, Topeka; Dr. Charles Bernstein, Rome, N. Y.; Mrs. Frances M. Brennan, Indianapolis; Bessie Buckley, Milwaukee; Prof. John L. Gillen, Madison; George S. Wilson, Washington, D. C.; J. M. McCallie, Trenton, N. J.; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Dr. W. H. C. Smith, Godfrey, Ill.; F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; Dr. George S. Bliss, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Dr. Madeleine Hallowell, Vineland, N. J.; Mrs. Alice M. Montgomery, Manchester, N. H.; Mary Hinkley, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Toronto; Mrs. Mary West, Memphis; Dr. Owen Copp and Alexander Johnson, Philadelphia.

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MENTAL DISEASE AND MENTAL DEFECT, A STATE AND NATIONAL PROBLEM*

Owen Copp, M.D., Superintendent, Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, Philadelphia

It is a common fallacy of the public mind, and especially of the mind of the legislator, that mental disease and mental defect may be neglected without serious consequences; that the burden of such afflicted may be evaded by inaction, and, therefore, that deficient public expenditure and effort in their prevention and treatment may be tolerated in the interest of economy. This fallacy is grounded, not in parsimony nor want of humanity, but in deep unconsciousness of the magnitude and import of the matter, and yet it is of *universal* concern, to the individual as well as the State, in every station of life, in every family, high or low, wise or ignorant, rich or poor.

Mental disease and mental defect are multiform, but, in the gross, affect three classes of individuals, the insane, the feeble-minded and the epileptic. These are closely allied in the nature of their needs and in social and economic significance. They are about equal in prevalence. Together they present different aspects of one great problem.

Number of Insane

The number of insane enumerated in the last United States

*Section meeting, Tuesday, May 16, 9:15 A. M.

census, 1910, is 187,791 in 366 institutions, an increase in six years of 37,640 or 25.1 per cent. The number of insane admitted to these institutions in the single year, 1910, was 60,769, an increase over the sixth year previous of 11,147, or 22.5 per cent. During the same period the general population of the United States increased about 12 per cent. These percentages, however, do not necessarily signify a relative increase in the prevalence of insanity in the community, but they prove beyond question that the public burden is increasing by accumulation of insane in institutions more than twice as fast as the general population.

Furthermore these figures express only the *average* for the whole country, whereas a wide variation obtains in different states, according to age, density of population, completeness of enumeration of the insane, sufficiency of provision for their care, liberality of laws encouraging their treatment in hospitals, extent of immigration, and other causes. For example, Pennsylvania falls somewhat short of this average, having in 1910 but 196.4 insane in institutions per 100,000 of her general population against the average, 204.2; while her admission rate was 58.7, against the average, 66.1. In marked contrast, the adjacent state of New York had on the same date 343.2 insane in institutions per 100,000 of her general population, a ratio 74 per cent larger than Pennsylvania's, while her admission rate was 93.6 exceeding Pennsylvania's by 59 per cent. In even greater contrast are such percentages in Massachusetts, which exceed those in Pennsylvania by 75 and 114 per cent respectively. The older countries, Scotland and England, are in close accord with New York and Massachusetts. Obviously, then, the actual burden of insanity is far greater than appears in the United States census.

The deficiency of enumeration and of provision for the feeble-minded and epileptic is universal and extreme, far greater than such deficiency for the insane. The last United States census states that a conservative estimate of the number of feeble-minded then in institutions and the community would be 200,000 whereas only 20,791, about one in ten, were enumerated under care in institutions. Notwithstanding the increasing interest and activity in extension of provision for this class there were still seven states in the South and West which did not provide for them outside of almshouses and penal institutions. Pennsylvania compares favorably with other states in such provision, but every state lags far behind in meeting the reasonable demand.

The epileptic are, probably, as numerous as the feeble-minded but their plight is even more deplorable.

The Cost

The annual cost of the burden of insanity alone, computed at the conservative estimate of $175 per capita of insane in institutions in 1910, would amount to $32,863,425 in all the states of the Union. New York expended in 1914 in the care of about one-sixth of such insane $7,225,015. Massachusetts spent the same year in the care of the insane, feeble-minded and epileptic in her institutions $5,109,111, which was 27 per cent of the whole cost of her state government.

The growth of this burden is so rapid and persistent as to present one of the great, if not *the greatest,* problem of state finance.

Nevertheless, this visible presentation is relatively insignificant in comparison with the reality, the mere pinnacle, as it were, of a social iceberg whose main bulk is buried in the obscure depths under the surface.

It does not show the cost (exceeding the rate in hospitals) of home care and treatment of the insane and mentally affected in the community, nor the loss of income from productive labor of these and others in institutions, nor the handicap of the wage earner and breadwinner by a dependent in the family, nor the consequences of stress and over-strain upon relatives with similar inheritance predisposing to mental breakdown, all together constituting an *indirect* burden as great as, probably greater than, the direct burden.

It ignores the collateral burden of inefficiency, vagrancy and pauperism, of delinquency and crime, of alcohol and drug inebriety, of sex immorality, illegitimacy, prostitution and spread of syphilis and other evils whose causation is assigned by the best expert opinion to mental defect and mental disease as large factors.

Moreover these are but the tolls exacted of the passing generation. What of the future? Read in answer Goddard's tragic story of Martin Kallikak and his descendants through six generations in two distinct lines of direct descent; one from sound stock through his lawful wife, the other through the feeble-minded daughter of an inn-keeper.

The 496 descendants from sound stock uniformly in each generation represented the best citizenship in their communities and had among their number no feeble-minded, only one insane, no epileptic, no criminal, no illegitimate children, no immoral women, one male sexual degenerate, no keepers of houses of prostitution. The appetite for alcoholics was prevalent among them at a period when it was common everywhere, but it made

only two habitual drunkards. Fifteen children, only, died in infancy.

On the other hand the 480 descendants from the feeble-minded strain were allied in each generation always with the inefficient and degraded in their communities and had in their number 143 feeble-minded, three epileptics, three criminals, 36 illegitimate children, 33 immoral persons, mostly prostitutes, eight keepers of houses of prostitution, 24 habitual drunkards, while 82 died in infancy. Only 46 descendants, or 24 per cent of known cases, were considered normal individuals. This remarkable example may exaggerate the danger of hereditary taint, but it suggests possibilities of grave import. The menace to the future is the more threatening because the partial corrective has been removed by the altruism of the present, which protects the weakling, who otherwise in early days succumbed to a hostile environment.

The actualities of the present situation and the possibilities of further harm force the conviction that the burden of mental disease and mental defect cannot be evaded by indifference, that the load grows heavier with inaction, and the *only* avenue of escape leads to *militant attack* upon the whole problem.

Recent Advances

The first step in advance invades the field of investigation for clear definition of the problem itself and its exact relations to social and economic conditions and movements. Encouraging progress, though far short of the requirement, has already been made by various public and private agencies, notably the following:

1. In knowledge of the pathology, causation, diagnosis and treatment of mental disease through clinical observation and laboratory research in hospitals for the insane, particularly the McLean Hospital, Massachusetts, the Michigan Psychopathic Hospital, Ann Arbor, the Boston State Psychopathic Hospital, and the Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of Johns Hopkins University; also in knowledge of the morbid anatomy of the defective brain by the studies of Drs. Walter E. Fernald and E. E. Southard at the School for Feeble-minded, Waverly, Mass.

2. Progress in support of the theory of heredity and the importance of Eugenics by extensive field work and investigation, conspicuously by H. H. Goddard in the psychological laboratory at the Vineland Training School and C. B. Davenport in the Eugenics laboratory at Cold Springs Harbor, New York.

3. Progress in the acquirement and dissemination of information concerning existing conditions, in extension of provision and betterment of methods of care of the insane and mental defective through surveys, publications, lectures, mental clinics, conferences and exhibits, by or under supervision of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, its State societies and allied associations, the Rockefeller Foundation, and philanthropic individuals; by the

extension department of the Vineland Training School originally, and its successor, the Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded; and by special reports of public boards and commissions.

4. Progress in establishing the true relation of mental defect and mental disease to delinquency and crime by special examination of the mental condition of inmates of reformatories and prisons and the findings of expert investigators and advisors of juvenile courts, especially of Dr. Wm. Healy, director of the Psychopathic Institute of the Chicago Juvenile Court.

5. Progress in revealing the remarkable prevalence of mental defect among children by medical inspection in public schools and special studies in psychological clinics like the Witmer Clinic of the University of Pennsylvania.

6. Progress in tracing the intimate connection of mental defect with dependency, inefficiency and many social and economic maladjustments through the fruitful labors of numerous social workers.

7. Progress toward more effective supervision of immigration by trained psychiatrists in the United States Marine Hospital service for the purpose of detecting mental abnormalities and excluding the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic and others likely to become public charges because of mental defect or insanity.

There is satisfaction that so much interest and activity in so many fields of inquiry have developed with little concert of effort, in response to obvious need, as seen by philanthropic persons with insight into the significance of fundamental causes. Sharp emphasis is thus laid upon the *primary necessity* of investigation as the preventive of hasty conclusions and guide to wise and effective action.

Need of Research

The great obstacle has been the scarcity of investigators of sufficient scientific instinct, capacity and training and the meagreness of facilities and funds for continuous and comprehensive research. The problems presented for solution are no less complex and exacting, no less needful of scientific scrutiny and accuracy of method, no less dependent upon many workers in many locations with encouragement of complete equipment and satisfying reward, no less hopeful of benefits to human welfare and amelioration of suffering, than the problems that have *already* been solved in other departments of medicine and science, where wonderful accomplishment gives promise of even greater attainment in the future.

The public should be aroused to consciousness of its obligation and self interest in promoting adequacy in this direction. Every institution should do its part. The appeal to private benevolence is peculiarly strong. *It* may sustain the *pioneer* in the discovery of new principles and the test of new methods which, after demonstration of their truth and utility, will be accepted by the public and established in common practice.

There is great need of a Brain Institute for research into the nature, causes, results, prevention and treatment of mental disease and mental defect, established on a foundation as broad and comprehensive as the Rockefeller Institute for medical research in general.

Every large community needs its psychiatric hospital, free to the poor, the center of investigation and diagnosis of mental abnormalities for the guidance of educators, juvenile courts and charitable agencies; for short intensive treatment of acute mental conditions on the plane of the hospital for physical diseases; in affiliation with the medical school and university for clinical teaching of psychiatry and abnormal psychology, that the future family physician may be trained to foresee, prevent and afford early treatment of incipient mental disease; with its out-patient department to facilitate home treatment through a social service arm reaching out into the community to promote mental hygiene and supervise the after-care of the mentally affected, who have been restored by treatment in institutions.

Public agencies usually lag far behind even in meeting the obvious requirements of demonstrated necessities. Private benevolence may lead the advance in investigation, in prevention, in curative methods which will ameliorate conditions and *eventually* reduce the public burden.

Essentially a Medical Problem

Out of many misconceptions has come agreement that insanity is a result of disease, *acquired* disorder, affecting the brain and nervous system; that mental defect is the absence congenitally, or arrest of development, of elements necessary to the normal constitution of the brain. Primarily, then, they come within the domain of health and medical interests. The first intimation of their presence may be manifest in the school, in the court, or in the home of the dependent, but this is not the natural association. Their origin can be traced and their significance interpreted only by the psychiatrist and physician. Their management can never safely pass from medical direction or supervision. Any system of provision for the mentally affected which ignores, or allows evasion of, this primal requirement, is defective. For this reason the trend is away from the care of the insane and mental defective in municipal and county almshouses and receptacles because they *do not*, and *cannot* reasonably be expected to, provide adequate medical and scientific equipment for their study and treatment.

There is increasing recognition of the fact that a sharp line

of distinction cannot be *permanently* drawn between the acute and curable mental patient and the chronic and incurable one. Such distinction may be made in a particular case at a given time and is helpful in classification within an institution, but there is constant interchange of individuals between such groupings and subdivisions, which require keen medical insight and direction to maintain their characteristics. Recurrence of acute symptoms in chronic patients is frequent and necessitates the same treatment as in the acutely ill. Recovery may supervene after long years of mental disorder.

Furthermore, in the life of the chronic mental patient arises the great problem of adjustment of environment, in order that living conditions may approximate the normal, as nearly as mental infirmity permits, and adaptation of occupation and diversion may be so appropriate to individual need that life becomes happy and useful within its limitations. This is not the fit task of the lay overseer, almshouse keeper, or county commissioner. They have not been trained to it. The problem is complex and bristles with difficulties which tax to the utmost the resourcefulness of the psychologist, the physician and the teacher. Its solution is a goal of bright promise, but of the distant future, which means happiness and usefulness to the patient and highest economy to the tax payer. Meantime, it demands trained and unceasing endeavor.

A further reason, which should accelerate the already strong drift away from a former tendency to remove the chronic insane from the State hospital with its hope of cure to the State or county asylum, is the crushing effect upon patient and friends of the open declaration by such removal, that expectation of cure and release has been dissipated. They see constantly before them Dante's inscription above the gate of the "City Dolent," "All hope abandon, ye who enter in." Such is not the inevitable outcome, but such is the *expectation* expressed by the act of separation and the fulness of its meaning is realized with despair by every sensitive patient and relative. The effect is harmful. The attitude toward the patient is wrong, because there is never a time in the life of the mental patient when it is just or expedient to cease hoping and striving for cure or amelioration of condition.

Although the true alignment of mental disease and mental defect brings them within the sphere of health and medical interests their magnitude is so great, and their requirements so specialized, as to necessitate separate organization and autonomy

of action. Close co-operative relations must exist with boards of health, organized charity, reformatory and penal agencies, educational commissions and societies for protection of child life, social uplift and betterment of living and working conditions of the masses, but initiative and independence should be maintained.

The distinctive activities arising out of the needs created by mental disease and mental defect are best correlated in the comprehensive term, *mental hygiene.* Boards of insanity should become boards of mental hygiene, expressive of *constructive purpose* instead of *degenerative sequence* of disease.

Purposes of Mental Hygiene

The field of mental hygiene is so broad and extensive as to suggest the probability that development of its manifold problems and the growth of its activities in their solution may require subdivision into main bureaus of mental *disease* and mental *deficiency.*

Within the scope of its purpose are:

A. Acquisition of knowledge of the nature, causes, results, methods of prevention and treatment of mental disease and mental defect.

B. Interpretation and diffusion of such knowledge for information of the public and the medical profession itself, as to the magnitude and import of the problems of the mentally affected, in order that they may be aroused to consciousness of their obligation and self-interest in promoting, with energy, the aims of mental hygiene.

C. Prevention of mental abnormality.

1. By removal of its causes, especially its great and preventable causes, alcohol and drug inebriety, syphilitic infection and sources of bad heredity through education as to their causative relation, and *discriminating* application of preventive and remedial measures, in accord with enlightened medical and public opinion. Segregation and sterilization of defectives and degenerates, supervision of marriage, etc. would come under consideration in this connection.

2. By early education in acquiring correct mental habits, in facility of adjustment to difficult situations in life, in fitness of occupation and adaptation to the right levels in social and industrial relations.

3. By bringing within reach of the indigent, through the family physician and general practitioner of medicine, sufficient knowledge of mental disease for its detection at the earliest manifestation, in order that the best chance of cure may be afforded.

D. Community care and treatment of the mentally affected.

1. Registration and supervision of such in the community.

2. Their temporary care and treatment, pending formal commitment to institutions.

3. After-care of such patients restored by institutional treatment.

4. Family care, as an organized system of provision for harmless mental patients.

E. Institutional provision, whose aims are,

1. Preliminary observation and treatment, under the *voluntary* relation, of incipient and borderline mental disease during the period of absence of manifest symptoms of mental disorder and unwillingness of patient and friends to accept hospital treatment, although recognizing illness and need of removal from home environment for rest and recuperation. Such are the functions of the *preventorium*.

2. Cure of mental disease, or its amelioration, by intensive clinical study and treatment through an adequate staff of psychiatrists, internists and nurses, with ample facilities and complete equipment for the purpose.

3. Scientific research into the nature, causes and results of mental abnormality in the hope that greater knowledge may discover more effective methods of prevention and treatment.

4. The adequate teaching of psychiatry in medical schools associated with mental hospitals where, as students in medicine, the future family physician and general practitioner, who have almost exclusive opportunity in the recognition and treatment of incipient mental disease and mental defect, might learn to foresee and detect the earliest mental symptoms and institute at once preventive and remedial measures.

5. Establishment of mental clinics available,

a. To mental patients who might seek advice and treatment while able to live at home and, perhaps, continue their work.

b. To their families and friends who need instruction as to the nature and probable outcome of mental affection and guidance to proper agencies of relief of situations which might involve harm to the patient and danger to the public.

c. To educators, juvenile courts, and charitable agencies whose first effort should attempt to exclude or confirm existence of mental defect or mental disease as causative of backwardness in school, of delinquency and crime, inefficiency and dependency.

Such service could best be rendered through the out-patient department of a mental hospital whose social service arm could reach the community, its facilities for exhaustive study and treatment be accessible to special patients and its preventorium receive borderline mental patients for preliminary observation, prevention and treatment.

The foregoing are the *paramount aims of institutional provision* as expressed in the *psychiatric hospital idea* which may be epitomized thus: the prevention of mental abnormality; its cure or amelioration; scientific research into its nature, causes and results; diffusion of such knowledge through adequate teaching of psychiatry in medical schools to facilitate early treatment, and, through mental clinics, to serve the mentally affected within the community, in the schools, before the courts, or in need of charity. Other aims of institutional provision are:

6. Adjustment of conditions of living, occupation and diversion to individual need, particularly of long residence patients, so that they may be as nearly normal as mental infirmity permits, and

render such unfortunates happy and useful within their limitations.

This would be the realization of the *colony idea* whose main purpose is home life with natural interests and duties, in family groups with separate environment of varying character and extent, appropriate to social, occupational and diversional requirements and personal peculiarities, on country estates under the medical supervision of an associated Psychiatric Hospital in the city.

7. Humane care and ministration to the infirm and other patients with dangerous and degenerate tendencies who require medical and nursing attention and insight into their mental states, in order that they may be properly tended, safeguarded, and relieved of asperities in their situation as much as possible by kindliness and occupational diversion.

Such duties are best discharged in *infirmaries* which may be at some distance in the country, but equipped with a competent medical staff and the best facilities for treatment, under supervision of the psychiatric hospital management.

8. Segregation, as a *protection* of the mentally affected who are weak and neglected and as a *defense* of the public against present dangers in the community and future menace by reproduction of their kind.

National Duties

These are the purposes of mental hygiene within *every* large community in *every* state. But its field cannot be circumscribed by state, nor even national, boundaries. There are interstate and international relations of commanding importance. The just apportionment of the burden of mental disease and mental defect calls for co-operation between individuals and the state, between states and nations, in order that *each* may assume, *voluntarily*, its just share, and abolish altogether the practice of thrusting such afflicted to and fro, as footballs, between them.

The first duty is the care of the mental dependent, himself, without delay for any cause; the next, determination by careful inquiry *in each instance*, whether the cost is legally chargeable:

1 To the individual of sufficient financial ability to pay without hardship.

2 To the state when such private resources are not justly available.

3 To other states where such public charges legally belong.

4 To the nation, when immigrants have gained unlawful admission and become public charges subject to deportation.

Thus would be reduced to just proportions the burden for each state.

The necessity for virile action in this matter appears in the record of its results in Massachusetts, where such inquiry, during the last decade, has effected reimbursement, *by individuals alone*, for the support of patients, who would otherwise have con-

tinued as public charges, amounting to more than eleven hundred thousand dollars, in addition to deportations, which have added a large increment to the reduction.

National powers alone regulate immigration, which contributes many to the increase of population in the United States. "Immigrants destined to New York State who arrived in 1912" out-numbered the births in that state that year by 23,134. Prevalence of mental disease and mental defect among them is greater than among the native born. Public charges in our institutions are relatively more numerous from the foreign born.

In the last fifteen years Massachusetts has returned to other states and countries, *in addition to deportations by the United States Commissioner of Immigration,* more than 2,000 public charges in her institutions for such, a number greater than the largest capacity of any such institution within her borders.

The imperative need of effective national supervision of immigration is obvious, in order:

(1) That embarkation, at foreign ports, of the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, degenerate, and others likely to become public charges, may be prevented.

(2) That exclusion of such may be effectual at United States ports of entry through mental examination on shipboard or before admission, by trained psychiatrists in the United States Marine Hospital Service.

(3) That detection of unlawful admission of such immigrants may be assured and deportation to their homes made under humane conditions of care and protection.

National and state constitutions prohibit abridgment of privileges of citizens, or deprivation of their liberty, "without due process of law," and yet there is no uniform provision of law, throughout the states, which guarantees adequate *first* care, medical study and scientific treatment, nor safe-guards personal liberty by uniform requirement of commitment to institutions, of the mentally affected, who are *peculiarly* wards of the state and nation by reason of their helplessness, their universal presence, their isolation, their drift away from local ties and interest, their menace to racial soundness and conservation.

Public safety is guarded by constitutional provisions against criminals who may be extradited from one state to another, but there is no legal mechanism, except in Massachusetts, by which a non-resident insane or mental defective, who is dangerous or unjustly a public charge, may be forcibly returned to the state where he belongs.

Surely these are state and national duties!

Furthermore, the national government has, with wisdom and foresight, fostered agriculture and other great public interests by scientific research and numerous activities, advancing their progress for the common welfare. It would be consistent as well as beneficent, in like manner, to conserve and promote the mental health of the people by establishing a Division of Mental Hygiene in the National Public Health Service, as proposed in the bill now before the Congress.

This cursory review of the field of mental hygiene leaves but faint impression of its actual and potential importance. The full realization of its scope, the breadth and variety of its interests; its medical, scientific and specialized requirements; its import to individual health and happiness, as well as racial soundness and conservation; its economic and social burdens and problems, even a *partial* realization thereof, would dissipate any aspiration of a municipality or county to assume the full responsibilities of so great and vital an undertaking. It rises to the magnitude and dignity of a *state* and *national* problem, although the municipality and county are necessary and helpful auxiliaries.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC HOSPITAL'S FUNCTION OF EARLY INTENSIVE SERVICE FOR PERSONS NOT LEGALLY INSANE*

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(Note.—The writer has published so many official and unofficial papers, a partial list of which is given below, about various aspects of the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston and its work that he presents here merely an abstract of what was said.)

The speaker laid stress especially upon the importance of getting from the community as many cases of mental disease and disorder as can be brought to resort to the institutions on their own initiative. In addition to the voluntary cases, the speaker mentioned the importance of temporary care laws such as are found in Massachusetts and in the municipality of New York.

*Being Contributions of the Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases, No. 1916.12 (whole number 154).

The important out patient department function of the psychopathic hospital was emphasized, especially the fact that not more than one-quarter of the patients who resort to the out patient department are brought into the institution as inmates.

The speaker discussed the clearing house function of the psychopathic hospital in relation to the treatment of acute and incurable cases of mental disease; secondly, the clinical research function of the institution, embodying special and intensive examinations of chosen cases; thirdly, in brief the laboratory function of the hospital. The importance of securing individualization in the treatment of mental cases was brought out. Besides the routine cases of mental disease, there is a minority of cases requiring the most expert services. These cases form what may be called the intensive group. Among intensive cases, there are several sub-groups. Intensive medical cases, for instance, are those requiring special treatment for syphilis, special surgical operations for brain tumor, and the like; special examinations of whatever nature, throwing light upon certain obscure mental cases often resting upon diseases of various organs of the body outside the brain.

Another sub-group may be called the public service group of cases, in which the interests of the superior court, the police courts, the juvenile court, the immigration service, the industrial accident board, and the schools come especially into question. These cases commonly require not merely cleverness and intelligence upon the part of those who handle them, but also a certain maturity of judgment and special knowledge of legal, social, and institutional conditions.

A third sub-group consists of what may be called the social service group. Of course, public service may be regarded as a crystallized form of social service, and many of the social service suggestions of today are public service measures of the future. But there is a group of cases in which the social worker, either as investigator or as therapeutist, is effective in the absence of any special relation of the patient to public authorities. Many of these adjustments can be handled effectively by social workers of the present day. In addition to the social service group, there is, however, another sub-group of cases which may be called the individual service group. Here are cases in which the difficulty does not lodge in the relation of the patient to his family, friends, public authority, or society in general, but rather in the internal relations of the patient to himself. Moral situations are presented, very frequently sexual or related to personal ambition in

such wise that neither the court or other public authority, nor the social worker, nor the well trained medical routinist, can do more than help solve the problem. The Psychopathic Hospital in Boston is endeavoring to establish such an individual service so that no case deserving the intimate examination and possible treatment of a non-social, non-public, and in one sense non-medical, nature, may be excluded. Sometimes the physician engaged in such work feels as if he were performing the duties of the confessional. Such is not always, or often, the case. If the problem is a confessional problem, the case is forthwith handed to the proper religious authority. The alienist here does service as an intermediary between the patient, who has often gotten out of joint with spiritual and moral authority, and the church.

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THE BORDERLINES OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY*

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I. *Introduction*

Disagreement, in the early development of any field, often makes for progress. Unanimity at that time is inherently conservative, and may frequently lead to stagnation and regression. We owe our advance to-day in literature, art, science and ethics, to the few who have dared to differ. Difference of opinion is inherent in a growing realm of science. It is therefore no

*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

unnecessary defect to find great variance in the interpretation of the facts of any natural phenomenon, especially if some of its aspects are social. The one-hundred years' history of the study and treatment of mental deficiency amply reveals the undercurrent of this progressive tendency. Of late, differences have perhaps increased because of the refinement of general methods by which the feeble-minded may be diagnosed, and as a result of attempts to define, explain and report the problem more accurately. Some authorities define mental deficiency one way, others define it some other way; some claim that the phenomenon is biological, others that it is social; some have little if any use for the Binet scale, others swear by it; some claim 1% of the population to be feeble-minded, others drop as low as one-tenth of one per cent; some claim that only 5% of delinquents, prostitutes, paupers, possess defective mentalities, others state that the number is as high as 60%, if not higher. No doubt one of the many factors underlying these apparent disagreements is our slow recognition and paucity of information regarding the character and behavior of borderline types. The aim of this paper will therefore be to discuss the question of borderlinity as related to the problems above mentioned.

Throughout this discussion it is, of course, understood that the Binet scale is relied upon for the estimation of intelligence age,—mental retardation being calculated on that basis.

II. *Is Feeble-mindedness an Arbitrary Designation?*

The examination of a large non-selected group for some variable trait will reveal a continuous distribution of a characteristic type. For example, measured for standing height, 3,000 individuals would fall into different groups, those of smallest stature being at one end of the distribution, those who are tallest at the other end, and those in the intermediate group being by far the most numerous. We may arbitrarily take some measurement such as 4 feet 6 inches and call all adults measuring less than this height defective in standing height. That this standard is absolutely arbitrary none will for a moment deny. Whatever your "tag," in this case, whether it be "defective in standing height," "subaverage," "abnormally short," "retarded in growth," "normal for his own group," or whatever else, it does not alter the fact that the individual may still be healthy, alert, capable, possessing full power for normal environmental functioning, by which is meant possessing sufficient mental endowment to consciously adapt himself to environmental conditions, economic, social or ethical. Some of us, however, are inclined to carry over

this analogy into the realm of amentia. It is a simple matter for the critic to state that just as the measurement "4 feet 6 inches" is arbitrary, so also is "3 years behind in chronological age." And again, that it is as unjustifiable for the clinician to designate a person "feeble-minded" by some arbitrary standard as it would be to call a person "defective" because somewhat below one's arbitrary standard for normal height; that to segregate so-called "feeble-minded" is as daring and audacious as it would be to segregate people who are short of height. That such an analogy is unwarranted is evident when we realize, first, that physical malformations do not necessarily imply a condition of defective nervous organization which ultimately incapacitates an individual for a fair environmental adaptation. But a "normal-looking" person burdened with defective nervous tissue, must inevitably indicate an incapacity for adaptation. Short people may be normal, useful members of the community; they present no problem. But those with a defective nervous organization *cannot* function normally at large, and can be made useful members of the community only under thorough supervision and in an artificially constituted environment; they certainly do present a grave social and racial problem.

Second: Recent physio-chemical studies in the related realms of fermentation, hormonic activity and colloidal physics and chemistry, have revealed much regarding physiological functioning, which, if we postulate a psycho-physical parallelism, must as a consequence, be of great significance for the study of mental deviation. For example, Dr. Peters' research in this field,[1] has led him to conclude as follows:

> I believe that the evidence of studies made by this technic [physio-pathological and psycho-pathological] shows that with mental defectives, including the feeble-minded we are studying primarily errors of physical growth and development whose essential nature is not simply neural but extends in some degree, and in many cases most pronouncedly, to any or all other systems of organs. (p. 181) . . . .The feeble-minded, therefore, [both hereditary and accidental types] stand before us as a biological, a pathological phenomenon, the physio-pathological study of which can be differentiated into a physiological and a biochemical subdivision. (p. 181).

It is claimed by Peters that physio-pathological manifestations are so easily detected in the feeble-minded that

> a competent and experienced examiner will successfully diagnose from 75% to 100% of unselected mental defectives independently of the customary psychological examinations. (p. 182.)

Some of us, therefore, who understand feeble-mindedness to be

[1] A. W. Peters and L. Blackburn: *Experimental and Clinical Studies on Mental Defectives.* I. Jr. of Lab. and Clinical Med. 1915, 1:180-188.

merely a mental phenomenon, detached from its physiologic ramifications, may perhaps be in error. Mental deficiency, as above conceived, is merely a symptom of grave constitutional, metabolic disturbances, as a result of which the afflicted individual is incapacitated for normal functioning. This concept is thoroughly biological and detached from any taint of arbitrariness, for, unlike the unusually short individual, the mental deficient lacks that essential internal physiologic development and adjustment which will permit him to take his place in society alongside his normally-constituted fellows.

Third: Evidence is daily accumulating, even if it is not yet entirely convincing, that feeble-mindedness is to a great extent an hereditary condition. The following table summarizing Goddard's data [2] shows how accurately this is borne out by actual field investigations:

HEREDITY OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS (MENDELIAN)

Type of Mating*	No. of Matings	Total Off-spring	Dead and Mentality Undeterm'd	FEEBLE-MINDED OFFSPRING		NORMAL OFFSPRING	
				Actual Find'gs	Theoretical Expectat'n	Actual Find'gs	Theoret'l Exp't'n
FF-FF	144	749	267	476	482	6	none
FF-NF	122	698	327	193	185½	178	185½
FF-NN	18	66	32	none	none	34	34
NF-NF	33	212	66	39	36½	107	109½
NF-NN	7	27	4	none	none	23	23
Totals	324	1752	696	708	704	348	352

The close correspondence between actual findings and theoretical expectation in the above table is most remarkable and strongly confirms the assumption that feeble-mindedness is a distinct hereditable condition. On the one hand, 708 feeble-minded individuals were found, when one would theoretically expect 704, and on the other hand, 348 normals were found, when one would theoretically expect 352. No controlled experiments could yield any greater conformity between accepted theory and actual results. It is evidence such as this which inclines one to disregard the statement that feeble-mindedness is a condition arbitrarily designated. If it is arbitrary, man-made and "cerebral," how is it that it follows strict biologic law, a law as true for *homo sapiens* as for other animals and for plants?

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*FF indicates an individual who is feeble-minded. None of the sperm or egg cells produced possess the determiner or the combination of determiners or factors which makes for normal-mindedness.

NF represents a normal individual, half of whose germ cells are capable of transmitting normality, and half not.

NN represents a normal individual, all of whose germ cells transmit the potentiality for normal mental development.

[2] H. H. Goddard: *Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences.* N. Y., Macmillan, 1914, 599 p.

Since a very large proportion of feeble-mindedness can be causatively traced to heredity, which is a biological manifestation, it cannot be charged that the differentiation is an arbitrary one,—it is no more arbitrary than separating the green from the yellow peas in Mendel's famous experiment. The delimitation of two groups, "normal" and "feeble-minded," is no more unscientific than that of "normal variety" and "waltzing variety" in the case of mice. The waltzing characteristic has been genetically studied and found recessive, due probably to the absence of some determiner making for "normal" behavior. Feeble-mindedness has also been genetically studied and found recessive, very likely because of the absence of some determiner making for normal intelligence. An accurate, thorough technique should make it just as easy to determine one type of defect, termed "feeble-mindedness" in humans, as it is to determine the defect termed "waltzing" in mice.

Fourth: It is now generally accepted by all authorities on mental deficiency that once a person is feeble-minded, he will always remain so. No psychological, medical or educational treatment has as yet been devised which can transform an individual burdened with deficient nervous tissue and a disorganized metabolism into one whose innate mental endowment and bodily functioning can be made to approximate those of normal persons. So that, if "feeble-mindedness" were a mere name, just a loose tag, arbitrarily placed upon certain backward individuals, then a thorough, intensive treatment ought to bring them out of that condition. A single authentic case in which that has ever been accomplished, is yet to be presented.

Fifth: Feeble-mindedness is essentially a biologic phenomenon, and only secondarily a social one. It has been claimed that a person found feeble-minded in the United States might not be so found if transferred to Central Africa, or even to the Adirondack Mountains where the routine of life has remained rather simple. It has been stated that were Australian aboriginals, for example, transferred to England, they would be found feeble-minded for that environment. One cannot criticise such a statement since it does not adequately put the issue. What is usually meant is this: Given two newly-born children, one a descendant of a healthy aboriginal tribe, the other a product of definitely feeble-minded stock, it is claimed that were the aboriginal child placed in a highly complex environment, he would ultimately be classed "feeble-minded." Whereas, the feeble-minded child, grown to adult-hood amid semi-civilization, would be found comfortably well-adapted to the simple environment in

which he had been placed. As one writer has popularly stated it, "an imbecile is normal in a community of imbeciles." The answer one can give to such an argument is two-fold: (1) we have been too much inclined to underestimate the intelligence development of savages, of primitive and simple peoples. In this the writer is supported by modern anthropologists who maintain that the uncivilized are the equals of the civilized in the matter of innate mental endowment, which is potential in character, certain powers developing or atrophying, depending upon environmental demands and stimulations. Consequently, given an infant of an uncivilized group possessing a healthy nervous system, it is highly doubtful whether the average educational treatment in a highly complex society would turn him out mentally deficient. If such *were* the case, however, it would stand more as an indictment of civilization's (?) educational method rather than an indication of the child's lack of normal nervous tissue. (2) Considering feeble-mindedness as a biological aberration, change of environment cannot change inherent deficiencies and disturbances. It is admitted that in some cases life would perhaps be easier for the feeble-minded if a transition were made to an uncivilized, simple, primitive environment. Still, one cannot help but believe, in view of the above-mentioned facts, that in quite a percentage of cases life would undoubtedly be made much more difficult and hazardous. At any rate, no imaginable change of environment can alter an individual's defective ancestry. In a word, the serious, permanent lack in innate mental endowment, that Spearman chooses to call the "general factor," not considering the disturbed metabolism, entirely incapacitates the feeble-minded for normal functioning in *any natural* environment.

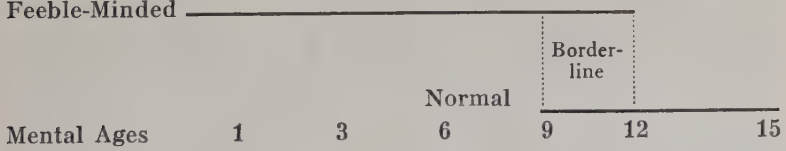
We have dealt at length with this question of the arbitrariness and artificiality of the designation "feeble-mindedness," since a general understanding of the condition with which we are dealing is essential before the discussion may be properly undertaken.

III. *Overlapping*

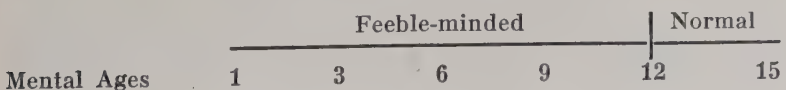
In plotting the distribution curve for the incidence of the various levels of mental development, whether on the basis of at-age, 1 year above, 2 years above, 1 year below, 2 years below, etc., or on the basis of "super-normality," normality, backwardness and feeble-mindedness, the result has always been a smooth bell-shaped graph. For that reason many have been misled into the belief that feeble-mindedness suddenly appears at a certain point on the curve, below which all cases are feeble-minded, and

above which all cases are backward, normal or precocious. Where that point is set, it was concluded, must evidently be a rather arbitrary matter on the part of the statistician. A fair criticism.

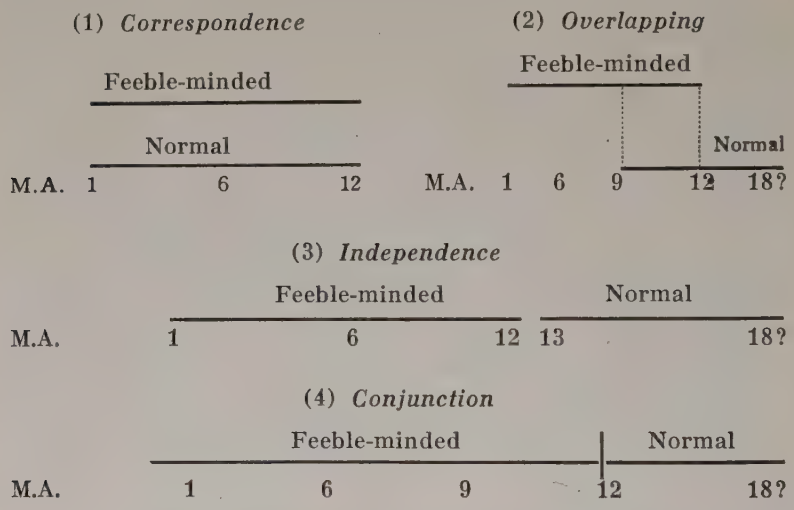
A careful consideration of the situation will reveal the fact that such a curve obtained for school children between the ages 5 and 14 or 16 must be different from that obtained for adults, not in form so much as in inherent character. Thus, a feeble-minded boy of 7, testing 7 would be included under the "at-age" group and consequently considered "normal" when, in reality, he should be placed among the feeble-minded. For that reason, such a graph for school children understates the situation. For adults, however, the graph is more accurate. And especially is it of interest to note that if feeble-mindedness is not estimated on the basis of a certain number of years' backwardness, but rather on the individual's general behavior in society, his reactions to a large accumulation of mental tests, his heredity, his physiological constitution, his mental age being then determined, it will be observed that at certain points in our mental scale, possibly somewhere between 9 and 12, the possession of such or such mentality is not necessarily indicative either of normality or of feeble-mindedness; that to make a satisfactory diagnosis, much more data are required than can be obtained under limited conditions. It is found that the normal and feeble-minded groups overlap to this extent: we may have, for example, feeble-minded individuals possessing mental ages anywhere between less than one year and 11½ years, and we may have normal individuals whose mental ages may range anywhere between 10 or 10½ and 13 or 15, whatever the upper limit of mental development may be. Presented graphically, the following is the situation:



The tendency in the past has been to regard the two lines of development as continuous, thus:



It is due to this fact that the false impression of a border *line* has gained such wide acceptance. Feeble-mindedness and normality are both distinct conditions presenting a certain degree of variability. Theoretically, the variability of two groups with regard to the same trait may be any one of four kinds: (1) The variability of one may correspond exactly with that of the other; (2) the variability of one may overlap that of the other; (3) the variability of one may be entirely independent of the other; and (4) the end variable of one may be the beginning variable of the other. Presented in graphic form for variability in mental age, the four types may be indicated as follows:



If it were in one's power to turn back the wheels of time and so modify the brain organization of the feeble-minded as to yield type (III), the difficulties of clinical diagnosis would be almost entirely eliminated. As stated above, our habit has been to regard type (IV) as representing the true state of affairs. We are now beginning to realize that there is no point or line separating the feeble-minded from the normal. The division is rather realized through a so-called "borderline" group, the members of which, both normal and mentally deficient, react to the measuring scale of intelligence in a more or less similar manner, at least so far as the bare, objective data are concerned. This condition is represented in type (II). For that reason, to accept specific mental age, or a definite intelligence quotient, or a particular

mental co-efficient or a specified per cent as the point at which normality ends and feeble-mindedness begins, is to court results untrue to fact. A scientific estimation of intellectual deficiency will not tolerate such an artificial, arbitrary standardization. And in this connection, the hope of ever arriving at a generally accepted definition of feeble-mindedness can only be held futile as long as we consider feeble-mindedness and normality to be separated by an arbitrarily selected *line*. The differences between the two conditions is not a point or line difference, but rather, expressed geometrically, a distance or area difference. Borderlinity then, is not unidimensional, it is bidimensional. L. Harrison Mettler has recently emphasized the fact that mental functioning is a graded manifestation, no sharp lines of demarcation, no fixed points, existing. He therefore advises abandoning the use of the term "borderline" and in its place substituting the word "borderland." The change in terminology, however, is not absolutely necessary if there can be general agreement on the matter of definition.

IV. *Borderlinity*

Begun 100 years ago, the scientific study and treatment of mental deficiency has developed quite rapidly, so much so that it is now experiencing rather uncomfortable growing pains. The recognition that the feeble-minded greatly contribute to the continued existence of many social ills, the fact that the facilities for safely determining mental defect have become more and more accurate and refined, and finally, the public desire to segregate the higher types of the mentally deficient, have tended to bring us uncomfortably closer and closer to those imaginary lines which divide the normal from the feeble-minded. Up to the present time, the term *borderline* has been applied to all sorts of cases, backward, feeble-minded, normal, psychotic, to doubtful subjects or those whose mental condition seemed variable or difficult to diagnose. In fact the term has served as a protective blanket to cover many of our clinical shortcomings. To what general misunderstanding the use of a term of such wide and varied connotation is liable, is quite evident. How much unnecessary disagreement might have been avoided by an early definition and explanation of borderlinity, it is difficult to estimate. The suggestion is therefore made that the term *borderline* in amentia be made to apply only to those individuals who come within the mental age limits (lower and upper) determined by a mental age scale: no normal individuals being found below the lower limen, and above the upper limen no feeble-minded individuals ever being found. To illustrate: At the Chicago

House of Correction it was ascertained that in over 500 cases examined (males, 17 to 21 years), no subjects who were feeble-minded ever tested 11^3 or over, and no subjects who were normal ever tested 10^3 or below. (The Vineland revision of the Binet scale was used.) In other words, 10^3 and 11^3 appeared as the limits dividing the two groups. But between 10^3 and 11^3 there appeared both normal and feeble-minded types, almost evenly divided, with this series of possibilities:

(1) The chances that a subject testing 10^4 was normal were about 1 to 5;
(2) The chances that a subject testing 11^0 was normal were about even;
(3) The chances that a subject testing 11^1 was normal were about even;
(4) The chances that a subject testing 11^2 was normal were about 5 to 1.

All testing 10^3 or below were found to be feeble-minded; all testing 11^3 or over were found to be normal. An excerpt of the table indicating the borderline group, based on the Chicago House of Correction figures is here presented:

				Borderline						
Binet age	10^1	10^2	10^3	10^4	11^0	11^1	11^2	11^3	11^4	12^0
Normal	..	..	..	4	12	17	15	16	30	15
Feeble-minded .	19	24	23	24	11	13	4	..	..	..

It is recognized, of course, that we handled a highly selected group and that perhaps the differentiating limits for a more truly representative group may be other than 10^3—11^3. At any rate, we offer these limits for what they are worth.

It might be well at this point to review briefly evidence obtained by others bearing on this problem. In their *Report of the Commission for the Investigation of the White Slave Traffic, So-called,* the authors state the mental ages of 154 feeble-minded and 135 normal women, permitting the following tabulation:

					Borderline			
Binet age	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Normal	..	..	..	..	4	32	71	17
Feeble-minded	..	..	8	19	50	67	10	..

It is readily apparent that the borderline group as here indicated would be included within the limits 9 and 11.

In *Research Bulletin No.* 1, of the Whittier State School, J. Harold Williams classifies 36% of 400 boys feeble-minded, and 25% borderline. He then states:

> All of the first group and many of the second are of such low intelligence as to warrant their removal to an institution or colony

> organized on much different lines from the ordinary industrial school. Moreover, this segregation should be permanent, or should extend at least thru the procreative period of life.

One is led to infer that this borderline group contained feeble-minded and normal individuals. It is regretted that the further analysis of this group was not published, except for the statement made in an earlier publication that "the Borderline group consists of those who are likely to develop just a little beyond twelve years."

In the *Ohio Board of Administration Publication, No.* 7, Thomas H. Haines cites 1,000 cases examined by the Binet scale.

> 224 cases tested under 10 [Feeble-minded].
> 586 cases tested between 10 and 12 [Feeble-minded and normal].
> 190 cases tested over 12 [Normal].
> Of the 586 cases between 10 and 12 years mentally, 346 were found feeble-minded, and 240 were found normal. 10 and 12 appear here to be the limiting boundaries of the borderline group.

C. S. Rossy in his *Report on the First Three Hundred Cases Examined at the Massachusetts State Prison,* mentions 29 borderline cases. He used the Yerkes modification of the Binet scale. No borderline subject tested less than 11.6 nor more than 13.5, none of these being classified as feeble-minded. The term "borderline" was applied "in some cases on account of illiteracy, and in other instances on account of the negative character of the history obtained."

In Ordahl's *Study of Fifty-three Male Convicts,* no cases testing 10 or less were found normal, and no cases testing 11 or more were found feeble-minded. These findings most nearly approach ours.

In her *Report of the Psychological Work in the California School for Girls,* Grace M. Fernald includes within her borderline group cases between the mental ages of 10 and 12.

It is unfortunate that all of us are not using some one generally accepted modification of the Binet test scheme, thus making our data more comparable. Aside from the unnecessary multiplication and duplication of effort, some super-sensitive critic will advertise a disagreement in the above-mentioned results when actually that is far from being the case. It is therefore suggested that we focus a little more of our attention upon an accurate delimitation of the borderline group. With these limits determined, all cases falling within this group might be characterized "borderline." Doubtful cases should be called doubtful until we are more sure of our diagnoses. There is no reason for calling a subject "borderline" because the diagnosis is diffi-

cult, or unusual, although a large proportion of the "difficult" cases do fall within the borderline group.

Thus far we have been considering subjects 16 or 17 and over chronologically. What of the borderline cases 15 years of age and under? The problem here is greatly complicated. It is quite possible, as previously indicated, that a subject who is 7 years chronologically may prove to be 7 years mentally by the Binet scale and yet be feeble-minded. This condition occurs frequently in hereditary cases. It is therefore best to fall back upon either of two methods: (1) to regard those borderline who are about two years behind in mental development, if below nine, or about three years behind if over 9; or (2) those subjects whose intelligence quotient (mental age divided by chronological age) is between 75% and 80% (Kuhlmann).

V. Practical Considerations: Psychological and Educational

With the above suggestions in mind, what might perhaps be our procedure in handling borderline types?

First of all, we should determine accurately the lower and upper limiting boundaries of borderlinity for cases over 15 years chronologically (perhaps 10^3-11^3), and for those under 15 years (perhaps an I.Q. of 75-80%). We should then limit our term to these two groups, in order to avoid confusions of definition and interpretation. A careful analysis of so-called doubtful cases would then reveal the fact that a very large proportion fall within the borderline group as above indicated. It is the borderline doubtful case to which our energy must be particularly directed. Under ideal conditions, these children in the public schools would be sent to a special center, an observation and restoration school where treatment would be psychological, medical and educational, and where attendance would be compulsory and in some cases for the child's full time. This school could serve three purposes: (1) as a training school preparing feeble-minded children for permanent institution or colony life; (2) as a center for the removal of those handicaps in normal children making for mental retardation, treatment being supplemented by such special training as would eliminate as much of existing backwardness as possible; and (3) as an observation school (*Beobachtungsanstalt*) where doubtful, difficult cases might be studied and followed up. As a result of this individual investigation and treatment, those subjects heretofore regarded as borderline or doubtful could more accurately be designated feeble-minded or not. If feeble-minded, they could

be transferred at the end of a definite training period to a custodial institution, and if not, they could be placed out, after having received vocational training, and then be systematically followed up for a period of time. In lieu of such an ideal condition, the value of studies of borderline subjects segregated in institutions for the feeble-minded has recently been demonstrated by Dr. Gertrude E. Hall and Miss Marion Collins who, with the co-operation of Dr. Chas. Bernstein at the Rome Custodial Asylum, have had under investigation 52 borderline cases since 1913. Of these, in 1915, 37 were still in the institution, 13 had been discharged, and two had died. The activity of all of the discharged cases, with perhaps one exception, is being closely followed. The value of such after-care and follow-up is self-evident.[3]

It is work of this character which will assist in reinforcing the confidence of the public in the fairness and thoroughness of those who are attempting to handle the problem of feeble-mindedness, and will undoubtedly hasten the elimination of those higher grades of amentia which present such serious obstacles to diagnosis and treatment.

* * * *

Our institutional experience leads us to the conclusion that a more earnest and more thorough consideration of the borderline doubtful case by the public school authorities is absolutely essential on the one hand; and on the other, either the creation of a special department in institutions for the feeble-minded, or the organization of an entirely new type of institution, such as is now in existence in Germany (*Beobachtungsanstalt*), in which these doubtful cases may be studied to determine the causes back of the condition, every effort being made, medical and educational, to bring the subject up to a normal functioning level. Given a representative population of 100,000 it is absolutely safe to maintain that at least 50 are so close to the borderline of feeble-mindedness and insanity that such special treatment is more than warranted. And I am convinced that this number is greatly underestimated. It is our most sacred and important duty to learn to sympathetically understand these feebler brothers and sisters of ours, and so adjust them or the warped environment in which they live, that they will round out a life of happiness complete with socially-valuable activity.

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[3]Other institutions have preceded Rome in the matter of placement and follow-up.

NOTE: Anyone wishing the complete bibliography to this article will find it in *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics,* June, 1916.

HOW TO FILL THE GAP BETWEEN THE SPECIAL CLASS AND THE INSTITUTION

Ada M. Fitts, Supervisor of Special Classes, Boston, Massachusetts

The problem of feeble-mindedness is very much before the public, and everywhere in this country community surveys, the use of mental tests and studies of family histories are furnishing evidence that the feeble-minded are an increasingly important factor in all forms of social and educational work.

Along with the other agencies that are interested in finding a solution to this far-reaching problem, the public school authorities have become aroused and are providing classes which it is hoped will furnish training for pupils who are not able to make good in the regular grades. Before discussing my subject, "How to fill the Gap Between the Special Class and the Institution," I wish to review what the public schools have attempted to do in preparation for this time of leaving school. It is generally believed that the special class is the first step in the attempt to solve the problem. Its function is, *first,* to educate the community and the teachers of normal children to realize the situation; *second,* to seek out the feeble-minded children and help them, and by so doing, help the normal children who have been retarded; *third,* to relieve the teacher who gives perhaps thirty per cent of her energy to the few feeble-minded pupils she may have. (This energy is taken from her normal pupils and does not materially benefit the feeble-minded in her care); *fourth,* to secure justice for the feeble-minded, as only in the special class can we do our best for these children; *fifth,* to secure justice to society, for it is a matter of social justice that the feeble-minded be recognized and trained as far as it is possible to do so.

The pupils should be selected by a trained expert who uses a combination of tests and who will win the confidence of parents as well as give a diagnosis of the child's mental and physical condition. In many places the high-grade, improvable feeble-minded children have been selected by such experts and then placed in classes under the direction of trained teachers. The number of pupils in a class is wisely limited to fifteen to a teacher, and through individual work she tries to fit her pupils for adult life. Special classes take feeble-minded children as early as possible—say, from seven to eight years of age. Some eventually return to grade and are able to complete a part of the fourth grade work; a few more are transferred directly to the

institution; but the majority should remain in special classes until they reach the school age limit.

Three Plans for Special Classes

Three methods have been adopted; first, to have the special class occupy a room in an elementary school building and care for the mentally defective children of that immediate district; second, to group these pupils in a central school; and, third, a combination of both individual classes and centers. In Massachusetts until recently, children were allowed to leave school at fourteen; but with the raising of the compulsory school age limit to sixteen, we found ourselves (two years ago) face to face with the problem of what to do with the special class children who must remain in school until they are sixteen years of age. In Boston in order to provide the next necessary step beyond the individual class, the regular grade pupils occupying two six-room buildings, were accommodated elsewhere and these buildings were used as centers—one for special class girls and another for special class boys. Pupils for these centers were selected from individual classes all over the city (one or two from each) as their fitness to profit by this special advantage was recognized. The separation of sexes has proved to be of distinct advantage both to pupils and teachers, thus adding to the efficiency of the work. Little difficulty has been experienced thus far in transportation over long distances, the city paying the car fares.

At the centers, advanced manual work is begun and grading and classification are possible. The program is so arranged that each child has one and one-half hours physical, one and one-half hours academic, and two hours manual work each day. The girls are given a trained teacher to instruct them in domestic science, millinery, sewing, embroidery, crocheting, knitting, mending and preserving. The boys are taught brush making, boot blacking, wood working, serving of luncheons, dish washing, simple tailoring, gardening, assistant janitor work, and other forms of comparatively unskilled labor. In this way we attempt to carry on the training of the special class children from seven to sixteen years of age.

The special class, in my opinion, should be still further supplemented by work rooms where, under favorable conditions, pupils over sixteen may be provided with work for which they would be paid. Cobbling, chair caning, tool sharpening, brush and mat making, are industries which might be carried on profitably. They could thus be guarded and controlled in part without being taken from their homes. This brings up the ques-

tion of how long the public schools should assume the responsibility of these children beyond the school age limit. It seems to me that it should do so for another year or two at least, unless there is some other agency ready to do the work. The school funds are used for work with adults in continuation and evening schools and school centers—why not for the much needed work with the feeble-minded?

The most important factor is the teacher who presides over the special class. She must be one who is quick to perceive, able to adapt, whose sympathies are keen and whose outlook is broad, but who combines with these gifts steadiness of purpose and the power to raise and hold her pupil to his best. A sense of humor will help out in many a situation. In Boston the teachers are given time in which to visit the children's homes, learn the conditions and confer with the parents. The teacher knows how much freedom can safely be given the child, she knows his limitations and when work is undertaken for which he is not adapted, she is able to suggest other lines. She could keep in touch with him and advise him as need arose, if she had the time, but the demands of her classroom are all that should be asked of her strength. In some cities, visiting teachers, whose function is that of social workers, have done this work most acceptably.

Vocational Adjustment

Most will agree that the ideal condition would be for many of the mentally defective to go from school directly to the institution, and thus safeguard the public from inefficiency, unemployment, pauperism, vagrancy, degeneracy, and all the other social consequences of feeble-mindedness. Since this is impossible, we must attempt to fill the gap between the special class and the institution by providing a system of after-care for the feeble-minded who are forced to compete with the normal in the working world. As has been said, "It is not sufficient for society that the subnormal should be properly trained in school; it is the business of someone to see that they meet the difficulties of the earn-a-living world. It is of small use to train laboriously in school for shop or farm and then see the graduate enter messenger service or other unskilled and spasmodic labor. Pioneers are needed to make this new adjustment, to study the situation, plan for it, and to enter into it. It is time for them to think together, plan together, and for others to help put the results of the deliberation into operation."

The child may have been prepared for appropriate employment, but he cannot be given the necessary power of self-direc-

tion. The subnormal person (young or old) does not have that guiding power within; he must have outside control that should never be relaxed. The need is for a person or persons who will provide this oversight and follow the career of each individual, continuing the guidance begun by the teacher. He should be closely connected with the representatives of various educational, religious, philanthropic, civic and medical organizations. This person should be strong, tactful, persistent, one who has been a teacher of mentally defective children and also, if possible, with training as a social worker. The after-care work would naturally divide into two parts; first: the obtaining of information about pupils; second: oversight of pupils at work and knoweldge of where suitable positions can be secured. In order to do this it would be necessary to canvas the employers of comparatively unskilled labor to arrange to have notifications sent the officer when there are vacancies to be filled.

Miss Bridie, Assistant Superintendent of the Birmingham, England, Special Schools, has just sent me the following information concerning the way in which suitable positions are being secured for pupils still of school age.

> We have two Parliamentary Acts dealing with the mentally defective:—first: The Defective and Epileptic Act of 1899 which deals with all such children who are capable of education. Roughly speaking we take no children who test less than IV (four) by Binet and keep none who reach XI (eleven) by Binet; second: The Mental Deficiency Act of 1913 which deals with all mentally defectives below seven years, over sixteen years and all who are of too low grade to be educated in any school.
>
> The anticipated procedure when the act was passed in 1899 was that all children would remain at school till sixteen and be passed on to the Mental Deficiency Committee at once, either for supervision, guardianship, or institutional care. Unfortunately the wording of the 1899 Act was so loose that certain children may leave school subject to the approval of a special sub-committee but *if they are allowed to leave before sixteen,* the Mental Deficiency Committee accepts no responsibility for them unless arrested or in serious trouble. Now at the present time there is a frightful scarcity of labor and it seems a pity to keep in school sturdy boys and girls who are needed by their country and who could earn good money in their homes. Moreover it is a very difficult thing for any one,—doctor, teacher, or superintendent,—to say definitely whether these children will do well in the wide world or not, until they have been tried.
>
> Now here comes our new scheme. We have chosen a large number of good, reliable firms of all kinds in different parts of the city—carpenters, lunch positions, gardeners, wire workers for the boys and for the girls, laundry work, leather stitching, pinafore making, paper bags, etc. These are called *Approved Firms* and they are willing to treat any of our children just like other workers and with the same rates of pay. They will also permit a teacher to visit the child once a month in order to see his work and confer with the foreman as to the child's progress.

At the half-yearly examination I confer with the head teacher and we choose the most suitable children who may be considered as eligible for this trial; we select the most suitable firms and communicate with the manager. The parent is then seen and the offer is made to her "Under the Act we have power to keep your child at school until sixteen years of age, but, as he, being over fourteen years of age seems to be suitable and fit to care for himself and do reasonably good work, we are willing to allow him to leave school on condition that he goes to work at a place we choose for him and that he remain in that place until he is sixteen If he fails to do this or to give satisfaction to his employers, he must immediately return to school and stay until he is sixteen."

The advantages of this method are many. Chiefly we have tested the child to see if, working under good conditions he will be able to keep a situation and give satisfaction. The employers are as a rule pleased because they know that they will get the child's best work and that they can return him to school if he proves unsatisfactory, while the visiting teachers will see that the child is not put upon and has suitable work. No child is ever allowed to go to work under fourteen years of age and most of them are fourteen and a half and fifteen years. They are only the best and highest grade of children that we have. If a child cannot keep his situation and give satisfaction he returns to school; it may be that he is tried again with another firm and again fails. All the children who are kept till sixteen (that is the least responsible and worst cases) are referred to the local authority under the Mental Deficiency Act. Moreover we are able to tell which of those on trial with firms are likely to continue working under slight supervision or which must also be recommended to the local authority. Of course this scheme is quite new and is just a tentative way of bridging the gap.

This experiment in Birmingham is suggestive to those who have the same problem to work out.

Vocational Histories in Boston

Let us consider what becomes of these children who leave school and who are not provided with such after-care. In a recent canvas of the situation in Boston, sixty-five of the special class graduates were located and their working history reviewed.

From September, 1913, to September, 1915, (two years):

31 out of 65 had a working history of over 1½ years and less than 2 years.

11 out of 65 had a working history of over 1 year and less than 1½ years.

10 out of 65 had a working history of over 6 months and less than 1 year.

13 out of every 65 had a working history of less than 6 months.

To be sure, one of these with a working history of nearly two years, had had eighteen positions. One she had held for one day only and the longest time was three months. In her case, these two years covered the time from seventeen to nineteen years of age. The positions secured by this group of sixty-five

required but little skill; the list includes bundle girls and boys in drygoods stores, delivery boys, office boys, nurse girls, peddlers, workers in brush making, shoe blacking and basket making establishments, carpet factories, rubber factories and laundries; while working in a candy factory is a favorite employment. This gives a clue to the kind of positions that are open for the mentally defective, and with these in mind, the after-care officers should know of vacancies as they occur and attempt to fill them.

Springfield, Massachusetts

In Springfield, Massachusetts, the following information is valuable with reference to 135 pupils enrolled in public school special classes from May, 1898 to December, 1916 (17 years):

There was a total enrollment during that time of 91 boys; 44 girls; total, 135.

Of this number there were enrolled in the two special classes, December 1, 1915	30
Enrolled in the grades of children promoted from the Sp. Cl.	11
Deceased and removed from city	22
Married	1
Status unknown	5
Total	69

Data with reference to the 66 pupils not included in the above:

Enrolled in state institutions, December 1, 1915	16 or 24.2%
Regularly employed	29 or 43.9%
Irregularly employed	10 or 15.2%
Unemployed	11 or 16.7%
Total	66 or 100%

New York City

In a preliminary report published December, 1915, on children discharged from ungraded classes in New York City, Miss Farrell reports on 350 pupils who have been out of school from one to eight years. Of this number:

54.8% were employed for wages.

8.8% were employable but temporarily out of work at the time of the investigation.

24.6% were cared for at the home and many of these at home had economic value.

In the three cities cited, all children in such classes have been certified as mentally defective by qualified psychologists and physicians.

The results of the follow-up work that has already been done and the fact that so large a proportion of the children are employed for wages, leads one to feel that the work done by the special class does carry over into their after life. Dr. Wallace,

of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded, at Wrentham, writes: "We have especially observed these children and believe they are more advanced according to their mental condition, manifest much better habits and their social relations in the institution are much better than the reaction of children admitted without the special training." At the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded at Waverley, Dr. Fernald is making a careful after-care study of all the patients who have been discharged from the school for the past twenty-five years. He says, "Wherever it is possible, our field workers have visited these patients and the fullest inquiry has been made as to the kind of life they have lived since leaving the institution. The inquiry was planned, primarily, to furnish a basis of evaluation as to the practical results given at the school. The inquiry also sought information as to the social, economic and moral life of the feeble-minded individual in the community."

The Co-operation of the Public

The results of this and similar studies will enlighten us as to the training best suited to prepare the child for adult life in the community. Beside the special class and the after-care officer there should be a definite plan of awakening community interest in the problem of the feeble-minded. Springfield, Massachusetts, has such a plan. In order to supplement the work of the psychological laboratory and the special classes, the Committee for the Study of the Feeble-minded was formed in December, 1912. I quote from a recent report of Miss Cheney, the chairman of the committee, and a special class teacher of Springfield. The membership and purpose of this conference are outlined as follows:

> *Active members.* Those actively engaged in individual efforts to educate and protect the feeble-minded.
>
> *Associated members.* Representatives of various educational, religious, philanthropic, medical and civic organizations, who may confer with the active members at all times and in semi-annual conference.
>
> *Purpose.* 1. To discover and record cases of mental defect in the community.
>
> 2. To persuade parents or guardians to place improvable cases in public school special classes or in private schools for atypical children, or in state institutions for the feeble-minded, for education.
>
> 3. To interest employers in *protected* mentally defective persons who may have acquired the ability to perform skilled or unskilled labor.
>
> 4. To endeavor to remove from the community all *unprotected* feeble-minded persons to the permanent custodial care of state institutions.

5. To hold meetings at the call of the Chairman.
6. To keep a confidential card catalog with records of each case.
7. To record such facts in connection with mental defect as may shed light on the general problem, and to cultivate an interest in determining the causes of mental defect and the means of prevention.
8. To help mold public opinion to the need of providing opportunity for the education of the feeble-minded to the limit of capacity, and to the danger of *unprotected* feeble-minded persons in the community.

During the three years of its existence this Committee has recorded 296 cases of definite or suspected mental defect. It has been actively engaged in arousing public opinion as to the need of further local and state provision for the feeble-minded and in securing support for legislative action, to provide a third institution to be located in Western Massachusetts.

The Committee maintains that the care of the feeble-minded need not fall wholly upon the community or the state, that the burden may be shared by the co-operation of both, with the purpose of providing not only education and protection for the feeble-minded, but of preventing the increase of mental defect and its attendant social evils.

Such a committee should also help to secure a law authorizing the permanent control and custody of the defective delinquent. These cases should be eliminated from our prisons and correctional institutions and cared for by themselves. The committee might operate in establishing in the vicinity of their city, farm groups, which would serve as training schools. Through visits to such schools the parents might overcome their prejudice to institutional life and later, if necessary, consider permanent custodial care for their children. Such a group could provide supervision and also be a clearing house for those who develop the need of institutional care. Several states already have in the farm colonies connected with their institutions such a combination of training school and permanent home. There the boys, many of them able to do the whole or a part of a man's work under direction, are utilized to develop absolutely worthless land into valuable soil ready for cultivation. If the farm colony can be used to such good advantage by the institutions it would seem possible to secure good results from a similar colony under the direction of school authorities and a committee similar to the one of Springfield.

As the problem is recognized and public opinion is created, it becomes evident that these individual community efforts should be systematized and have supervision. As so well stated by Dr. Fernald at the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Baltimore in 1915:

> Many feeble-minded persons eventually become permanent public charges. Many run the gauntlet of the police, the courts, the

penal institutions, the almshouses, the tramp shelters, the lying-in hospitals, and often many private societies and agencies, perhaps, eventually to turn up in the institutions for the feeble-minded. At any given time, it is a matter of chance as to what state or local or private institution or organization is being perplexed by the problems they present. They are shifted from one organization or institution to another as soon as possible. At present there is no bureau or officer with the knowledge and the authority to advise and compel proper care and protection for this numerous and dangerous class.

With a complete census of the feeble-minded, community interest, the help and co-ordination of existing records, and the co-operation of all existing agencies, the state with such a supervision would be dealing with the problem of feeble-mindedness in a broad and constructive way. The bureau would then be in a position to make a comprehensive study of the whole situation and make suggestions, which, carried out, would effect future generations.

With development of state supervision would come a greater demand for the co-operation and help of such societies as the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded.

In order to "fill the gap," or better, in the words of Dr. MacMurchy, to "build a bridge" between the special class and the institution, I have suggested first,—that the public school insure diagnosis and treatment at an early age, act as a clearing house for cases needing permanent segregation, and attempt to train the others for appropriate employment; second,—that pupils upon leaving school be still further provided for in workrooms or in farm groups; third,—that the guidance begun by the teacher be continued by after-care and supervision; fourth,—that there be a definite plan for awakening community interest in the problem; fifth,—that state-wide supervision is necessary; and finally, that the national associations for the feeble-minded formulate a program both educative and constructive, so that the nation as a whole may realize the "menace of the feeble-minded."

With definite knowledge and mutual co-operation much can be done to bridge the gap between the school and the institution.

DISCUSSION: The following named delegates spoke in informal discussion: Dr. George S. Bliss, Fort Wayne; Dr. Kenosha Sessions, Indianapolis; Dr. F. Kuhlmann, Faribault, Minn.; John L. Gillen, Madison; Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Toronto; Dr. Lydia A. DeVilbiss, Topeka; Dr. Nesbitt, Gary, Ind.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARITIES

PROGRAM

State and City Policies, general session, p. 301.
Standardization of Charities, section meeting, p. 316.
Outdoor Relief in Cities, section meeting, p. 336.
Libraries in Institutions, section meeting, p. 355.
Research in Public Institutions, section meeting, p. 376.
Municipal Welfare Work, section meeting, p. 387.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN*

H. H. Shirer, Secretary, Ohio Board of State Charities, Columbus.

The Committee on Organization at last year's Conference delegated to the Committee on Public and Private Charities the responsibility of presenting and considering two definite propositions:

(a) Functions of the government and of commercial organizations in the determination of charitable standards.

(b) The public institution and social research.

Parenthetically, I desire to state that these short introductory remarks do not represent a consensus of the opinions of the members of the committee. An attempt was made to secure suggestions from the committee as to speakers and subjects, but, as is usual in such cases, most of the members of the committee either refrained from answering the communication or very courteously stated that the chairman was, in their judgment, equal to the occasion and that they had no definite suggestions to make. A few did give some very valuable and helpful replies. Some of the members of the committee are participating in the discussions at the section meetings.

Considering the diversity of sentiment which the members of this committee would likely have upon such definite propositions as were submitted to us by the Committee on Organization last year, your chairman has not undertaken to present to this conference any formal conclusions upon the above topics which would in any manner represent the consensus of opinion of the respective members of the committee.

Realizing further that, quoting the preamble of the *Rules of Procedure,* "The National Conference exists to discuss problems

*General session, Saturday, May 13, 11:00 A. M.

of charities and correction. It does not formulate platforms," the chairman has taken advantage of the major function of the conference and will, therefore, refrain from imposing any lengthy introductory statement which would merely express his personal views, leaving such expressions to those who are more competent to give you the information, advice and suggestion which your very presence indicates a desire to receive.

The problem of the functions of government and of commercial organizations in the determination of charitable standards was discussed at a section meeting of this committee on Thursday morning. In a few of the states there are laws which impose a certain amount of supervision over particular groups of institutions or of benevolent agencies. It is doubtful if there is any state which has arrived at a complete supervision and control of all forms of philanthropic activities. In some of them charters for particular types of institutions cannot be granted until the board of state charities, or a similar state body, passes upon the fitness and need for adding another such institution. In other states there is a form of supervision or license whereby certain groups of institutions cannot operate or accept contributions or solicit public aid or in some other way come into contact with the public generally without first having procured from some state board or official a certificate or license.

It seems to be the present tendency for the government to exercise more and more definite control over benevolent institutions and agencies. This seems to have been brought about through the fact that "charity covers a multitude of sins" and that too frequently so-called benevolent organizations, or incorporations "not for profit," are the results of the clever planning of some persons who have thrown over themselves the name of an organization and by means of the funds procured they are able to provide for themselves and their families shelter and the means of a livelihood in the name of charity. Or again, institutions are alleged to exist and subscriptions solicited and given when it has later been found that there are no persons who benefit from such an institution, except the promoters. As a result of this imposition many of the best regulated institutions and agencies are now demanding state supervision in order that they may be protected from these pseudo-competitors. With this growing tendency, it is timely that a note of warning must be sounded to the end that those who are placed in charge of the responsibility of supervision shall be able to sense the problems of those who are supervised and not become a bothersome bur-

den, but a means of support to the worthy and useful, and an unrelenting foe to the unworthy and useless.

Before adequate state supervision in the matter of incorporation, operation or control of philanthropic activities is made possible, the commercial organizations, and particularly those in the large cities, can by intelligent oversight and censorship demonstrate to the contributor the value of a determination of charitable standards which your chairman believes will be more beneficial to the community in the early stages of such determination than any State plan could be. The needs of communities vary and the commercial body is nearer to those in control of the agencies and to those who support them, and local problems can be more satisfactorily adjusted by it than by any State supervising official, unless he is a marked exception to the average official.

I think it safe to conclude that there will be added from time to time new methods of governmental determination of charitable standards through forms of supervision, and that this will be made possible by commercial bodies without any official legal standing demonstrating the practicable features of control in their own communities, but which must in time, to become absolutely effective, be placed in the hands of officials with adequate legal authority ready for use when necessary.

All such governmental authority should be based upon the theory of constructive helpfulness, rather than destructive repression.

If this prediction becomes a fact in your state, it will mean that the ideas of the social workers must be recognized within political councils, and that those who are called to serve officially in administering such laws will be competent to serve; in other words, increased governmental authority must be constantly backed with a keen public interest and an incessant demand for a just, consistent and considerate application of such authority.

The use of the public institution for purposes of social research will be discussed at a section meeting Monday. Many people are very sensitive to what they call "exploitation of the unfortunate" when any attempt is made by laboratory methods or otherwise to utilize for the benefit of other generations a vast amount of material which could be brought together through a definite policy of scientific research work at public institutions.

The cry is now being heard throughout the land that the governmental agencies are spending millions of dollars upon the care of unfortunates, but grudgingly spending pennies to find out the causes of dependency and delinquency, and thereby event-

ually eradicate some of the occasions for the enormous expenditures for the care of such.

The state of Ohio three years ago passed a law for the establishment of the Bureau of Juvenile Research under the auspices of the Board of Administration, which was characterized as the most important piece of social legislation that had been enacted in any state in the twentieth century, but witness a General Assembly at a subsequent session deliberately refusing to appropriate money whereby this Bureau could be given a home and a satisfactory place within which it could in some degree attain to fulfillment the prophecy which was made concerning its inception.

This represents to some extent the negative public sentiment concerning the pursuit of social research in public institutions, but it is my judgment that the state will not do its greatest service until appropriations are made as freely for *study* as for *care*.

There is with us the omnipresent contention of the respective rights and responsibilities of private and public agencies which have to do with the dependent, defective and delinquent classes of our citizens. Some have maintained that all such activities should be undertaken by public agencies; others adhere to the belief that the private agencies only do the most efficient service.

You are all familiar with this prolonged contention, but we are still hoping that these common problems will so evolve eventually that there will be less waste of means and of effort and a better understanding and increased co-operation among all such activities.

This morning this general session will be devoted largely to a discussion of public and private agencies.

THE RELATIONSHIPS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARITIES

Frederic Almy, Secretary, Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, N. Y.

State supervision of private charities is merely limelight, and seems to me good and needed. State control, on the contrary, seems to me bad, and might nip many promising young movements in the bud because they are radical or pioneer.

Many years ago, the Buffalo Charity Organization Society was supervised by the State Board of Charities and made elaborate annual reports to it. For ten or fifteen years this has been

unnecessary, because of a decision of the New York Supreme Court that societies which receive no public money need not report to the State Board. This decision was obtained through the efforts of the New York S. P. C. C. We find it a relief not to have to make the elaborate annual reports which were required, but the Buffalo C. O. S. is strongly in favor of state supervision of voluntary charities, and has more than once endeavored to have a statute passed which would make this necessary. We hope that our own procedure is good, but there are many flimsy private societies which need both state supervision and chamber of commerce examination.

My position ordinarily is in favor of having the public do all the charitable work it is competent for, and of loading work upon it as fast as possible, but of preserving for private charity pioneer work in new lines, or work which is possibly too flexible and personal for public administration. The limit of the latter grows constantly less, for we have not only good public schools, but good public health work, and good public probation and child placing, which are as delicate and personal as possible. I used to be conspicuous as an opponent of public outdoor relief, but the Denver work and other things are making me a convert to public outdoor relief where it can be made efficient. It is often well to use your energy and hard work in making public outdoor relief efficient, rather than in substituting private relief. The old argument, however, remains as strong as ever, that to the imagination of the poor the public treasury is inexhaustible, and they fall upon it with a sense of right as they dare not do on private charity. The widows' pension work is becoming public, and I am glad that it is so. There is an argument here, however, that widows' pensions are not charity but in a measure educational. It is an axiom ordinarily that relief should not go into one family from two sources, and that it should be either public or private, but not both. Nevertheless, in Buffalo we steadily supplement city outdoor relief, largely because it is inadequate; for by a tradition which rests on no law or ordinance, the city never gives more than $2.00 a week, which for a large family without a bread-winner is absurd.

Some years ago, it was a question in Buffalo whether we should have a public lodging house, or whether the C. O. S. should maintain one. I procured discussion at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1897, at Toronto, and we decided to establish a county lodging house, which is a model. No private one could be better, and the burden rests where it should, on the whole public.

A more recent illustration of our Buffalo policy of fostering public social work is our health centers, which are managed by the city Health Department with the closest possible co-operation with the C. O. S. There are now four municipal health centers, and the plan comtemplates ten health centers, open night and day, identical with the boundaries of the ten C. O. S. districts, and with the C. O. S. district committees in charge of the social work. These health centers are miniature health departments, and treat everything, including venereal diseases, tuberculosis, confinement, dentistry and general health.

To some all this public work seems socialistic, but it may head off socialism. The day is past when a rich man is criticised if he sends his son to the free public school, and we may in time leave the private doctors, like the private schools, to those who prefer them and can afford them.

THE MUNICIPALITY AND PUBLIC WELFARE

D. Frank Garland, Director of Public Welfare, Dayton, O.

We have reached a new era in public welfare. Public welfare work has come to be extended beyond the fondest dreams of social workers a generation ago. The ultimate object of this enlarged field of social service is to restore the people to efficient and effective citizenship.

The Need of Increased Public Welfare

Due to industrial development, invention, and the advancement of knowledge and science, wholly new conditions of life have been created in the past one hundred years. The most marvelous economic and social changes ever recorded in the history of time have overtaken the civilized world. Early in the last century, equal political rights and individual freedom were secured, and it was thought that, with this result attained, everything pertaining to the common good would naturally follow. However, long before the close of the last century, students of life discovered that these political and individual gains were but a step on the way to a completed program of human welfare. Were some gifted prophet—economist to set forth an exhibit of social life as it exists in this, the most advanced and enlightened nation of the world today, he would tell us something like this:

That in America unnumbered thousands of people are herded together in our cities, in slums, where air and light are luxuries. For example, we are told that half of cultured Boston sleeps every night under conditions below the minimum agreed upon by a humane world as necessary to well-being—having less than 400 cubic feet of space per person.

That tens of thousands of people in wealthy America are still underfed, hundreds of little children in our great cities going breakfastless or half hungry to school; that in the face of this need for food, greedy private interests, in order to keep up prices, will destroy tons of food products.

That during the winter months and certain other seasons of the year hundreds of thousands of our working people are idle, with the consequent misery and suffering and want which follow; that a great army of unemployable, such as vagrants, dependents, insane, feeble-minded and moral delinquents exists in this country —a burden to themselves and to society.

That under the stress of industrial development, every minute of every day in the year finds us carrying one person either to the hospital or the grave, injured or killed under the driving wheels of industry; that one-eighth of our new-born babies die before they reach the end of their first year; 150 in every 100,000 population die annually from the preventive disease of tuberculosis, 75% of these deaths being in the productive period of life.

That our thirty millions of wage-earners lose on an average of nine days each in every year on account of ill health due in part, to social neglect, coming through bad housing, ill-ventilated factories, insanitary and crowded living conditions; this causing an annual wage loss, to workers in America amounting to at least 500 millions of dollars.

That through lack of a federal plan and federal oversight of the distribution of immigrants, a large majority of whom are known to be farmers, more than 90% of them are crowded into our already congested cities, in face of the fact that 50% of our arable land has never yet been touched with the plow.

That under our ultra-individualistic scheme of life, 2% of our people now own 60% of our tremendous wealth, thus causing a condition of extreme plutocracy on the one hand, and extreme poverty on the other.

The New Conception of Government

In the light of this knowledge, there has sprung into being a new conception of the duty of the state to the people who constitute the state.

Protest against the inequalities and iniquities of a system of life that has produced such a harvest of loss and bitterness in its wake, has become more and more pronounced, and the demand is urgent that these social wrongs shall be removed. The government, whether federal, state, county or municipal, is coming more and more to be regarded as a proper agency for securing by common governmental methods, the welfare of all the people. We have rediscovered that phrase in the preamble to the national Constitution which clearly sets forth that it is one of the functions of government to promote the general welfare. It must therefore be clearly regarded as the duty of government to concern itself with the special problems of human life, of community efficiency and of community betterment, just as much as it is the duty of government to concern itself with the question of tariffs, foreign relations, commercial trade, police protection, public utilities, etc.

The Dayton Welfare Program

Based on the principle that "The welfare of all is the ultimate goal of the community," the city of Dayton has established by charter provision a Department of Public Welfare. This provision was written into the new charter by those who believe that human nature, under proper environment and with proper direction and encouragement, is capable of far greater efficiency and service and happiness than has ever yet been attained in human experience. This Department of Public Welfare is an organized community expression of the new conception of the value of a human life.

The Public Welfare Charter Provision

The Dayton charter has made provision for the organization of perhaps the broadest and most far-reaching department of public welfare ever conceived for a city in America.

The charter defines the duties and powers of the Public Welfare Department as follows:

> Section 67. Subject to the supervision and control of the City Manager in all matters, the Director of Public Welfare shall manage all charitable, correctional and reformatory institutions and agencies belonging to the city; the use of all recreational facilities of the city including parks and playgrounds. He shall have charge of the inspection and supervision of all public amusements and entertainments. He shall enforce all laws, ordinances and regulations relative to the preservation and promotion of the public health, the prevention and restriction of disease, the prevention, abatement and suppression of nuisances and the sanitary inspection and supervision of the production, transportation, storage and sale of food and foodstuffs. He shall cause a complete and accurate system of vital statistics to be kept. In time of

epidemic or threatened epidemic, he may enforce such quarantine and isolation regulations as are appropriate to the emergency. The Director of Public Welfare shall provide for the study of and research into causes of poverty, delinquency, crime and disease and other social problems in the community and shall by means of lectures and exhibits promote the education and understanding of the community in those matters which affect the public welfare.

The Reasons for this Department

The reasons we advance for the organization and operation of this Department are chiefly the following:

First: The true objective of a municipality is the life of its citizens, the promotion, improvement and enlargement of community life. The city, as a community organization, has for its clear objective the economic prosperity of its people, their life and their general welfare. The city government is the active and natural agency through which the collective will of the municipality, only, can find its full expression.

The city being the common agency for securing the common good, our cities must come to the point where they will be organized to render to the public all the service which the public demand in the interest of community welfare, such as private employment, promoting health, lending money in times of stress, furnishing free legal aid and defense, providing public recreation, outdoor relief, hospital service, etc.

Secondly: The municipal government, being the only agency in a given community, covering the entire community, is, on that account, the logical and right agency to which should be committed the entire public welfare program. The government agency is obviously the only agency in the city which represents 100% of all the souls within its bounds; and besides, the city, in its corporate capacity, is the only agency which has authority, power and means commensurate to the needs which wait to be met, if our cities are ever to become centers of a complete community life. The city in its corporate capacity can lay its hand upon the tremendous financial, intellectual and organizing strength of the entire community.

Dr. W. H. Allen says:

"No agency engaged in social service can give so much happiness or remove so much wretchedness as can efficient government."

The city is the only agency whose business it is to be on the lookout for equal opportunity, unnecessary suffering, preventable and curable diseases—in a word, everything that makes for the conservation and protection and enlargement of human

life. This being true, a direct public social service operating under efficient government, should as rapidly as possible be created, so that eventually, there may be laid upon the shoulders of the entire community the whole social service program.

Thirdly: The city should bear the responsibility for the cure of the social ills of today, for the further reason that the responsibility of the city is intimately interwoven with individual responsibility. For example, the health of an individual does not depend wholly upon himself. His health depends upon society in large measure. If society in its corporate life, allows the spread of contagious diseases, the individual, unaided, is helpless to protect himself. Recreation cannot, under our highly organized civic life, be any longer provided individually. It is now clearly manifest that the municipality must intervene to supply parks and playgrounds for the benefit of the individual.

Loss of employment is frequently due, not to the indifference of the individual workman, but to great industrial crises, or combinations and conditions in which workmen are allowed no vote. There are constantly arising social and economic conditions causing the loss of employment, the individual being helpless to protect himself under these conditions. Has the municipality no duty to perform to the individual where the individual is helpless? Accidents to individuals are frequently due to conditions which cannot be changed by individual initiative—which can only be changed under corporate or municipal regulation. Is the individual to be left helpless and the municipality to wash its hands of all obligation to protect the individual in his helplessness?

In the matter of foodstuffs the individual is again at the mercy of the dealer, the wholesaler, the jobber, the producer, unless the municipality interferes to regulate the production and proper care of food products in transit from the producer to the consumer. For example, we have come now to understand that clean, unadulterated, pure milk is an absolute necessity to the life of hundreds of thousands of babies throughout our cities. Shall a matter of such vital importance to the future well-being of the race be left to individual initiative, or shall the city assume its clear obligation to the helpless children and guarantee, through proper municipal regulation, that its very life shall be protected?

Fourthly: It follows as a natural and logical conclusion, that in a democracy public social needs should be met by the democracy, that is, by the people in their corporate capacity. Otherwise, our democracy is rendering only a partial service to the

community as a whole, and is by so much, therefore, failing as a democracy. It would certainly improve society if the social worker now laboring under the direction of a private agency would gradually be absorbed into governmental service, because such service on the part of a municipality will tend to insure a more democratic government. Trained social workers have vision, initiative, and are not fearful of conventions and checks. The introduction of a force of social workers into municipal government would, through their presence and service in a municipality, insure a better and more efficient government and a broader spirit of democracy in government. Their presence would make for a better democracy, because they would be regarded, then, as working for all the members of the community without distinction, whereas now, working under private agencies, they are often, though no doubt unjustly, regarded as the agents of privileged classes, and consequently are not welcomed by the common folks as heartily as if they were in public service.

Fifthly: The public welfare is a proper objective of the municipality, for the further reason that it is a community burden and should be borne by the entire community. As matters now stand, a few charitably disposed people in any given community bear the entire cost of the welfare of that community.

The great city of Cleveland, with almost 600,000 people, found, several years ago, that there were less than 5,000 contributors to the scores of social and welfare agencies which were rendering such splendid service to the cause of community betterment. Dayton found, about two years ago, that less than 1,200 of her 125,000 people carried the entire social burden of the leading charities and social agencies of our city. Men and women of great wealth were found to have escaped altogether from bearing any share in the welfare program of the city. The demands of our present civilization, I am absolutely convinced, will never be fully met until the cause of human welfare shall share equally in importance in city, county, state and national budgets with the care and conservation of property. The social burden is, by all that is just, a community burden and should be carried by the entire community. Social justice demands it. The cause demands it. Reason adds its voice in support of this demand.

Sixthly: The municipality should, as speedily as possible, undertake the administration of the entire public welfare program, for the further reason that only then will the entire social needs of a community be completely and adequately met. Private social service agencies, however efficient and well supported they

may be, cannot in the nature of the case, be expected to meet the total need for public welfare work in any given municipality. They have rendered unusual service, under great difficulties, but due to meagre support and form of organization and special limited fields of service covered, much of the total field has been left unoccupied by all social service agencies. The municipality commanding the entire financial and social forces of the community must eventually take over the entire administrative field of social service, if the total community need is ever to be fully and systematically met.

The Ideal Far in the Future

While in my judgment, the administration and support of public welfare activities should, and eventually will, be completely assumed by the government, this end will not be attained for a long time to come. And this for various reasons:

First: Our municipalities do not have command of sufficient revenues at the present time to take over the entire burden of social activities.

Secondly: Up until the past decade the government of our American municipalities has been justly characterized as the most expensive, corrupt and inefficient in the civilized world. There is no agency in American life so destructive to the home, to character, to industry, as inefficient government. It is the greatest evil that we know, because it moves with the power of all the people behind it, representing the combined forces of high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, altruistic and vicious alike. Inefficient government in America, some one has said, has done more in one year to injure the bodies, the minds and the morals of our people than all the private agencies represented by voluntary philanthropy can undo in a decade.

Therefore, until inefficient government can be replaced by efficient government in American municipalities, we cannot commit to it the administration of the social service program. It would be utterly wrong to commit to inefficient municipal government matters of life and death in a community. However, the remedy must be not more private agencies, but the remedy must be to change the municipal government in America, make it efficient, popularize it, and make it in reality the people's representative agency—a government not corrupt, selfish and vicious, but a government, honest, altruistic and beneficent. This movement for efficient government in American municipalities is going forward with tremendous energy, and in another genera-

tion our American cities will be completely redeemed from inefficiency and corruption, and will become broad, far-reaching and efficient common agencies for securing the common good.

Thirdly: The third reason why thoughful leaders register objection to the municipality assuming the administration of the social program is that public authority in America is so bound down by statutes and checks and balances, as to interfere with necessary and wise experimentation in social work. There is the constant plea that "we must not experiment with the tax-payer's money." In a voluntary agency, new ideas, new methods of treatment of particular cases and new devices for curing the social ills can be put to experiment. The answer to this objection is, that the public must be educated to allow for such service on the part of government in the interests of social well-being; and besides, when the municipality takes over gradually, as it must, the social program, it will take over with it the men and women of vision, initiative and experience, who have pioneered and blazed the way in the field of social service.

Fourthly: It is sometimes urged against the assumption of social service administration by government, that the volunteer worker or institution can specialize on a difficult case or a difficult class of cases, whereas the government agency "must do equal justice to all their clients." But this objection can be overcome, and should be overcome by a change, through education, of this narrow, limited view of the purpose of government. The newer and broader conception of government carries with it the function of promoting the common welfare, which is all-inclusive.

Fifthly: There is the further objection to the municipality assuming the burdens of public welfare, that we cannot, under our government, bring to bear upon the individual or class of individuals the influence of religion. The State and the Church must be kept absolutely apart. However, it would seem that the principles and spirit of religion in its broad and generic sense cannot be separated from the social service program, whether that program be administered by voluntary agencies or by governmental agencies. Social justice is all that is demanded to cure the social ills; and where, in all conscience, are the principles of social justice to be found, except as laid down in the Book of Books? Therefore, whether these principles are sought to be applied in American life by the volunteer agent or the governmental agent, this service will always have surrounding it, whether consciously or unconsciously, the atmosphere of religion.

The Dayton Program

The City of Dayton, under the new commission-manager plan of government, has laid the foundation for and is working toward the realization of this new conception of the obligation of the city to all her citizens. Under the present plan, the Department of Public Welfare includes in the scope of its activities the public health, public recreation, public parks, correctional and reformatory institutions, outdoor relief, legal aid, municipal employment, a municipal lodging house, and a study of and research into causes of poverty, delinquency, crime and disease and other social problems.

Dayton is limited in revenues, and therefore cannot yet assume the entire community burden. However, the Department of Public Welfare, through a co-operative scheme of organization, has brought under one centralized control all public health nursing and all public recreation functions for the entire city. These agencies are administered and serve the public from the offices of the Department of Public Welfare, the private citizen boards remaining intact and in control of the personnel of their employees. The city furnishes everything except salaries of social workers. Gradually, the city will relieve private philanthropy of its burden and will eventually take over the entire field of public health nursing and public recreation. We have found this plan, in a people's non-partisan government, to work admirably, and other cities throughout the United States have investigated the operation of this scheme, and in quite a number of cases have already adopted it. The efficiency of this service under this plan has been most materially advanced, and the measure of service rendered the people has increased far beyond our fondest expectations. We have simply applied in this centralized co-operative scheme the wisdom which enlightened business organization offers us.

Under our co-operative scheme of public recreation for the entire city the public schools, the Dayton Playgrounds and Gardens Association and the Welfare Department, in 1915, conducted 26 supervised playgrounds on which more than 150,000 play days were enjoyed by the children. Winter recreation as well as summer recreation is conducted under this co-operative, unified, community-wide program.

In addition to this public service rendered, we also conducted 27 experimental school gardens with 701 children under weekly scientific training; 1,441 back-yard children's home gardens supervised and inspected; and 693 vacant lot gardens prepared for

cultivation by needy families at the expense of the city, covering more than 100 acres and furnishing profitable employment to 2,483 persons, with products amounting to not less than $25,000.

Outdoor relief is administered by the city through the Associated Charities, on whose board the director of public welfare serves as a member, our funds being distributed through this recognized agency. Here, too, we propose gradually to assume more and more of the burden of outdoor relief, until finally, the city shall carry the whole burden. Co-operating with these various agencies, we have the legal aid attorney in the Department of Public Welfare, who rendered legal aid to 1,295 persons during 1915. The director of the department of welfare, co-operating with private citizens, organized and put in operation a loan company in the last year. Through the efforts of the attorney for legal aid and the constructive service rendered by the loan company, we have reduced the number of loan shark companies in Dayton from 17 to 7, in two years, and two of the seven are now planning to close their offices on account of poor business.

The Welfare Department has purchased, and is now equipping, a modern and model Correctional Farm for the care of the misdemeanant. This farm will be conducted without locks or keys or bars, but under a system which we hope will, as far as possible, prepare the prisoner to return to society a safe and productive member, going out from the farm with a desire to work rather than a desire to seek revenge.

Under our plan, we do not propose to supplant the private social agencies. Their function will be, when once the municipality has taken over the entire administrative field of social service, to pioneer in the study of community life and to discover new community needs, to initiate new movements to meet these needs, to experiment and to try out new plans to cover these needs. Then, when these have been proven public necessities, the administration of such service as they demand will be turned over to the municipality, the social need and value having been demonstrated.

The City of Today

John Ruskin once said: "A city is a place where summer and winter are only alternatives of heat and cold; where snow never fell white, nor sunshine clear; where the ground is only a pavement and the sky no more than the glass roof of an arcade; where the utmost power of a storm is to choke the gutters and the finest magic of Spring, to change mud into dust."

The City of Tomorrow

In the prophecy of St. John, the Divine, we are given a poet's dream of an ideal city—a city of hope and health and of fulness of life. Through the streets of this city flows the river of the Water of Life, and on every side there flourishes in perennial beauty the Tree of Life; and the streets are paved with the most precious metal, and the children have ample room to play and are never hungry. The light shines always bright and there is room for all. The inhabitants of that city will never say "I am sick," and into that city there will never be found broken lives or blasted hopes or burdened souls. It is the dream city, the Utopia of all time. Will it ever be realized on earth? The poet-prophet tells us that it is a city coming down out of Heaven from God. Then it must be a city we dare hope some day to realize, the model city of all times. How far we must travel from Ruskin's city, the City of Today, to this city of St. John, the City of Tomorrow!

The Coming City

But we have made much progress. Over in England, 34 miles from the slums of London, among the beautiful green hills, there lies the model city of the world, Letchworth. An American citizen dreamed it in 1898. Today his dream is realized. It is a city of hope and health and fulness of life, where all that ministers to the welfare of man is found, a city built by plan in the interest of all its citizens, where everything that ministers to human need is supplied by governmental agency; where hunger and want and suffering and ignorance and death are reduced to a minimum, and where the abundance of life is ever more and more approaching its maximum. It is coming slowly, but surely—it is coming here on earth and in America, the realization of the city of our dreams. It lies still far ahead, but it is within our reach, a goal worth striving for, this city of our hopes—a great center of throbbing life, of health and happiness, of light and the fulness of joy—a city where social justice and the common welfare are ever the highest objectives of human aspiration and hope.

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CHARTERING AND SUPERVISION BY STATE AUTHORITY*

Amy F. Acton, LL.B., State Board of Charity, Boston, Mass.

Prior to 1910 in Massachusetts it was possible for any seven persons to take out a charter for any charitable purpose, except-

*Section meeting, Thursday, May 11, 9:15 A. M.

ing a children's home, without investigation other than a cursory inquiry as to whether the applicants had police records. The result of such a policy left the field of private charity in a condition which recalls the great Dr. Johnson's remark that although none of his ancestors had been hanged, he felt sure that several of them deserved to have been.

In 1910, the Massachusetts legislature provided for the investigation by the State Board of Charity of all applications for charitable charters.[1] In addition, the statutes require an annual inspection of all incorporated charities,[2] and a yearly financial report from each.[3] Failure to file a return for two successive years is ground for dissolution.[4]

These acts provide a harmonious and constructive piece of State machinery operated by an arm of the government which impartially represents the whole people. Entirely unconnected with the management of private charities and their funds, except in an advisory capacity, and lacking any motive for favoring one above another, the state department is in a position to assist all agencies to standardize their methods of work:

(1) By preventing undesirables from entering the field of incorporated charity.

(2) By disseminating (through conferences with representatives of chartered organizations) information as to the best accepted methods of charitable work, such knowledge being gained through visitation and study of large groups of private incorporated charities and scrutiny of their accounts.

The warrant for legislation of this character rests upon the theory, supported by authoritative judicial decisions, that private funds given for the benefit of the community are a public trust. This being true, the persons who act as trustees of such funds are accountable to the community which is the beneficiary.

Let us see what follows upon the issuance of a charitable charter:

1. The trustees escape personal liability for debts incurred by the corporation.

2. The organization gains perpetual existence.

3. Gifts to it are exempt from the operation of the rule against perpetuities.

4. Its real and personal property is exempt from taxation.

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1. Acts 1910, ch. 181.
2. Acts 1909, ch. 379.
3. Acts 1903, ch. 402.
4. Acts 1913, ch. 82.

(In Massachusetts a corporation may hold free from taxation one and a half million dollars.)

5. Its property cannot be attached in damage suits.

How many of the 48 states assure themselves that the persons upon whom they bestow these privileges will use them honestly and efficiently, and will keep faith both with the donors and with the community.

From the almost universal lack of legislation dealing with this subject we must conclude that what is the community's or everybody's business is in this case, at least, nobody's business.

The extent of the field left thus without regulation in the various states cannot be measured with any accuracy. In dealing with numbers, therefore, I will confine myself to Massachusetts, which has the machinery for gathering them.

We have in our commonwealth at the present time 913 agencies of which we have a record. The total number of unincorporated societies cannot be ascertained, but there is every reason to believe it is very large.

Massachusetts is an old community and undoubtedly has a larger number of charitable societies in proportion to her population than more recently settled states. With due allowance for this fact, it is still true that the field of private charity in this country is enormous.

Our statutes prescribing an investigation before incorporation present two tests to applicants:—

(1) Their purpose must be charity.

(2) They must not be unsuitable through lack of financial ability or other cause.

A patent medicine company, which was without necessary capital, thought to expand by getting subscribers among the large employers of labor. The subscribers received for each dollar contributed, a card entitling bearer to a free consultation at the medicine company's office. These cards were given by the subscribers to their employees who, on presentation of the card, were advised to purchase a 75 cent bottle of their nerve tonic or lung cure, as the case might be. This concern applied for a charitable charter and was refused.

Examples of similar import might be multiplied. Suffice it to say that among the applications investigated there have been found a number of persons with criminal records, a still larger number who were dishonest in their dealings, and several who were mentally unbalanced. The number of persons who were

unsuccessful in meeting their personal obligations, as evidenced by bankruptcy records, was appreciably large.

During the past month, an agency which applied for incorporation was found to have among its directors a person who is on parole from the state prison of your state of Indiana, and another who had pleaded guilty to a criminal offense in one of our own courts.

Last winter we had applications for charters from two rescue missions. The founder and most active member of one organization was a person of bad character. For this reason his name did not appear in the list of applicants. The others trusted that its omission would enable them to gain a charter.

Among the applicants for the other charter was a person with a long criminal record and another who had deserted and refused to support his wife and young children.

The outstanding feature, however, in the investigation of applications for charters, is the large number of persons who, though well-intentioned, are wholly untrained to deal with charitable problems, and lack experience even in the ordinary affairs of life. Social ambition, good impulses, the desire to foster a pet idea, are in many instances the impelling motives which lead them to engage in charity.

Our only hope of improving this class of agencies is by regular visitation under our inspection law after the granting of the charter.

Experience with the Massachusetts law amply demonstrates its usefulness and also points the way to a more thorough-going oversight of private charities by the public. An ideal statute dealing with the incorporation of private charities might well embody the following points.

(1) The investigation should be extended to all who apply for charters for charitable work.

(2) No organization incorporated as a charity should be allowed to issue stock, or if it is permitted to do so, the amount of property against which the stock is issued should be taxed.

(3) There should be an investigation before a certificate of change of name or purpose is allowed.

(4) By-laws should be filed at the time of incorporation and no change in them should be legal until the amended copy is filed with the proper state department.

(5) Applicants for incorporation should be required to state their purpose definitely so that there may be no doubt as to their particular field of work.

The following choice example would never find its parallel in an application for a patent or a trademark:—

> To incite its members to a performance of kind and helpful deeds, and thus to bring the sunshine of happiness into the greatest possible number of hearts.

With this purpose as a guiding star, the promoters solicited last year for a home for blind babies.

This audience may inquire what is to be done with organizations which do not seek incorporation or have been refused charters. These include charities of every grade of worthiness and unworthiness. They are free to solicit from the public and yet there is no provision for an accounting to the public. Our laws do not assume to deal with them unless their promoters are guilty of obtaining money under false pretenses. Proof in such case is difficult to get especially where a show of charity is kept up, however desultory it may be. As a consequence, all our cities are overrun with venders of 10-cent magazines, stamps, seals, flags, etc. We are asked to subscribe to funds for war victims, for peace propaganda, for sick babies, for poor children, or, as one nears the briny deep, for the volunteer life savers. The mails are full of appeals from them

If the theory that a private charity is a public trust is correct, these unincorporated agencies should be supervised in some manner, either by the requirement of incorporation or by a licensing system.

The requirement of incorporation may be regarded as fundamentally sound. The state already says to those who ask exemption from taxation on the ground that they are charities, "We cannot assume that you are a charity, you must show a charter." Why should not the community make the same demand when it is asked to support the society by direct contributions?

Some persons question whether such regulation of the charitable field, with the inevitable exposure of fraud, does not result in creating in the mind of the contributing public a distrust of all charitable effort.

Our experience in Massachusetts tends to show that supervision which includes the education not only of the directors of private charities, but of the public, through the statement of reasonable standards, does not result in undermining charitable organizations which are worthy of support. On the contrary, it assists the public to discriminate between these agencies and their unworthy competitors.

As in all educational effort, results may be painfully slow, but must be happily sure. With the enlightenment of public opinion

towards charitable problems we should expect to see not only decreased support of poorly managed or fraudulent agencies, but correspondingly increased contributions to the charities which measure up to good standards. Such an educational policy, combined with one which bars the way of the incompetents who seek charters, must eventually tend to decrease the number of such who appeal for public support, and to assist and encourage those who recognize their trusteeship in the management of charitable funds.

CHARTERING AND FISCAL CONTROL BY STATE AUTHORITY OF VOLUNTARY CHARITIES

C. V. Williams, Children's Welfare Department, Board of State Charities, Columbus, O.

When connected with a private child-caring association which operated throughout one of the eastern states where there was no state supervision of either public or private child-caring agencies, I had abundant opportunity to observe the need of some form of state control of such agencies. One day I was able to bring about the removal of a little blind baby from an institution maintained by a group of people who were neither morally nor physically fitted to care for this child. They had used the little one as their stock in trade. It made a fine basis for an appeal for money. State supervision of child-caring agencies is necessary to eliminate such vicious or harmful organizations.

There were in the state some institutions of long standing, well financed, but holding to the standards and traditions of a generation ago. Their existence increased the difficulty of the newer organizations in securing adequate funds. The old standards held by these agencies permitted a low per capita cost of maintenance which was utterly inadequate to meet the demands of associations applying modern methods of child-care. The need of a system of state control which will require these fine old heavily endowed institutions to modernize their work and to maintain suitable standards, is obvious to those who have been able to study the institutions of an entire state.

The organization with which I was connected engaged extensively in the placing of children in family homes. This society exercised great care in the placement of these children with

foster families and in their subsequent supervision. It employed a corps of trained persons for this special work. And yet we were so conscious of the responsibility assumed by the society in the treatment of these wards, and of the possibility of failing adequately to protect every child, that we sought state supervision and also advocated the visitation by a competent state agent of our placed-out children who were not legally adopted. We would have availed ourselves of any service that the state could render to supplement the work of the organization which at its best could not be without its defects.

I propose to confine my discussion to the relation of the state to private *child-caring* agencies, inasmuch as my experience has been with such organizations. I find it somewhat difficult to draw the line between the public and the private agency. Any association or institution that receives for care dependent children and undertakes to provide for them the training and the environment which is to fit them for their life's work, is performing a public function, and it should be dependent upon a state licensing body for its right to operate whether it be endowed or whether it appeals to the public for funds for its maintenance.

Opposition to state supervision is generally caused by a misunderstanding as to the real function of a state supervisory body. Its exercise of police power in the elimination of bad institutions should play but a minor part in the program of such a state body, desirous of rendering constructive service. If state supervision means an invasion of institutions by impractical or unsympathetic persons for the purpose of criticism, it may be harmful, for defects may be found in the best of organizations. Unwise criticism which disturbs the initiative of individuals, who in the development of their particular organization have rendered a big service to society, is unfortunate.

The Ohio legislature has given special attention to this subject and has passed a law which makes possible an effort to standardize the work of all these associations. This law provides that no institution or association which may have for one of its objects the care of children or the placement of children in foster homes, may incorporate without the consent of the Board of State Charities first having been secured. This wise provision has not only made it possible for this board to prevent the incorporation of useless or vicious organizations, but it has presented to the board an opportunity to suggest policies which should govern the work of new institutions, so that to a greater extent they may meet the real need of the community.

The Ohio law also provides for the inspection and the study of every child-caring institution, and the annual certification by this board of these institutions is a requisite. The statute furthermore provides a penalty for any person soliciting money or receiving children on behalf of such unindorsed institution.

The Children's Welfare Department created by the Ohio Board of State Charities for this special service soon after its organization declared its policy:

> That no institution in Ohio that deliberately and continuously neglects its children will be tolerated.
>
> That the services of experienced persons who will make a study of the institution and will render any possible assistance, will be offered freely to all Ohio child-caring institutions.
>
> And that the Board will assist in the creating of sentiment in backward communities to the end that the agencies there operating may be able, through a more liberal support, to maintain higher standards of efficiency.

One of the primary benefits growing out of the operation of the Ohio law was the opportunity presented to the board to make a survey of all of the child-caring institutions in the state. Although this survey has been somewhat superficial, it has revealed the fact that while much is done for the correction of child neglect and abuse, some communities where there is great need are almost entirely neglected. It has also revealed the fact that while abundant provision is made for certain classes of children, there are other groups for whom no provision has been made. Possessed of this information the board has already been of service to some of the private agencies in Ohio in directing their activities along broader lines.

In order that it may be of the greatest possible service to each of the private child-caring institutions coming under its supervision, the board is making a special study of some of the problems of these institutions. It is securing uniformity in record-keeping. The carelessness with which records have been kept in institutions throughout the country is known to those who have been in a position to observe. State supervision will encourage the institution to secure and to preserve the family history of its wards. The futile efforts of some men and women who have been brought up in children's homes, to ascertain something of their antecedents, are pathetic.

Again great grief and sorrow are found in many a home because the superintendent of a child-caring institution knowing nothing of the antecedents of the child, has placed in that home a child suffering from some transmissible mental defect.

It can reduce the dangers always incident to the placing of children in foster homes by determining the nature of the investi-

gation which shall precede the placing of the child and by requiring adequate subsequent watch-care. The lives of a great many children have been hopelessly blighted because of the inexcusable and criminal carelessness of agencies that undertake to perform this function without maintaining sufficient machinery for such purpose.

It can require a sane agreement between the foster parents and the institution for the care of the child, and will eliminate the old indenture under which children are bound after certain period of time to remain in a home whether they are wanted or not.

The Ohio Board, pursuant to statute, is providing the child-caring institutions of the state with blanks recommended for general use in these institutions, and is organizing for the help of these agencies a suitable plan for the proper classification and filing of their records.

This sympathetic state supervision will secure more intelligent care for children who are in some of our institutions. It will give attention to the vocational training of children who are detained a long period of time in the institution. Because of the necessity of keeping down per capita cost, some superintendents employ the services of boys and girls at special tasks for too long a period. These children may become specialists at their particular work—expert dish washers, expert bread-cutters and expert floor scrubbers—but receive no general training. It will give attention to the recreation of institution wards and discourage a common practice of keeping the children sitting in long silent rows in their playrooms with nothing to do but look at the bare walls. I spent nearly a half day in an institution recently. Though there were about 100 children in the institution, there was little evidence of their presence because of this silent regime. After school I visited the girls' playroom. It was occupied by about 30 young girls. Though they had been in school for the afternoon, they were sitting in their chairs in silence. I saw them later march in to supper in silence with their hands behind their backs. I saw them in their dining room eat their supper still in silence, keeping their left hands behind them as they ate. Much of the immorality found in some institutions may be due to this unnatural repression which wise state supervision will discourage.

State control will require some form of medical supervision for these children, a large number of whom are suffering from remediable physical defects. Present-day methods should not

permit inattention to such subjects as gonorrhea, syphillis, tuberculosis and the more obvious physical defects such as adenoids, tonsils and defective teeth. The state supervisory body should decide upon a minimum of medical supervision to be employed by all of these agencies.

State supervision will discourage the summary breaking up of family homes by children's agencies when with due care they might be rehabilitated. It will show these agencies that to require a worthy mother to permanently relinquish all right and claim to her child in order that it may be cared for, is antagonistic to the spirit of modern philanthropy.

It will discourage the detention of children for long periods of time in institutions, provided they are physically and mentally normal and cannot be restored to their own homes. Unless special educational or vocational opportunities are extended to such children, it will encourage their placement in carefully selected foster homes and can create sentiment to that end. Vast amounts of money are spent in the maintenance of children in institutions who might be better cared for in foster homes.

State supervision would give special attention to private maternity and lying-in hospitals. It may not be sufficient to prevent all of the illicit practices that obtain in some such institutions, but it can discourage the ruthless separation of new-born infants from their mothers simply because the mother does not care to assume her maternal responsibilities. And it can and should oppose the traffic in new-born babies by irresponsible persons.

By maintaining a central agency for the registration of all the dependent children of a state who are under the care of public and private institutions, a state supervisory body is in a position to secure information which will be the basis for developing preventive propaganda.

Inasmuch as many children in these institutions are needlessly dependent, some of whom are orphaned because their parents died of preventable diseases, and inasmuch as others have been taken from parents whose delinquency was due to causes for which the community was responsible, it is obvious that an important function of a state supervisory body is to secure and classify information which will reveal the actual causes of child dependency. Then it is in a position to seek such remediable legislation as may be beneficial, in order that so far as possible family homes may be conserved and children, where possible, cared for by their own parents, and child dependency and child delinquency reduced.

State supervision of private agencies is necessary for the protection of their wards when through lack of proper financial support or for other reasons they are obliged to go out of business. The pitiable experiences of some children who have thus been left without any responsible guardian, justify my statement that all of the children who are wards of these institutions should be registered with a responsible central body, in order that this protection may be assured.

There are many persons who are of the opinion that the care of dependent children should be assumed by the government, to the exclusion of the private agencies. I do not share this opinion. The machinery which has been developed by the private agencies should be conserved. The state cannot afford to take steps which would dry up streams of charity and benevolence which these private agencies have developed. So long as the state fails to adequately provide for the care of the feeble-minded and other classes who are in great need, it seems unwise to suggest a plan which would deprive the commonwealth not only of the aid of men and women who are rendering a heroic service without compensation, but also of a vast sum of money readily given by the constituents of these agencies. Our private charities should be advised and directed by competent state authority but not suppressed.

FORMULATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF STANDARDS BY CENTRAL COUNCILS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

C. M. Hubbard, Secretary and General Manager, St. Louis Provident Association.

Central councils of social agencies are, by nature of their organization, the local agencies for the formation of standards. Made up, as they are, of official delegates from the different societies, it should not be difficult for them to compare notes, discuss what is desirable, as well as what is practicable, and work out definite standards for each group that shall serve as a measure of their efficiency.

Investigation shows that of twelve central councils that are still active, none has emphasized standardization in the statement of their objects, and only one has made it a definite and special task in its program. Much has been done indirectly, however, through discussion of special problems, and by conferences of

those interested in specific families. In several instances improvements of individual societies have been brought about by special investigation.

But the task of working out standards in detail that shall apply to all societies is infinitely more difficult. To tell how the welfare of a child should be safe-guarded by a placing-out agency; to prescribe the proper medical supervision for a day nursery, to describe in detail the points that should be included in a proper investigation by a society engaged in relief and social service, requires careful study and technical knowledge.

Several reasons why standardization had not been attempted have been given by different councils. There is lack of time on the part of competent paid workers to make the necessary detailed study of the subject, and unprofessional workers do not have sufficient technical knowledge to undertake it. It is feared that some societies would withdraw their membership in the councils if an ettempt should be made to interfere with the way they do their work. It would be embarrassing for social workers to act as critics of their fellow workers. There is a feeling that not much would be gained by formulating standards as there would be no power to enforce them and that a detailed statement of standards was of secondary importance in comparison with good business administration and reliable management.

In the face of these obstacles it should not be surprising that little has been done.

The St. Louis Central Council seems to be the only one that has set itself directly to the task of formulating standards. A brief summary of what it has accomplished and the way it has gone about it will be pertinent to this discussion.

Like other central councils, it did not emphasize standardization in the statement of its objects, and not until the beginning of the second year in 1913 did it make the attempt, when a plan was adopted which contemplated the following procedure:

1. The division of the societies into five main classes, each under its special committee. Each class to contain such groups of societies as would naturally come within its scope. The Children's Committee, for example, had jurisdiction over orphanages, day nurseries, child placing agencies, etc.

2. The preparation of exhaustive questionaires for each group.

3. The analysis and tabulation of the information thus obtained.

4. The formulation of tentative standards by the chairman

of the committee for each group to be submitted to the representatives of each society in the group for revision and adoption.

5. Further revision and adoption by the Executive Committee of the council.

6. Final revision and adoption by the Central Council at a regular meeting.

This plan has several good features. The filling out of the questionaires leads to searching self criticism. The group discussions of proposed standards has the highest educational value. And when standards are finally adopted under such a plan each society feels that it has a part in their formulation. They will not come to it as a law imposed by some alien and unsympathetic authority.

Progress in working out this plan in St. Louis was slow. Other subjects continued to engage the greater part of the time and energy of the Council. Only one set of standards was worked out and adopted in the first year after the plan went into effect. They were for societies engaged in relief and social service. Standards for rescue homes were adopted the following year. But last fall, which was the beginning of the current year, it decided to sidetrack everything else until the survey and standards were finished. As a result, standards have been adopted recently for children's homes or orphanages, and those for child-placing agencies, day nurseries, homes for the aged, institutions for homeless men, outing associations, visiting nurses, tuberculosis societies, juvenile courts, humane societies and free employment bureaus, are well advanced and some are ready for final adoption. Work on the remaining groups is well under way and it is expected to have most of them completed by early summer.

The Council, with the aid of the Business Men's League, has engaged the services of Mr. Francis H. McLean, as an expert, for six or eight weeks, as the case may require, to make a critical report this summer, upon the standing of the several societies with reference to the adopted standards and to assist in formulating recommendations based upon the survey.

In compelling compliance with the standards, the Council will have the co-operation of the Business Men's League, which is the endorsing agency in St. Louis. It has agreed not to endorse the collection of funds by any society whose standards are not approved by the Council.

That standardization is becoming imperative is beyond question. Business men who are supplying the money are demanding better proof of efficiency than a title and a board of directors.

The better societies are demanding it as a measure of self-protection. This symposium today is an evidence of the importance that the subject has assumed.

The question as to how far central councils of social agencies can be relied upon to do this work cannot be answered yet. With the one exception noted above, they have not specifically attempted standardization. It remains to be seen whether they will be willing to make the necessary sacrifices of time and energy and also whether they can provide within themselves the technical knowledge, the requisite co-operation and leadership to attain success.

I believe they should make the attempt. It affords an opportunity for distinctive and valuable service that has not yet been performed by any other agency. The whole process is highly educational and otherwise beneficial.

The nature of their organization makes it peculiarly appropriate for them to devote themselves to such a task. For these reasons it should be given pre-eminence in their program. They have nothing to lose. Even if they fail they will gain much profit from the experience. If they succeed, they will gain a higher place in the confidence and respect of the community for whom they have rendered the service.

ELEMENTARY REQUIREMENTS OF STANDARDIZATION AND CHIEF OBSTACLES TO BE ENCOUNTERED

Henry Stewart, Secretary, Subscriptions Investigating Committee, Chicago Association of Commerce

The following are some of the requirements for endorsement now in use by endorsement committees. They were reviewed by the late Prof. Henderson who stated "they are thoroughly sound, humane, economical of resources and will be universally approved by all who are conducting their work on a proper basis."

1. The organization must be incorporated and have responsible and satisfactory local management. Its administrative committee or board of managers shall meet at least four times a year.

2. The organization shall fill a need which is not already well filled by an existing organization and which is not capable of being thus filled. Those who desire to inaugurate new philanthropic organizations shall give the fullest opportunity for the

discussion of the proposed plans by a group, or groups, of persons who have had wide experience in philanthropic work.

3. The organization shall co-operate with other charitable institutions in promoting efficiency and economy of administration in the charities of the city as a whole and in preventing duplication of effort. Those organizations engaged in relief work shall register their cases with the Confidential Exchange.

4. The methods employed in raising funds shall be approved by the endorsement committee. Organizations employing solicitors on commission should not be endorsed. The committee should refuse endorsement when the expenses of an entertainment are disproportionate to the receipts.

5. The accounts shall be audited annually by a public accountant.

Summarizing these brief requirements we find that they provide for:

1. Sound management.
2. Social efficiency.
3. Financial integrity.

Let the first requirement be granted, then the other two will almost inevitably follow.

The question will be asked however, "What do you mean by sound management?" The answer in part is "The kind of management which guarantees stability, continuity and financial integrity, and that constantly promotes social efficiency."

What is social efficiency? That must be defined for any given community by experts in social work just as financial integrity should be defined by practicing public accountants.

Sound Management

In emphasizing the importance of a thoroughly reliable board of directors, it is felt that this is entirely justifiable. Board members who have opened their hearts and their pocket books to the cause—particularly their pocket books—usually constitute a group of men and women who make it a rule to write down in their calendars the date of the regular business meeting of the society, and can prove at the end of the year that they have made an attendance record of from seventy to ninety per cent of the meetings. Such board members will surely succeed in establishing a genuine piece of charitable work. Because they give, their friends will give, but a dead board has no right to ask a live public for live money and live interest when the board itself furnishes neither time nor funds, but simply asks the public to

provide the necessary money to keep a society going to which they have merely lent their names.

Local people who furnish the funds for local work should be expected to accept the responsibility and be granted the opportunity of having a voice in the management of the institutions they support. Management at long range is not always desirable.

Citizens who constitute the local board stand in a very definite sense as guarantors for the policy of the organization they represent. By their contact and influence with their own friends in the community, they are not only in a strategic position to secure funds, but they are also in a position to defend their organization from any undeserved criticism. They form the natural and proper medium through which the community may express its judgment regarding the value of the social service which is being rendered by the organization whose affairs they have been elected to direct.

At some future time endorsement committees may inquire regarding the organizations about which they must pass upon:

1. How many meetings of the board were held during the previous year?
2. What was the attendance of each member?
3. What was the total amount contributed by the board?

A board of directors for a city-wide philanthropic agency might advantageously include the following:

1. Some citizens who subscribe liberally and have sufficient interest to at least make due inquiry as to whether or not their society is needed and is doing good work. They can then persuade others to give.
2. Some citizens who perhaps have very little money but who possess fine judgment, experience and knowledge of the community. They are the kind of people who are eager to learn how the problems of their society are cared for by similar societies in other cities, and states, and countries. Such persons make valuable volunteer workers.

Such a board will secure salaried social workers carefully selected for their character, experience and ability, and will compensate those workers as liberally as possible.

The workers will make efforts to attend city, state and national conferences of charities and correction, and they will familiarize themselves with the minutes of these conferences; also with *The Survey*, the publications of the Russell Sage Foundation, and similar literature.

Social Efficiency

The operation of every agency should be based on a constructive program of social work; for example, the kind which finds a maternity hospital board making a special investigation when there is a serious increase in the number of births of illegitimate children. This might be far more effective than merely adding another wing to the hospital.

Evidence should be secured that the endorsed organizations are making the fullest and best possible use of the facts so easily obtainable from the confidential exchange; not merely that the organization should register and file the information away, but register and then intelligently and conscientiously make practical use of the information which has been furnished. It is bad enough when a private individual squanders his money and pauperizes the poor by careless giving, but a charitable corporation cannot do so without betraying the trusteeship imposed upon it by the gifts of charitable funds from the public. A well-managed organization will keep adequate records of its work, publish reports, and also prepare with due care its annual budget.

It will mean the dawning of a new day when various organizations or groups of organizations circularize each other, asking for practical suggestions designed to increase the usefulness of every organization in the field; for example, the relief societies, settlements, nurseries, hospitals, dispensaries and industrial homes meeting at the beginning of the year and arranging for special conference when each society might freely ask the other "In what way can we be more helpful to you this year than last?"

A careful survey should always be made before any new philanthropic venture is started. The agencies already at work in any community should be mapped out and their work and functions definitely understood. Mr. L. A. Halbert at the Seattle Conference (See *Proceedings* 1913, page 107) stated:

> A careful investigation of the needs of the community should precede the starting of any philanthropic project in order to see whether the community needs such a project. Oftentimes if a project is already launched, it might be modified as to its character by such a study. If the people actually interested in such a project can be led to make investigation themselves or be led in making the investigation, they will probably be more readily convinced than if an opinion is handed to them by some expert investigator who has done the work for them.

We are in hearty agreement with Mr. Halbert's valuable suggestion, particularly with reference to encouraging a new organization to help make the investigation. Many disagreeable and time-consuming interviews can thus be avoided, and the organi-

zation will in all probability have a higher regard for the facts which they feel that they, themselves, have discovered.

Financial Integrity

Without questioning the honesty or the motives of organizations which have hitherto been satisfied with the examination of their accounts made by their own friends or officials of the organization, we find that contributors in these days are less inclined to approve such methods. The public accountant's work is usually characterized by a high degree of thoroughness and technical accuracy that commands the respect of all who know the significance of auditing by experts.

Method and Spirit of the Endorsement Committee and Its Agents

The truly successful charities endorsement committee will think of its requirements rather as requests. It will not talk loudly about the demands it is going to make so much as about the recommendations and suggestions it desires to submit for serious consideration. The committee and its agents will almost invariably obtain better results by the exercise of tact and persuasion than by power and authority. The secretary or directors as well as the investigators should have training and experience in social work.

What are the obstacles? Very few, if the first requirement has been met. Still, there are difficulties which may be encountered.

1. The ease with which persons of doubtful character and motives and limited experience obtain charters in some states for the conduct of charitable corporations.

2. The unfortunate practice of public officials, prominent citizens and benevolent individuals who give their personal recommendation to impulsive, enthusiastic and meagerly informed persons desirous of launching new philanthropic enterprises.

3. In a limited sense and on a decreasing scale the willingness of some subscribers to make contributions without inquiring as to the worthiness of charities they support; also the difficulty which is sometimes experienced in securing funds for social work that is more constructive than spectacular.

4. The absence of trained workers in fields where the tasks are of an extremely complex character.

5. Improved equipment too costly; cannot afford it. The truth is that unregulated and unsystematic activities are too costly and cannot be afforded.

6. Lack of acquaintanceship among social workers resulting in lack of knowledge and appreciation of each other's work. Mrs. Glenn, in her presidential address at Baltimore stated, "We social workers are slow to co-operate." Perhaps this is because we are slow to get acquainted.

What are some of the benefits which should result from the adoption of the foregoing requirements—which are perhaps elementary, but also essential and fundamental?

1. Less time and money will be wasted.
2. Givers to charity will experience a higher degree of satisfaction.
3. Social workers and organizations will reach higher levels of efficiency.
4. Best of all—those who are ministered to will receive a richer and finer quality of service because the community has given to them the best it can offer in skill and sympathy and practical aid.

ENDORSEMENT BY CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Otto W. Davis, Assistant Secretary, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association

I find myself so much in sympathy with what has already been said regarding supervision by state authority and with what I know is going to be said to you by Mr. Hubbard regarding standardization through central councils that I almost wish that the discussion already begun might be continued without interruption. Very few states, however, have anything approximating adequate state supervision, so there remains in most communities a field which must be occupied by a charities endorsement committee, and even where there is state supervision, the work of the state authorities may be aided and supplemented by a local committee.

There are certain definite, concrete things which a properly organized charity endorsement committee can do towards improving the standards of volunteer charities. Practically all endorsement committees require agencies receiving endorsement to conform to minimum requirements, and these requirements are the first step, ofttimes, towards better standards. The requirements are so well known that I shall only briefly refer to them. They insist upon responsible and satisfactory management, a real board

of directors that shall meet and do business; a willingness on the part of the organization to co-operate with other agencies in preventing duplication and promoting efficiency; the elimination of expensive methods of raising funds, particularly through professonal promoters of entertainments; the keeping of regular books of accounts open to inspection and the auditing of such accounts annually by a public accountant approved by the committee. I think it has been the experience of every endorsement committee that few of the charitable agencies seeking endorsement measure up to these requirements before the committee begins its work. Organizations have been reluctant to spend money for a proper audit, but nearly always after having done so have recognized the advantage to the agency from such an audit and have cheerfully continued it. Only recently, the last organization of any importance in Minneapolis which had never had a real audit, had one made after being told by our committee that no further endorsement of their work would be granted unless this was done. The organization handles annually in the neighborhood of $70,000. As a result of the recent audit, the officers of this organization have discovered that they are utterly unable to tell where the money received last year has been expended. There is no suggestion of dishonesty, but merely of carelessness and inefficient book-keeping. These officers recognize that if they cannot give a complete accounting of the funds administered they are open to severe criticism and are taking steps to see that a proper system of book-keeping is installed.

Much may be done by a charities endorsement committee in improving the standards of volunteer charities along the lines indicated. Considerable can be done, but not as much, in improving the standards of work with the individuals which the society exists to help. Where obviously wrong methods are being used, it is not infrequent that the endorsement committee can bring about an entire change in the policy of the organization. It can force charities to define their fields and by asking questions can help to clarify the purpose of certain endeavors which ofttimes results in improved methods. The improvements, however, in the methods of work with beneficiaries are apt to occur rather infrequently and indirectly. Those who for years have been engaged in doing the charity work of an organization resent, and perhaps properly, any attempt on the part of a group of business men to instruct them as to how their work should be done.

To determine and improve standards of social work requires something more than a charities endorsement committee. We believe in Minneapolis that this can be done best through fed-

erating the workers, not the work, in a central council of social agencies, which shall be a delegate body doing work along the lines which Mr. Hubbard will shortly describe. With such a central council co-operating with a charities endorsement committee, great improvement in standards can be effected. The field naturally divides itself. The central council determines standards and matters of policy in the development of new agencies or the extension of old. The endorsement committee determines the amount which needs to be obtained from contributors in order to have these policies carried out. The one supplements the other, but over and above both of these, I believe we should not forget that we need and should work for a properly organized state authority which shall determine whether a group seeking a charter for a charity is competent to conduct it before such charter is granted. All three agencies, state authority, endorsement committee and central council have a place in determining and improving the standards that shall prevail in social work.

DISCUSSION: Those who participated in informal discussion were as follows: Robert W. Kelso, Boston; C. L. Stonaker, Newark, N. J.; J. D. Lynn, St. Louis; Rev. W. A. Shannon, Minneapolis; W. D. Matthews, Oklahoma.

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THE AFTERMATH OF PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF IN BROOKLYN*

Thomas J. Riley, Ph. D., General Secretary, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities

With a few noteworthy exceptions, there were no papers presented to the National Conference of Charities and Correction on the subject of public outdoor relief between 1890 and 1915. Last year the Conference came back to the subject with a relish. Several causes have contributed to this awakened interest, among which may be mentioned the enactment of mothers' pension laws in twenty-eight states in the brief space of five years and the growing belief that the state should do much more than it has done in the past for the promotion of the social welfare. Three recent studies of the laws and of the

*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 9:15 A. M.

administration of public outdoor relief have also helped to bring the subject to the attention of social workers.

In the earlier literature on this topic the experience of Brooklyn, then a city by itself, played a conspicuous part. It is not surprising therefore that in the reopening of the subject Brooklyn's experience should be reviewed and the history be brought up to date. I presume it was for this reason that your Chairman asked me to read a paper on Public Outdoor Relief in Brooklyn—the Aftermath of 1878. I invite your attention first to a brief historical statement and second to a more critical examination of Brooklyn's experience and of the subect in general.

Public outdoor relief was abolished in Brooklyn by the Board of Supervisors, January 31, 1878, on the opinion of their legal adviser that such relief was illegal. The opinion held that the class entitled to support included only those unable to earn their own living and the law provided that they should be maintained in poor houses provided by the county, where the relief could be supervised by those authorized to do so. The only exception to this was that temporary relief might be given to the sick, lame, or otherwise disabled, until and only until it became practicable to remove the person to the almshouse.

The counsel advised the supervisors therefore that all money granted in aid of the poor contrary to these plain provisions was illegal, and that the overseers were liable to indictment. Whereupon public outdoor relief in Brooklyn was terminated in the middle of the winter of 1878, a winter of more than ordinary severity.

The main facts about the abolition of such relief in Brooklyn may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Prior to its abolition the number of persons receiving public relief in their homes increased faster than the population, and in 1877 amounted to 46,330 persons. In 1878 this aid was stopped. Notwithstanding this there followed a decrease rather than an increase in the number of persons cared for in the public institutions as compared with the population of Brooklyn.

2. During the ten years next preceding 1878, Kings County, that is Brooklyn, spent an average of almost $129,000 a year for the relief of persons in their own homes, while the Brooklyn Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the chief private relief society in Brooklyn at that time, spent on the average $22,252 a year for material relief. Although public outdoor relief was entirely cut off, this society gave an average of $18,981 a year for the six years following 1878. In other words, the abolition of public relief was followed by a decrease in the relief disbursements from private sources also.

3. The abolition of public outdoor relief did not cause any increase of distress among the poor or any increase of the number of children in private institutions at the expense of the county under the provisions of the Children's Law of 1875 which made it illegal throughout the state to keep children over three years of age in the almshouse.

In a word, the stoppage of public outdoor relief in Brooklyn caused some 46,000 persons to depend upon themselves instead of upon charity, whether public or private, and there was no increase in distress among the poor.

The only approach to an exception to this statement that has come to my attention was made by a committee of the Boston Overseers of the Poor. After admitting a great diminution of pauperism in Brooklyn, and after admitting that it was not attended by any increase in distress, the committee contended that the number of children in institutions increased because families could not get aid in their homes. Let us see what connection, if any, the number of county wards in private institutions had with the abolition of public outdoor relief, for this is the largest question in the aftermath of public outdoor relief in Brooklyn.

Speaking before this conference in 1888, Robert Treat Paine said:

> For myself I believe the fact will prove to be that the excessive outdoor relief before 1878 in Brooklyn, and the great number of children in institutions were two independent evils—each susceptible of reform and each needing to be reformed as much as the other—and that the increasing flow of children into institutions came from other causes, chiefly the lax interpretation of the Children's Law of 1875, and had begun several years before outdoor relief was abolished and continued for several years more, till in 1883 judicious administration began to reduce the evil and to lessen the number of dependent children.

When the State Children's Law of 1875 went into effect there were about 300 children in the nursery of the almshouse in Brooklyn. Four years later, 1879, there were 1404 children in private institutions at the expense of the county, and after four years, 1883, there were 1,492 such children. This increase caused the Commissioners of Charities and Correction to make a thorough inquiry as to the necessity of these commitments, as a result of which they discharged 390 children at the request of their parents and 265 on their own initiative in a single year, a total of 655. In the meantime they admitted only 476 new ones. By the end of another year the total number of such dependent children had been reduced to 1,231. The number of children increased from the time the law was enacted in 1875 to 1883,

but it then declined because of the more rigid enforcement of the law following this inquiry.

It is doubtful whether the abolition of public outdoor relief in 1878 had anything to do with the number of children in private institutions as county wards, but if it is claimed that there is any connection one could only say that its abolition tended to decrease the number of such children because the percentage of increase was greater before than after the abolition of public outdoor relief.

Let us consider also what happened under the Children's Law in Manhattan, then New York city. Manhattan had already abolished public outdoor relief when the Children's Law went into effect in 1875. In that year Manhattan had 9,363 dependent children at a yearly cost of $757,858. Ten years later, that is in 1885, she had 20,003 dependent children, of whom all, except 747 diseased or defective ones, were in private institutions at the county's expense, costing all told for the year $1,505,759. That is with no change as to public outdoor relief, and with no rigid inquiry as there was in Brooklyn, the number of county wards in Manhattan and the annual cost of their keep doubled in ten years.

The abolition of public outdoor relief does not explain the increase in the number of children in private institutions at the expense of the public treasury. The explanation lies in the fact that public subsidies to private charities have everywhere tended to stimulate the supply of beneficiaries and in the additional fact that lax administration of public funds always tends toward excesses. The Children's Law in New York is no exception. Some nationalities, of whom there are great numbers in New York city, are disposed to put their children in these institutional schools where they may have board, education, and religious instruction at the public's expense. Some religious denominations encourage the commitment of children in order that they may have the continued religious training and oversight upon which great value is set. If to these powerful causes is added the fact that as much as three-fourths of the cost of running these institutions may be secured from public funds as subsidies; and that there is always the temptation for officials to play favorites for personal, religious or political reasons; and that the Department of Public Charities formerly was swift to accept applications for commitment, and dilatory to reinvestigate and discharge cases, we have sufficient explanation of the increase in the number of children in subsidized institutions of

New York city without bringing in the irrelevant question of public outdoor relief.

This brings us face to face with the very heart of the question, namely: does the experience of Brooklyn condemn the giving of charitable aid from public funds to persons in their own homes as such, or does it condemn only its administration as it was practiced there? Such considerations as the following have led me to believe that it was the administration and not the relief itself that failed in Brooklyn.

Probably no one today would advocate the method by which public outdoor relief was given in Brooklyn. One set of men, the Board of Supervisors, ordered the supplies and another set of men, the Commissioners of Charities, distributed them, and there was almost constant friction between them. Applicants for relief came with their baskets to the offices of the commissioners and carried away such relief in kind as they might receive.

No one has more ably or correctly described the situation than Mr. Alfred T. White, as secretary of a group of about three hundred men and women who, inspired by the Elberfeld system, volunteered to visit the families who should apply for aid in the winter of 1877-78. He says:

> There were five distributing offices, to some one of which each ward of the city was assigned, each having its particular day for distribution. On these days many hundreds of women would often sit in a crowd for hours with their baskets waiting for their weekly dole. Paid visitors to the homes of the applicant had been tried and found worse than useless. One winter every applicant had been compelled to swear to her poverty; and still the number grew. It is difficult to conceive of a more demoralizing method of administering a system which is pernicious even when best handled than Brooklyn labored under until 1876. . . . . As the visitors called on the applicants for aid, it was found of course that in the majority of cases there were able-bodied men, able to work and often at work. It was found the rule in tenement houses for every family to apply for relief, each woman feeling entitled to aid because her neighbor had aid. In some cases self-respecting women were compelled by their neighbors to take their baskets and demand public aid with the rest, because, presumably, no superiority in such matters would be tolerated. It appeared especially in the older wards that a large population calculated upon this public relief as a part of their annual income and were shiftless during the summer because sure of aid in the winter.
>
> Many who said they would not take private aid regarded the public dole as an obligation due them by the county and demanded it accordingly; while on every hand it was seen that the system put a premium on misrepresentation and falsehood. In general it reached the class whom it did not benefit and failed to reach those who really needed aid but were supplied by private charity. No one could see his neighbor supported, in whole or in part, at

> the public expense without being tempted to draw rations from the same generous treasury, and industrious men and women were rapidly demoralized by this open reward to laziness and lying. (*Lend a Hand*, June 1886, page 335.)

Such criticisms have generally been interpreted as reasons for the abolition of public outdoor relief, but as a matter of fact they were used by the Volunteer Visitors Association in an effort to reform the administration of such aid. Indeed the reforms had been all but accomplished when, to use the language of the *New York Times*, there came "into office a new Board of Supervisors anxious for political influence and greedy for patronage" and reversed the action of the old board and ordered a free disposition of groceries to be made as before. Then, and not until then, did the visitors give up hope and cease their efforts to reform the administration of the relief.

On January 24, 1878, only one week before the relief was abolished the visitors met and passed the following resolutions, which only hint in a single place at the abolition of relief:

> RESOLVED, that we denounce as dangerous and demoralizing and altogether bad the efforts of the Commissioners of Charities and of members of the present Board of Supervisors to reinstate a system which puts a premium on fraud and misrepresentation; which disgusts the respectable poor and attracts the worst classes; which tempts paupers to immigrate here from surrounding counties; which offers a reward to idleness and shiftlessness and discourages industry and thrift and which violates law and disgraces our civilization.
>
> RESOLVED, that in the judgment of the visitors here present . . . . it is better, under the circumstances, to retire from the work when distribution of groceries begins and until the Board of Supervisors or the Commissioners are willing to heed our recommendatons, lest our countenance to a bad cause may serve to blind the community to an evil which it unfortunately appears cannot be alleviated but must be exterminated.

Public outdoor relief was abolished only after attempts to reform its administration had failed. St. Louis, Baltimore, Washington and other cities also abolished it. Philadelphia abolished it except as to medical aid.

In other places the relief was not abolished but was reformed. Boston continued it and through careful administration has kept the number of beneficiaries and the amount of money spent well under control. Buffalo, by a reform in her methods of administration, and especially by a co-operation with the private charities, has kept its disbursements well within bounds.

The state of Indiana, through reform laws and good administration, has accomplished economies similar to those brought

about elsewhere through the abolition of public outdoor relief. Mr. Amos W. Butler, Secretary of the Board of State Charities of Indiana, said before this Conference last year:

> From a financial standpoint the saving has been remarkable. In 1895, under the old system, the total amounted to $630,158. A year later it dropped to $355,255. For the past eighteen years there has been an average annual reduction of $346,364 from the amount given in 1895. The number receiving help was 82,235 in 1897, 50,403 in 1913; the reduction below 1897 has averaged 32,627 annually. Notwithstanding this the prediction that the new law would fill our poor asylums and orphan homes did not materialize. Our experiences were the same as that of other localities in this regard. As a matter of fact with a great reduction in outdoor relief we had also a decrease in poor asylum population. (Proceedings the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1915, page 442.)

The recent study of *County Outdoor Relief in Missouri* found the difficulties to lie in its administration, chief among which were: that the poor relief officers do not know the conditions and needs of those who are assisted and hence the relief is often an encouragement to indolence, drunkenness and immorality; that a surprisingly large proportion of the persons to whom they give aid are feeble-minded and hence the county money encourages or enables such persons to live at large and to propagate their kind, and that such unconsidered and misdirected charity fails to give relief adequately or wisely to the needy who apply and gives no relief to many who are most in need but least willing to ask help.

The recent study of *Public Outdoor Relief in Dutchess County, New York*, also found the difficulties to lie in its administration, among which may be mentioned: that the overseers with few exceptions lack the discrimination and experience necessary to efficient administration; that investigations when made are incomplete, but are seldom made, and that no attempt is made to learn of or eliminate the causes responsible for the distress, with the result that relief is given to families not in need of it, degenerate conditions due to mental or to moral defect are perpetuated and encouraged, and that relief to really needy families is generally insufficient or unsuitable and as administered encourages pauperism.

These failures in the administration of public outdoor relief demand its reform, but not necessarily its abolition. But the abolition of public outdoor relief is impossible in the smaller towns and in the rural districts where there is no other provision made for the destitute, and improbable in the great cities because of the tendencies toward social welfare legislation to

which reference has already been made. The times demand that not less but more shall be done by the state for the relief of distress and the promotion of the well-being of the common people. The great challenge is this: can the public administration be made to conform to the highest standards of social service that have been worked out and keep itself free from pernicious influence?

Can the public administration be made to discriminate between the respectable poor on the one hand, who justly claim help and the feeble-minded, inebriate and immoral on the other, which classes require segregation and custodial care? Private charity makes these discriminations and the public charities should be able to do so all the more, because they have the means of examination and have or may have the authority to enforce their findings.

Can the public administration do the constructive work in addition to relief that the private charities have found to be so necessary to the rehabilitation of families? In 1900 Mr. Frederic Almy said before this Conference:

> I doubt whether the agent of any poor office goes from place to place looking for fit employment to help a discouraged man who says he cannot find any, or to test a shirk who would run from work if he saw it. He does not overhaul the plumbing which has produced disease nor arrange the transfer of a family to a more sanitary or more moral environment. He does not persuade the landlord to wait for the rent, or argue with the holder of a chattle mortgage. He does not entice children to the settlements where they will get aspirations instead of alms and perhaps also a wholesome discontent with unnecessary squalor. He does not teach the mother how to earn or put a boy to a trade: in a word change the condition which caused the poverty. He can only relieve, and relief, we are all agreed, is the very lowest form of charity.

This observation is doubtless less apt today than it was sixteen years ago, for these things are being done in the probation work of the children's court, in the mother's aid work, in the social service connected with the public hospitals. It may take some time before the public administration can develop the kind of official and employee that can do this kind of work and before the taxpayers will be willing to pay for it. But there are no necessary reasons why this cannot be done by the public as well as it is done by the private agencies.

If we may judge from the reports that come from Denver it seems clear that county outdoor relief can be administered in a way not only to prevent pauperizing families but to rehabilitate them *a la* charity organization methods and to enlist the

aid of volunteers. The advocates and administrators of the mothers' aid laws in the various states claim, and many who have been skeptical concerning them frankly confess, that the relief and aid of these families have been as satisfactory as those from private sources, while some claim for them great superiority.

Recently I had the privilege and duty of acting as an examiner of candidates for investigators under the Board of Child Welfare and the Bureau of Social Investigations of the Department of Public Charities of the City of New York. I am also frequently called upon to choose employees for a large charitable society. It is my judgment that those who presented themselves for the public employment compared very favorably with those employed for similar work in the private charitable societies. This has not always been so, but with the development of the civil service and the opportunities for special training there is no reason why there may not be as high standards of qualifications and service in the public as in the private charities.

The charity organization movement has done much to develop the principles and to standardize the technique of case work with families, yet it may be that its greatest service will be to present these principles and this technique to the public administration and to educate the taxpayer to an appreciation of the value of a constructive service for families. In the knowledge of the shortcomings of the public administration in the past, even with the accumulating evidence from the fields of probation, mothers' pensions, hospital social service and the public health and schools, it requires a heroic faith to believe that we can have a public service in charity substantially free from error. But any smaller faith is unworthy of democracy and discounts the efforts through which we have hoped to purify and improve the public administration.

But I hail this new day of enlarged welfare service by the state, and of ennobled public administration, not so much for what it promises of charitable help to the poor, as for other and preferred services, such as the protection of the common people against want through accident compensation, health insurance, better hours and conditions of labor, the promotion of the public health, and the segregation of the degenerate. If these things are done then the problem of charitable aid will become manageable. This will not take away the place of voluntary funds, but should free them to initiate new services, demonstrate their value, elaborate their technique and principles, and pass them in turn over to the public service.

To sum up: public outdoor relief will not be abolished so long as the need of relief exists. It is found throughout the length and breadth of the country and where it has been abolished it is re-appearing in new forms such as mothers' pensions. It is not the question of its existence but the manner of its administration that demands our most careful thought. We look forward to the day when industrial and social betterment shall reduce such gratuitous aid to a minimum and to a manageable character. To such a program of prevention and relief only the public funds can be made adequate. And if to their administration the highest technique and principles of social service can be applied we shall secure the happy result of maximum good and minimum harm.

PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF IN CHICAGO

Eugene T. Lies, General Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago

In speaking on the subject of Public Outdoor Relief in Chicago, one has reference to public outdoor relief in Cook county, since the municipality does not conduct work of this sort while the county does; and Chicago is practically coterminous with Cook county.

The supreme authority of the county government is a Board of County Commissioners of fifteen members elected at large, ten of them represent Chicago and five represent the suburban areas outside of the city. The president is elected by the voters and he is obliged to run for both the presidency and board membership at the same time. His salary is $7,000, while that of the board members is $3,600.

The function of this board is to levy taxes and appropriate money for all county departments including certain courts, public roads and forest preserve areas outside of the city, a jail, a hospital, a new Bureau of Public Welfare, the Juvenile Court, Oak Forest Almshouse, as well as the Department of Poor Relief; but the Board exercises direct control only over such departments as the roads and forest preserves, jail, hospitals, almshouse, Bureau of Public Welfare and poor relief. There are various committees, one of them on Outdoor Relief.

The work of the Department of Outdoor Relief is governed by the Illinois Pauper Law passed in 1874, and its chief

executive is the County Agent, appointed by the President of the Board. Unfortunately the appointment is purely a political one and rarely has a person been selected who was specially trained for the work, although at times someone with natural ability has occupied the place and in time has developed some competency. But with a change in politics in the administration out he went, and the process began over again,—a procedure unfair to the incumbent, the public, and, above all, the poor. So much for background.

Variety is the spice of life. The middle west, still youthfully exuberant, loves variety—even in its public outdoor relief work. Cook county has at present four varieties. I shall treat each one briefly in reverse historic order, offering comment thereon.

I.

Public outdor relief for the blind is our latest variety. This was provided for in a state law passed by the legislature of 1915. The law, which was to have gone into effect January 1, 1916, makes it mandatory upon counties to grant $150 per year, payable quarterly, to blind male persons over 21 years of age and blind female persons over 18 years, if these persons are not inmates of charitable institutions, if they have been county residents at least three years and have incomes of less than $250 per year. Applications for benefits under this law must be made in affidavit form to the county clerk.

Up to April 1, 1916, 308 applications had been made and these were turned over to the county agent for investigation after county physicians had tested applicants as to their blindness. While the law is not by its terms limited to the indigent blind, yet the county agent's investigation has gone to the point of establishing the existence or absence of relatives able to support; thus applying the regular support law of the state. The existence of relatives able to help and lack of three-year county residence has caused rejection of 143 out of the 308 who applied up to April 1st. The remaining 165 will get their first pension of $37.50 on July 1st for the quarter which began April 1st. The probable total expenditure for a year will be about $25,000.

This pension law granting $150 per year to the adult blind was passed when not many socially thoughtful persons were looking, unfortunately. There does not seem to be any absolutely sound reason for picking out a special class of disabled persons for special relief. In these days of enlightened procedure in the charity field, when ideas of prevention and rehabilitation are the

guiding watchwords, to declare by a mandatory state law that those who have lost eyesight, unfortunate as such an affliction is, are necessarily a dependent class is vicious.

The really needy among the blind could be cared for by the ordinary existing relief agencies, public and private. Only the utmost conscientiousness of public relief officials will prevent serious abuse of this law. To have handed over such a mandatory law to the county poor officials all over the state when it is clearly known and more and more widely recognized that the work of most of these officials outside of the larger centers, under the general pauper law is for the most part rankly inefficient is, to say the least, unfortunate and opening the door to scandal. Moreover, the law was passed just at the time when the State Board of Administration was laying wise plans for extending its provisions for education of the blind outside of institutions.

II.

The next form of public outdoor relief to be considered is that given under what is known as the Illinois funds to parents, or mothers' pension law, passed in 1911 and amended in 1913 and 1915. The jurisdiction is with the juvenile court, wherever there is one; otherwise the county court. In Cook county it is under the juvenile court.

The main provisions are that the mother must have resided three years in the county; that her husband must be dead or permanently incapacitated; that the children must be under 14 years of age (the minimum legal child labor age) except that they may be between 14 and 16 if totally incapacitated for work; that the allowance shall be not to exceed $15.00 per month for one child and if there be more than one, the additional allowance shall not be more than $10 each per child, but the maximum for any family may not exceed $60 per month. Additional provisions are that the child or children must actually be living with the mother; that it is for the welfare of the children that the home be maintained; that without such pension the mother would be obliged regularly to work away from her home and the children would be subject to institutional commitment. The mother must be fit, physically, mentally and morally to care for the children. She cannot receive aid if there are near relatives, who, under the state support statute, can be made to assist.

Finally, no mother can receive aid if she is not a citizen of the United States, unless she has taken out first papers or has filed a declaration of intention, in which case only such children

as have been born in the United States may be considered. When she has become a full citizen, the other children of proper age may be considered.

The law says that the County Board shall levy a special tax of not to exceed three-tenths of a mill on the dollar annually on all taxable property in the county. The full levy would yield at present $350,000, but thus far it has not been necessary in any one year to secure such a large amount.

The arms of the juvenile court judge, Merritt W. Pinckney, are a chief probation officer, a chief of the funds to parents department, fifteen probation officers, visitors, many of whom were trained in the private field, four clerks, and stenographers, one dietitian. The total salary budget directly chargeable to this department of the court, not including any part of the chief probation officer's, nor the judge's, nor the county commissioners' nor the fiscal county officials' salaries, was last year $22,540.

Careful investigation is made of each case, full and intelligent use is made of the Social Service Registration Bureau, consideration of findings is given in a case committee consisting of certain members of the staff and representatives of the county agent. It should be said that the county agent makes a separate investigation of each case under the supposed requirement of the general law governing county relief. He also hands out the pension cash—checks at his office, semi-monthly. The supervision by probation officers and dietitian includes attention to all the factors entering into family life.

The total number of families aided in the year ended November 30, 1915, was 596, the number rising steadily each month from 346 in December, 1914, to 542 in November, 1915 (when the latest amendment to the law admitting to benefits certain children of alien mothers was in effect). The monthly average was 429. In March, 1916, the number was 622. The total disbursement for pensions in the year ended November 30, 1915, was $131,000, an average of $10,925 per month. The disbursement for March, 1916, was $16,823.

As far as can be observed the present administration of the Cook County Funds to Parents Department is efficient. Judge Pinckney, Joel D. Hunter, Chief Probation Officer; Mrs. Emma Quinlan, department head, are conscientious social workers who are utilizing the hard-won experience of the private charity organization societies. They are alive to the dangers ever on the threshold ready to vitiate the work, once high standards are

allowed to slip away. Less conscientious and efficient persons than those now in charge could make this whole effort a most demoralizing influence in the community.

The injection of politics into the system at any time is the large and doleful possibility ever impending. A change in juvenile court judges might bring it, for it should be pointed out that while all the present court workers won their places through competitive examinations, yet these examinations were not regular civil service tests; they were held at the instance of the judge, for under the Illinois Constitution all juvenile court workers are "arms of the court" and therefore cannot be brought under regular civil service regulations. Judge Pinckney chose to hold examinations of his own under direction of a citizens' committee in order to be freed from political pressure or any other considerations than fitness in the appointment of officers. It is easily seen that a less conscientious judge could fill his list of assistants with incompetent ward heelers if he chose; or a cunning and vicious county board could quickly inject the political poison.

III.

Going back one stage further as to time, we come to the third variety of public outdoor relief in Cook county, namely, *the indigent war veterans' relief,* granted by counties under a state law passed in 1907.

By the terms of the law the county poor relief officials are subject to call for aid from the commander and quartermaster of a Grand Army post or Spanish War Veterans' Camp on behalf of indigent soldiers, sailors and marines who served in the Civil War, Spanish War, Philippine Insurrection or Boxer Uprising in China, their families and the families of such deceased veterans who need assistance, and provided that they have lived in the state at least a year. In practice the general process consists of a recommendation to the county agent by the central commander of the veterans' posts in the county that aid in groceries or fuel be given to a certain veteran or veteran's family, an investigation by a special visitor of the county agent's office, and a final decision on each case. In addition a petty cash fund of $250.00 is allowed the commander by the county agent, out of which supplementary aid of various sorts is granted to such veterans or their dependents.

The groceries are granted monthly and in stated ration lots. The wholesale cost of rations for a family of one person last year was $2.39; for a family of two or three persons it was $4.72;

for a family of four or five, $6.85. These allowances are more generous than those granted to ordinary, non-veteran families, the increases in values being $1.10, $2.26 and $2.67 respectively. Obviously even these larger rations would not meet the full needs of families, but of the cases aided, four-fifths were receiving government pensions also.

In all last year, aid to the amount of $24,000 was granted to 550 different veterans or their families and the cost of handling this special work was about $4,000 in salaries and $1,263 for delivery of groceries to the homes of beneficiaries. It is interesting to note that of the total 550 beneficiaries 389 were widows of whom 328 had no children. In 129 cases, man and wife were both living and of these 48 had children. When both father and mother are dead and the youngest child has turned fourteen, aid automatically stops. By way of comment on this division of Cook county's relief work, one would be inclined to say that due to the various checks applied, there is very little if any abuse in connection with its operations. The monthly average of cases for the last four years, beginning in 1912, was 449, 410, 405 and 425. The expenditures for relief: $27,300, $26,200, $22,700 and $24,000.

IV.

The fourth kind of public relief work in Cook county is of the ordinary garden variety, dealing with a miscellaneous lot of poor families and individuals. This too is under the county agent's department. The employees, with the exception of the head, the county agent, are under civil service law, many of them blanketed by the statute when passed in 1905.

It has four divisions, as follows:

Investigation and transportation of aliens and non-residents to their proper localities, the department of admissions to county and state institutions; medical department with a corps of 17 physicians (who are paid $1.00 per visit, which includes necessary medicines; 20,236 patients attended last year); the material relief department in which $83,180 was expended for soft coal, $26,600 for shoes, $5,726 for soap, and $197,848 for food stuffs, —a total for these items of $313,358.*

*COOK COUNTY OUTDOOR PUBLIC RELIEF.
Expended for Material Relief.

	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11
Provisions	$58,806.17	$54,719.59	$111,554.44	$95,049.04	$115,589.19	$116,383.45
Coal	25,091.44	25,662.08	52,595.20	47,452.34	42,893.56	53,471.87
Shoes	6,125.77	5,920.76	12,304.49	17,802.85	18,167.16	16,921.41

Soap	(Included in provisions)					
Medical supplies	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ice	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	$90,023.38	$86,302.43	$176,454.13	$160,304.23	$176,649.91	$186,776.73

	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	Total
Provisions	$143,784.43	$104.732.38	$124,138.56	$197,848.98	$1,122,606.23
Coal	63,387.47	64,757.43	57,561.46	83,180.17	516,053.02
Shoes	23,882.53	16,938.43	20,944.67	26,604.38	165,612.45
Soap	.....	2,619.03	.....	5,726.95	8,345.98
Medical supplies	.....	360.12	172.95	201.88	734.95
Ice	689.12	(Discontinued)			689.12
	$231,743.55	$189,407.39	$202,817.64	$313,562.36	$1,814,041.87

It is the latter division which is worth while analyzing further.

1. As to the law under which it operates.

This law, called the Pauper Act, was passed by the legislature in 1874 and has been in practically the same form ever since. After providing for the creation of county boards and prescribing their functions it has a very broad section which says that counties "shall relieve and support all poor and indigent persons lawfully resident therein."

Other sections seem to indicate quite clearly that the main purpose of the law was to provide institutional, i. e. almshouse, care of *permanent* dependents, and only incidentally outdoor relief. Moreover, where outdoor relief is referred to, there is a limitation made to temporary relief, and again that is closely coupled with an injunction upon the overseer of the poor to sue relatives of the recipients of temporary relief for whatever has been granted them by the county.

One may probably conclude that the framers of the law supposed that the main charitable resource throughout the state would be the county boards; that their chief means of aiding the poor would be the almshouse. In actual practice, we find both almshouses and outdoor relief in operation throughout the state. $1,500,000 was spent in all in 1915 for outdoor relief by all of the counties.

In Cook county, at least, only the aged poor are considered subjects for almshouse consideration and not even all of such who apply for aid to the county agent are compelled or urged to accept institutional care. Furthermore, the temporary care idea is not adhered to exclusively in the bestowal of aid to the poor in their homes, for we find that in 1915, 2,399 families were given food rations during periods ranging from six to twelve

months, 659 of these for twelve months. In any court test of the law probably the turn would come on the question of definition of the word "temporary."

True it is that the quantity and value of the food rations granted by Cook county are exceedingly limited, and for that reason could be called temporary relief by anybody who cared to strain a point. The fact is that the rations given do not fill more than about 35% of the monthly needs of a family.

The chief elements in the system on the side of equipment and personnel are:—

A main and eight branch offices in different parts of the city, one county agent at $4,500 per year, one deputy at $2,500, who is a trained charity worker, formerly in private service, eight assistant deputies in charge of branches at $1,800 a year, fifteen to sixty investigators, according to the season, at $100 each, per month, and fifty other employees with salaries from $65 per month to $165.

The chief elements on the side of procedure are:—

An investigation at the home, among neighbors, at previous addresses and near relatives to determine the need of material aid; a decision by the district deputy, which if favorable, is carried out by notification to the family to call for rations at one of the offices. In most cases it is assumed that one month's help will be sufficient. If more is needed, in the opinion of the family, it applies again. True, if the investigator finds illness in the family, he calls a county doctor. Often the County Public Welfare Bureau is called upon to prosecute deserting husbands.

Out of a total of 17,253 families aided in 1915, 4,065 were given rations but once; 3, 776 twice, 3,470 three times and 2,607 four times; a total of 13,918 or 80% of the whole number aided, who received rations for from one to four months.

The following is a sample list of the rations for a family of 4 or 5 persons, the quantities being in pounds: 4 of soap, 4 beans, 6 rice, 6 rolled oats, 2 coffee, 1 tea, 48 flour, 6 sugar, 5 lard, 2½ syrup and 6 of bacon (in three months of the year). The wholesale cost of this ration was $4.18. Slightly more is given to families in which there is tuberculosis.

Obviously, where there is little or no income, there must be supplementary aid given by private agencies and as a rule, the latter must give more than the county gave. It must provide the food articles needed which the county does not include in its allowance and must also pay the rent, give clothing and cover incidental household needs.

There is practically no overlapping in giving as between the county and the regular established private agencies, since the county registers in the Social Service Registration Bureau, the composition of the county's rations is definitely known and taken into consideration by the private societies in their planning for families.

A short experimental test over a short period recently revealed that in 60% of a given number of cases registered by the county agent, both the county and the United Charities were aiding simultaneously, which means not overlapping in relief giving, but overlapping in time spent in investigation and effort in getting supplies to the families.

This latter observation and the knowledge that material relief considerations, not the family rehabilitation principle, guide the work of the public officials have given impetus to a movement which aims at improvement of the present situation. The Central Council of Social Agencies has a committee of which the county agent is a member and the United Charities of Chicago has a special committee who are giving serious thought to the subject, and already several conferences have been held with the county agent and the president of the County Board, both of whom it should be said, realize that the present situation is unsatisfactory and both say they are willing to go as far as possible in another direction. It is realized that progress can be made but slowly for the difficulties in the way of change are many. Some of them are as follows:

A. It is difficult to say where to draw the line of division if the field is to be divided, i. e., which types of cases to throw to the county and which to private agencies. Or, there is the query: Shall the division be as between relief and service, the county providing all the material aid, probably upon requisition from certain private recognized agencies, the latter to look after investigation and constructive service.

B. *Can* the county under the present law go to the limit in its aid, even to the extent of paying rent?

C. Considering the changing political complexion in public affairs and the ever-present possibility of inefficiency and dishonesty getting into the saddle, what would happen in connection with a public relief system in which adequate aid was a guiding principle?

D. After all, should the present law be repealed and a new one passed creating at least for Cook count an up-to-date, socialized public outdoor relief department with provision for civil

service from top to bottom, assigning to it the major portion of the relief field and leaving a minor portion to private societies?

E. Or, should the lid be clamped down tight on all public outdoor relief and the field left to the private agencies?

These and other questions are at present being weighed by thoughtful social workers in Chicago. The answers cannot be given glibly. But probably some next steps could be the installation of a delivery, or order, system for county supplies; the organization of advisory committees to meet regularly with the district county relief workers; and more adequate food supplies in tuberculous families.

There is no question but that politics does enter the public relief work in varying degrees, according as the county agent and president of the County Board incline toward the spoils system or away from it. A few years ago, a new county agent boasted that after he was in office for several months, he found it possible to cut off 3,000 families from the relief lists, who had been put on for political reasons by a spoils County Board president. Obviously, public sentiment needs to be developed to a point where it will demand that the poor of Cook county shall be looked upon as merely human beings in need, and not as political assets.

Without a doubt too little attention has been paid in the past by social workers to this whole subject of public relief in Illinois. But they are awake now and it should also be added that the more or less unfortunate condition of affairs throughout the state outside of Cook county has but recently been emphasized by the State Charities Commission in the official *Institution Quarterly* for March, 1916. Illinois needs a renaissance in the administration of public outdoor relief.

It is but proper to make reference to the oranization about two years ago of a separate County Bureau of Public Welfare which is active in investigation in connection with cases already in county institutions as to whether they should remain or relatives should pay for care; which has social service workers at the Psychopathic hospital, and which undertakes prosecution of deserting husbands. There are, naturally, working relations between the county agent and this bureau, and also between the private agencies and the bureau. What reflex effect this new departure will have upon the public outdoor relief work of Cook County remains to be seen.

It should also be said that there is in operation in the county agent's office, a clearing system which prevents duplication of

relief as between the four main divisions of the county's relief work.

In conclusion, is should be emphasized that at present the most friendly relations obtain between the county and the private charitable forces, which fact argues well for improvement in the work among the poor of our community. We meet together, we think together and together we are looking forward.

DISCUSSION: Frederic Almy, Buffalo, discussed this subject informally.

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A SURVEY OF INSTITUTION LIBRARIES*

Florence R. Curtis, Library School, University of Illinois, Urbana

This survey has been prepared from the replies to a questionnaire sent to six hundred institutions supported by the national and the state governments. These included homes for the aged, chiefly soldiers and sailors and their wives and widows, sixty-six in number; homes and hospitals for dependent children, thirty-one of which receive state aid; institutions which are strictly educational in character, the eighty-nine schools for the blind and the deaf; twenty-eight sanatoria for tuberculosis patients and those ill with other diseases; three institutions for inebriates, forty-seven institutions for the feeble-minded and for epileptics; one hundred and fifty-five hospitals for the insane; eighty-one industrial and reform schools; thirty reformatories for young and first-term offenders; and seventy-two national and state prisons.

The report will give the following averages for these groups: The age of the inmates and their degree of education; the proportion of the whole population who make use of the library; the size of the collection available for their use; the number of books purchased annually; and the number of institutions in each group which include the library in their annual budget, and the amount of such appropriation.

As it is impossible to give figures for all the institutions, a choice has been made of the groups which responded in sufficient number to make a comparison of averages worth while.

*General session, Saturday, May 13, 9:15 A. M.

Some institutions were able to answer more specifically than others, and for this reason, the averages for each group do not always include the same institutions. As those reporting are generally distributed throughout the country, the general averages will probably hold true.

In the institutions for soldiers and their wives and widows, the average age of the members is 72 years, the general average of education is between sixth and eighth grade. Nine institutions report that they have no library, one has a deposit of books from the state travelling libraries. Six have an annual library appropriation, ranging from $87 to $200, and averaging $130; one home has an endowment for the library. Nine reported no book purchases during the past year, eight had purchased from 25 to 500 volumes, an average of 145 volumes. In the 23 homes which give the size of the book collection, the average is 2,800 volumes. The percentage of the members who make use of the library ranges from 10 to 100%, the average being 63%. It is probable that the preference of readers of this age for magazines and newspapers may account for the fact that most of the soldiers' homes are not purchasing books in any quantity.

In the schools for the blind the average age of the students is 15 years. Six schools reported an annual library appropriation, averaging $375. The number of books purchased during the past year averaged 150 volumes, the number ranging from 35 to 500 volumes. The average number of books in 14 schools was 3,600 volumes, the smallest library having 700 volumes and the largest 8,500 volumes. From 50 to 100% of the students were reported as using the library, the average being 88%.

The average age of the pupils in the schools for the deaf is 13 years. Four schools reported an annual appropriation for the library of from $75 to $500. The number of books added in the past year was from 10 to 300 volumes, with an average of 100 volumes. The smallest collection reported was 200 and the largest 6,000 volumes, the average size being 2,500 volumes. Nine schools gave the percentage of pupils who used the library as from 25 to 100%, with 62% as an average.

The patients in the sanatoria for tuberculosis average 27 years of age, 96% can write and their education is between 6th and 8th grade; the number of patients in each hospital averages 150. Four of the hospitals have an annual sum set apart for books, ranging from $50 to $250. Twelve spent no money for books during the past year, five made purchases of from 30 to 300 volumes. The libraries vary in size from 100 to 9,000 volumes, the

average size being 960 volumes. The proportion of patients who use the library averages 65%, the percentage ranging from 25 to 100%.

The great majority of these institutions depend upon donations for their books and the collections are largely fiction. In one state, a number of travelling libraries have been purchased for the tuberculosis sanatoria. Seven hospitals report that they have calls for books which they cannot supply. With a reading population of 65% of the patients, chiefly adult and of normal mentality, the annual book purchases of these hospitals seem very inadequate.

The figures for the institutions for the feeble-minded include eight institutions for epileptics, which reported the majority of their inmates as feeble-minded. The average age of the feeble-minded was given in but five cases, in these it was 22 years. Fifteen institutions reported on the proportion of inmates who could write, the average being 42%. Eight institutions have no library facilities, three depend upon books from the state traveling libraries. Twelve institutions have from 100 to 3,000 volumes, with a general average of 1,000 volumes. Four have annual appropriations for library purposes, of from $100 to $280, averaging $170. The number of books added in the past year ranged from 10 to 150 volumes, the average was 72 volumes. The percentage of inmates who use the library runs from 5 to 66%, with an average of 19%. The inmates of these institutions are segregated there for the greater portion of their lives, those of a higher grade of mentality are therefore peculiarly dependent upon the instruction and entertainment which books may afford. The libraries include picture books and easy stories; fairy tales, and fiction; books of games and puzzles, and books on nature study, agriculture, and metal working. One institution has a special collection of finely illustrated children's books. The care of the collections necessitates locked cases in the cottages or wards where the patients are destructive.

The inmates of the hospitals for the insane average 42 years of age; in 39 institutions the proportion who can write is 80%, a large majority have been in school beyond the sixth grade. Seven out of 81 hospitals report that they have no library, three have the use of travelling libraries, and one is a regular branch of a city library system. Twelve have an annual appropriation for the library, averaging $180 per year. Eleven report no book purchases during the past year, the average number of volumes purchased was 60. The size of the collections varies from 50

to 10,000 volumes, with an average of 1,500. Thirty-six hospitals reported on the percentage of inmates who used the library, the average was 20%, the figures ranging from 5 to 60%.

The libraries in the insane hospitals are seldom organized and developed as separate departments. Although an average of 325 inmates used the library in each institution, the number of books added last year averaged 60 volumes in those hospitals which reported purchases; over one-fifth of the hospitals had made no addition to their libraries. In some cases purchases for the medical library and a special employees' library were included in the general book fund.

The boys and girls in the industrial and reform schools average 15 years of age, 98% can write, and their education is about the 6th grade. Nine of these schools report that they have no library for the inmates. One has an endowment for the library which yields $500 per year, and eleven have a regular appropriation of from $140 to $300 per year, averaging $200. Seven institutions purchased no books during the past year; twenty-one reported additions averaging 140 volumes. The size of the book collection varies from 100 to 3,500 volumes, with an average of 1,200 volumes. Ninety per cent of the inmates, of 35 institutions reporting, make use of the library. Three of these schools depend largely upon the city library system for their books, two others are branches of a county library system. Three have deposits of books from the state travelling libraries. The nature of the book collections and the use made of the libraries show a correlation with the school departments; in fourteen institutions a teacher has charge of the library.

The reformatories for young and first-term offenders have an average population of 570 inmates, averaging 22 years of age. Eighty-seven per cent can write, and a majority are below 6th grade in education. Seven report an annual library appropriation of from $50 to $1,000, the average is $420. One institution has $550 for the library and the entertainment fund; three receive an average of $380 from visitors' fees. The books purchased last year averaged 230 volumes, four institutions reported that they had made no purchases. The size of the libraries varies from 100 to 12,000 volumes, the average is 3,700 volumes. In 17 institutions reporting, 80% of the inmates make use of the library.

The school courses in these institutions have had an appreciable effect upon the character and extent of the book collections. It is encouraging to see a growing liberality in the number of books allowed to be drawn at one time. In one institution the

inmates may take as many books as they choose; in three, two books are allowed, and in two others the number depends on school standing or on behavior. Six institutions reported that they had many calls for books which they could not furnish. In one reformatory, the women inmates asked the privilege of finishing with lath and plaster the room which was to be their library and general reading room.

The men and women confined in the national and state prisons have an average age of thirty-two years. Eighty-four per cent can write, and a small majority is below sixth grade in schooling. Five of the prisons reporting have no library. An annual appropriation of from $50 to $750 is reported by 11 institutions, with an average of $340. In six prisons the visitors' fees are used for the library, the average income from this source is $350. Four prisons made no book purchases last year; the average number of volumes added by 23 others was 200. The size of the libraries varies from 300 to 33,000 volumes, with an average of 5,500 volumes. The proportion of the prisoners who make use of the library, in 30 prisons, is 64%.

These libraries are generally recognized by the authorities as an important factor in the administration of the prisons. They are larger than any other group of institution libraries, and have a larger annual appropriation for their upkeep. This fund is often included in that for the chapel, the school, and for entertainments. In spite of the fact that the great majority of these libraries need reorganization, the elimination of unreadable material and the addition of good recent books, they circulate many more books than the public libraries of the same size.

The returns from this study do not show that many of the state institutions have taken advantage of the help which is freely offered by the state library commissions, and similar agencies, in selecting and buying books, and in cataloging the collections. In three states a special institutional librarian is employed by the Board of Control, or by the State Library Commission, to give this definite aid. In several other states the institutional libraries, like the public libraries, are under the care of the state library workers, and receive from them the aid which they may desire.

It may be of interest to inquire concerning the use made of the library in some of the institutions which have had, for some years, advice and aid from trained library workers. Statistics from the public libraries of the country show an average annual book circulation of three issues for each volume in the collection,

each reader registered does not take out over fifteen volumes during the year.

Twenty-three prisons reported a yearly circulation of 7 issues for each volume, of 34 volumes per year for each inmate, and 57 volumes for each reading inmate. Six other prisons, which had aid from library workers, had 11 issues for each volume, 92 volumes per year for each inmate, and 109 volumes for each reading inmate.

Sixteen insane hospitals issued each volume 3.6 times, each inmate read an average of 1.7 books per year, and each reading inmate 23 books. In five other hospitals, under the supervision of librarians, each volume circulated 5 times, each inmate read an average of 4 books during the year, and each reading inmate 32 books.

In seven institutions for the feeble-minded, each volume was issued 1.6 times, each inmate read 2.8 volumes, and each reading inmate 15 volumes. In four institutions which had been aided by library workers, each volume was issued 4 times, each inmate read 3.4 volumes, and each reading inmate 21 volumes.

The officers and employees in these institutions are in the following proportion to the inmates: in the institutions for the feeble-minded, one to every seven patients; in the hospitals for the insane, one to every six patients; in the prisons, one to every fourteen prisoners. The hours of the employees are long and many live outside the institutions, the proportion of reading employees, therefore, will probably not affect to any great degree the figures which show the use of the libraries by the inmates.

This is a preliminary report, prepared for this meeting. A Committee of the American Library Association will make further study of the replies to this questionnaire on institution libraries.

IMPORTANCE OF ORGANIZED LIBRARIES IN INSTITUTIONS

Edith Kathleen Jones, Librarian, McLean Hospital, Waverley, Massachusetts

There is no other one fact which so clearly shows the growing recognition of the library as an important department of an institution as this: That, whereas ten, or even five years ago, any one speaking on this subject would have been obliged first to enter a plea for such libraries and prove their usefulness, today

he has chiefly to urge that they be administered efficiently. For it is now an established truth that the right books are an important factor in the diversional treatment of mental diseases and the education of the feeble-minded; also in inculcating higher ideals and better mental training in reform schools and prisons. Moreover, aside from the purely therapeutic and educational point of view, a good library probably furnishes more real happiness for the money expended than any other department of the institution, and happiness is a great contributor to mental health. Indeed, the institutions are learning that instead of being unable to afford books, they can no longer afford to be without them; that a good library is an additional tool in the hands of doctors and nurses and attendants, and one of the least expensive, considering that books may be used over and over again and give pleasure and help to succeeding generations of patients.

There is, however, one argument against having libraries in certain state hospitals which is still often advanced, namely, that a large proportion of their inmates are uneducated, if not actually illiterate. "Our rich and educated patients go to the private hospitals," is the plea of the superintendents of these institutions, "our inmates have not the reading habit."

Now, if education and wealth or poverty and ignorance were synonymous, this would be a good argument; but as a matter of fact, it is a question of money, not of education, which decides the fate of state or private hospitals for the insane patient, and there is in almost every state hospital, a certain percentage of professional men and women,—teachers, librarians, college professors, ministers,—whose lack of means keeps them there, but whose unhappiness is greatly increased if they are deprived of the books to which they are accustomed. Some of these are too feeble to employ themselves in any other way, and must sit, day after day, listless and brooding, their thoughts running in the same old abnormal channels, when, by the right books their outlook on life might, temporarily, at least, be much brighter. For

"There is no frigate like a book
To take us lands away,
Nor any coursers like a page
Of prancing poetry.
This traverse may the poorest take
Without oppress of toll;
How frugal is the chariot
That bears a human soul!"

Their usefulness being recognized, the only question which remains is this: How can the institutions best meet the growing demand for efficient libraries?

First, what sort of library is efficient in an institution? Obviously, one which provides wholesome and entertaining books and magazines suited to its inmates, and gets its people interested in reading.

Let us speak of the institution libraries in terms of the hospital, because the word "patients" is so much more euphonious than "inmates" and because what is true of the organization of libraries in hospitals or schools for the feeble-minded is also applicable to prisons and reform-schools.

If we accept the statement made above, that the successful institution library is one which gets its patients interested in the right sort of reading, this explains the failure of the old ward bookcases, with their attic donations, never changed, seldom added to, and with no one to look after them. They certainly were not interesting as libraries, whatever they may have been as museums of antiquities. A library, to be of any use, must be vital, wholesome and progressive; it must have new material and be kept in circulation. When books cease to be read and enjoyed, their usefulness, for institution purposes, is ended; they are dead, and should be decently interred with other dead things, and new and live matter put in their places. Of course all this means that someone must keep a finger on the library pulse; that someone must be responsible for the wholesomeness and efficiency of the library as the doctors are for the health of the wards and the supervisors of the efficiency of the training-school. As no hospital would think of putting a well-equipped laboratory in charge of a person who knows nothing of chemistry, we believe that the time will soon come when the library, which is really a laboratory for diversional treatment and education, will be placed in the hands of a person who knows books and has the requisite technical knowledge for efficient administration.

It has been proved that an institution library, to be successful, must have three things:

1. An annual appropriation for new books. This need not necessarily be large. The usefulness of the library lies in the quality, not the quantity, of its reading matter.

2. Some competent person in charge, preferably a trained librarian, who has no other duties, but can devote all her time to the administration of the libraries, medical as well as general,

establish friendly relations with patients and employees and see that the right books get to the patients.

3. A central library with books suited to its readers; arranged on the shelves by some simple classification and found by some equally simple method of cataloging; kept in circulation by an efficient charging system.

I repeat, the necessity of these things has been proved. Let me cite a few examples. You will pardon me if I quote McLean Hospital, for this is the best known to me and it proves all these points. This library was founded in 1835 with an annual appropriation of $300. For some time this sum seems to have been expended in books and magazines for the patients, and a good start was made. Then, as the years went on, there apparently was no one particularly interested in it or responsible for it; other departments crowded it out; the medical library was begun and seemed more important. Nevertheless, when, in 1895, the Hospital was moved from Somerville to its new buildings in Waverley, a library room was fitted up in the Administration House and about 4,000 of the best volumes of the old library were installed here and classified and cataloged. A stenographer —several stenographers in succession—had charge; some of them had had more or less library experience, but their other duties crowded out the library; few new books were bought, and the medical library still received the most attention and nearly all the appropriation. In 1904 a trained librarian was appointed with instructions to spend the whole $300 on the patients' library and build it up; she had no other duties than the care of the two libraries.

Now in 1904 the patients' library numbered 4,400 volumes, a growth of only about 400 volumes in ten years of the old desultory methods. In 1914, after ten years of steady and systematic development, it numbered 7,600, an increase of 3,200 volumes; and now, in 1916, after twelve years of this modern administration, there are 8,400 volumes entered in the accession book, of which between 6,000 and 7,000 are still in the library; the rest have been discarded as dead wood. In other words, in the twelve years of organized up-building, it has nearly doubled the spasmodic accessions of the whole seventy previous years.

But even more important than this, the use of the books by the patients and employees leaped in the first year from a circulation of about 5,000 to 7,000, and it has steadily increased

until, for three years, it has exceeded 9,000, or an average of about 25 books a day.

Here at McLean the three things, annual appropriation, trained librarian and organized, central library are combined. Let us see what happens with other combinations.

There is one hospital which has as well selected a library as that at McLean, classified and cataloged, with an annual appropriation sufficient for its needs; but there is no one directly in charge and little attempt is made to get the book and the patient together. Consequently this library represents good material wasted. There is another hospital, with no funds, but a patient in charge who is well educated and much interested; he is doing remarkably well with what material he has, and gets the other patients to read; with even a small appropriation that patient is capable of building up a good working library.

Still another hospital has a very good collection of books to which new volumes are constantly added; the room is pretty and the patients use the library to an extent of about 40 books a week. This hospital went on the old idea that cataloging, classification and charging system represented so much "red-tape" and was a useless expenditure of time and money. It has become converted, however, and the library is being organized. When, this spring, the books were compared with the shelf-list, over 400 were discovered to be missing, and an exhaustive search has failed to find 276 of them—most of them new books which everyone wants. Patients, nurses and staff alike seem to have appropriated them to their own uses. This was a strong argument to the superintendent in favor of a competent charging-system.

The question of effective administration after all, resolves itself into one comprehensive factor: a competent person ir charge. This may be a patient; several hospitals have very satis factory patient-librarians. But there is this one great drawback to such a person, that, from the very nature of his illness, his work will be more or less unstable. Either he recovers and leaves the hospital and another patient must be put in charge, or his mental condition fluctuates and he is not always to be depended on. Nevertheless, it is a good thing for the patients to interest them in such work and give them a certain amount of responsibility, and, under supervision, many of them are capable of doing very good work at times. But for the good of the library, there must always be supervision, and we again come back to our first point—the necessity for a competent librarian.

The private hospitals have been told again and again that what is possible for them with their adequate endowments and liberty to conduct their administration as superintendent and trustees think best, is not possible for state hospitals, where, to our national shame be it admitted, politics and graft do creep in and it is extremely difficult to get a state appropriation for what a group of politicians terms "luxuries." To an educated, cultured person, sane or insane, prisoner or free man, books are not a luxury but a necessity, and some of us would as soon have our bodies starved as our minds; moreover, in the modern hospital books are an as important part of the treatment as the handicrafts rooms; but, not to argue the point, let us accept the fact that many state hospitals cannot get funds sufficient for the salary of a trained librarian and the maintenance of an up-to-date library. Must they accept this? Must they be content to remain dependent on the charity of attic refuse? Is there no way out?

Most assuredly there is a way, and Iowa found it when, in 1906, she broke through conventions and, as pioneer, blazed a trail in the appointment by the State Board of Control of an institution library organizer, who has charge of all the state institution libraries. Where Iowa led, with Judge Robinson as (former) chairman of the State Board of Control, Minnesota followed, with the same institution library supervisor, by-the-way, in the person of Miss Carey, who thus has the proud distinction of having organized the institution libraries of two states.

In the meantime, Nebraska had solved her problem in a little different manner. There, the State Library Commission, under Miss Templeton, took the matter up, and in this state the institution libraries are under the supervision of this Commission instead of the State Board of Control.

In all three of these states the appointment of an institution librarian has proved an economic and efficient solution of the problem. Instead of eight or ten individual librarians in as many institutions, with salaries of $400 or $500 each, with living expenses, there is one head librarian who, we regret to say, does not receive a combined salary of $4,000 or $5,000. She ought, however, to receive one of from $1,500 to $2,500, which is still much more economical than several individual salaries. Also, by means of a small annual sum from each state institution, combinations of books are bought and sent to the different hospitals and schools as traveling libraries. Thus, in Minnesota, each hospital pays $50 a year, sees all the best of

the new books in turn, and at the end of the year receives fifty volumes as a permanent addition to the library. All cataloging, classification and other technical work is done at the main office by the institution librarian; the person in charge of each individual library receives the books, gets them to the patients, and sees that they are forwarded to the next place on time. Nevertheless, this librarian in charge, whether patient or member of the staff, must be competent to interest patients and employees and to make the library really useful. To train her is part of the supervising librarian's duties.

While the state institution library organizer is more economical, there is no doubt that a trained librarian in each individual hospital is more nearly ideal. Such a person, having the necessary technique at her fingers' ends, can organize and keep in working order the medical library as well as the one for the patients, and can often be of the greatest help to the doctor in looking up material for research work. Also, since she knows the best methods of filing, she can keep the case records filled out and quickly available. She may combine stenography with her library work; or, since she is probably a college graduate, she may be able to give "culture" courses to the nurses in books and reading, fine arts, or current events, which will raise the standard of the training school and make the nurses more intelligent companions, thus increasing greatly their efficiency, especially in the care of mental and nervous patients. Several training schools, in general as well as mental hospitals, are including such courses in their curricula with most satisfactory results. The nurses show a decided improvement, not only in general intelligence and a larger vocabulary, but also in spelling, grammar and punctuation. If the librarian is able to conduct these classes, the hospital need not be at the expense of employing teachers from the outside.

To sum up, the efficiency of a library lies not in the number of its volumes but in their appropriateness to the institution and the use made of them, and this efficiency it has been proved, cannot be attained under the old desultory methods, but only under intelligent organization. Whether each institution develops its own library or the state institutions co-operate, to be successful these three things are necessary: A definite, annual appropriation, trained leadership, and organization, and the greatest of these, because including the other two, is trained leadership.

THE OUTLOOK IN INDIANA

Henry N. Sanborn, Secretary, State Library Commission, Indianapolis

There are in Indiana seventeen state supported institutions, including the new Penal Farm. There are six penal or reformatory institutions, four hospitals for the insane, a Tuberculosis Hospital, Schools for the Deaf, Blind, and Feeble-minded, a Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, State Soldiers' Home and Village for Epileptics. Every one of these except the recently established penal farm has what may legitimately be called a library. It is noticeable, however, to one examining these institutions from the point of view of library activity, that the penal and reformatory institutions make the library a much more important part of their institutional life than the other institutions with the exception of the School for Feeble-minded.

The Indiana Reformatory at Jeffersonville has a collection of 10,722 volumes with the astounding circulation of something more than 200,000 a year. The State Prison, with not more than 6,000 volumes, has a circulation of about 60,000, and is on the eve of reorganization and increased service. The Indiana Boys' School has a little over 3,000 volumes and a circulation of nearly 14,000. One of its teachers has been trained in the summer school for librarians conducted by the Public Library Commission, and the work is carried on along modern progressive library lines. It is a little hard to explain why the Girls' School and the Women's Prison have not done so much work as the institutions for men. It may be that the girls and women have more resources for occupying their leisure time than the men, consequently they do not read so much. It is also probably true that girls and women committed to reformatories or prisons are of a lower mental calibre and less well educated than men similarly committed. Both of our penal institutions for females, however, have libraries which receive a respectable amount of use.

The hospitals for the insane, with one exception, seem never to have felt the need of libraries for their patients, and some of them, at least, doubt the value of the library to their patients.

The Northern Hospital for the Insane at Logansport, has a library of about 2,500 volumes, in charge of the secretary to the superintendent, who takes an active interest in the library. The

other hospitals have collections of books, but they are unorganized and are in charge of no one especially interested in the work. The Tuberculosis Hospital has a small library which has been organized by the Public Library Commission and which is divided among the wards of the hospital. The Orphans' Home has an excellent library of about 5,000 volumes which for some years has been under the charge of a trained librarian. One of our best institutional libraries is in the School for Feeble-minded at Fort Wayne. The librarian, who is also a teacher, has had training in the Commission summer school and has accomplished remarkable results through the library with the inmates of the school. Books are not taken from the library, but are read under supervision, and the average number of readers is 225 per day.

The School for the Deaf has a general library unorganized and a school library of about 3,500 volumes, well organized and kept up by Miss Heizer, the teacher. The general library in the School for the Blind was organized some years ago by the students in the Indiana Library School, but the technical work has not been kept up to date.

The superiority of our penal and reformatory libraries over those in the other state institutions, will be understood immediately when we know that the penal institutions have about 225,000 volumes, with an annual circulation of something like 350,000, and that the other eleven institutions have probably not over 25,000 volumes combined, with a circulation unknown.

As might also be expected from these figures as to number of volumes in circulation, it is true that the libraries in the penal institutions are better organized and better conducted. Four of the five libraries in penal institutions have been organized by or under the supervision of the Public Library Commission and the library at the State Prison is about to be reorganized in the same way. The reformatory library has a most efficient librarian and an adequate corps of assistants from the prisoners. The technical methods are excellent and kept in first-class condition.

The Indiana's Boys' School has a librarian with training. The library at the State Prison is under the direct charge of the chaplain, but several of the long-term or life prisoners act as assistants and give their full time to the library, and there has been worked out a very adequate system of lending and exchanging books. The library at the Women's Prison has recently been

reorganized by the Public Library Commission and there is a definite officer in charge.

Of the other eleven libraries, five have been organized according to library methods, and two have librarians with special training.

From this brief exposition of the conditions of our institutional libraries in Indiana, it will be seen that the penal and reformatory institutions have long been on the right track and with occasional help and encouragement from the Library Commission in matters of book selection or technical advice, they can be depended upon to have a healthy growth. The hospitals for the insane are the institutions which have done least and which are least in sympathy with the library movement. Their officers have not seemed to realize the therapeutic value of books which some specialists have advocated and which several well-known hospitals have made much of, notably the McLean Hospital at Waverley, Mass. The new superintendent, Dr. Milligan, at Craigmont, Madison, Ind., seems already to have turned his attention to the library and to be anxious to improve its condition.

In defense of this neglect of the library in our hospitals for the insane, it may be only just to say that many of the inmates come from conditions and families in which they were not accustomed to read when in normal health, and it is hardly to be supposed that the reading habit can be cultivated in their diseased condition. It is hardly fair to compare them with conditions at such hospitals as McLean Hospital, which have large numbers of private well-to-do and cultivated patients who have always been used to books. It seems only reasonable, however, to suppose that there is a place in every hospital for the insane for a library for the patients, and that to be successful, these libraries must be properly maintained by an adequate fund and by a special attendant.

The relation of the Public Library Commission to the institutions of the state has always been pleasant and the institutions have invariably extended a cordial welcome to the Commission visitor. Half of the institutions of the state have called upon the commission to help organize their libraries and in other cases we have been of material assistance in the selection of books. In this matter of selecting and purchasing books lies perhaps the greatest opportunity for a state library commission. Unless there is a trained librarian in charge of the institution library there is generally no one on the staff who is familiar

with the advantageous method of selecting and purchasing books, and there is often much wasted money and many mistakes in selection when purchasing. One institution, for instance, not long ago, sent one of its officers to a department store, to pick from the shelves books to compose the institution library. Such a method, of course, allows for no general policy in book selection nor any opportunity of making a balanced or suitable selection. The organization of libraries is, of course, of great importance, and is essentially the work of the Library Commission, but experience has proved that such organiaztion is almost without value unless there is in the institution a librarian who devotes all or part of her time to the keeping up of the organization. We have had in our institutions three librarians with training at the Commission summer school and we have one librarian who has been trained in the library school at Columbia University.

Recently we have been considering in the state a problem which is not serious, but which needs some consideration before a definite policy is established. The institutions feel the need of reading matter for their attendants as well as for their inmates, and not always the same classes of books will do for each. Where the institutions are not near city libraries which the attendants can use, it means the maintenance of two distinct libraries in the institution or the borrowing of traveling library books from the state commission. On the whole, it seems as if this were a legitimate field for the traveling libraries, but most traveling library departments are already, from lack of funds, failing to meet all demands made upon them and they therefore hesitate to undertake to supply a demand which may become embarrassing. It seems as if this problem may well be discussed at this session.

The outlook in this state is, on the whole, encouraging. The great need is perhaps financial. Most of the institutions have to maintain their libraries as best they can out of the general fund appropriated for maintenance, with the result that there is little money left for the books or the library. And even in the case of the State Prison, where there is a special appropriation of $750 a year for the library, the money is used for buying music for the band and other purposes not strictly for the library. That the institutions themselves are in many cases conscious of this lack of a special fund, was shown during the last legislature by the introduction of a bill emanating from management of the insane hospitals, making an aunual appropriation of $500 to all

state institutions for the purchase of books to be selected with the help and under the supervision of the Public Library Commission. This bill was killed in committee, but it was a good sign and prophesies well for the future. Unfortunately, I understand that the policy of the Board of State Charities has been to discourage a special library appropriation, and doubtless this attitude has had much to do with the present financial condition. If we could secure these special appropriations, could arouse the officers of insane hospitals and certain other institutions in libraries for their patients or inmates and could impress upon all the state institutions the value of a librarian especially interested in the library, with some library training, the situation would be almost ideal. Fortunately, I believe that we are headed in the right direction, that we have accomplished much, and that the future is bright.

THE BOY AND THE BOOK

W. L. Kuser, Superintendent, Industrial School for Boys, Eldora, Iowa

No one will question the statement that we are living in the greatest and most important period of the world's history; that this year, this month, this day is surcharged as was never year, month or day in all the chronicles of time. We advance at a rate which makes us gasp at times, and in our quieter moments we shudder to think of the result of an encounter with a substantial obstruction or the sudden sighting of an open bridge. The machine is geared high and we are in a hurry. To bear up under the rapid pace we must build good machines and smooth the road as best we can. Not that we can hope to construct beyond necessity of repair, nor that all ruts and bumps may be leveled; but our aim *must* be to equip our travelers in the best possible manner and to surface well the road and place guideposts along the way.

In the development of manhood, oftentimes, it is not a question of a disposition or inclination to *do* but a lack of knowledge of *what* to do. Few parents want their boys to be anything but honorable and successful in life. Yet how many fail in bringing such a condition to pass. Day school teachers, Sunday school teachers, social workers, institution people, how often we fail in our efforts to strike the responsive chord needed to bring into

harmony the music of soul, mind and body? Can greater remorse come to any man than to look back through the dim, dark, dismal years of a wasted youth and see where and how one sentence from the mouth of a good man or good woman, or the placing in his hands of one good book might have brought strength and success instead of weakness and failure? "Oh! ye ancient tools, whose use I never knew."

We are very careful as to the company our boy keeps. How many times has the social and the institution worker heard that, "Jimmie would never have done wrong had it not been for that bad boy Johnie Jones." We pass the Harrison Drug Law, we oust the saloons, we regulate—very feebly and unobstrusively usually—the pool and dance halls; we legislate against public profanity, cigarettes, and gambling, but at the same time there are moral lepers inflicting their hideous mental effusions upon our boys, with a fervor and regularity that is uncanny. Go to almost any town, big or little, and the Nick Carter-Diamond Dick-Tracey the Bandit material is there, and the supply seems inexhaustible. You cannot blame untutored boys, and perhaps some who know good reading from bad, for reading this stuff. There's a bright, colored picture on the front and it portrays the virility of manhood in daring and adventure. There is a catchy title, and inside you will find, of course, a lie made of whole cloth. But what of that? The sentences are short, each one full of vigor and activity; there is something doing all the time. There is no preface, no dry introduction and chapters of description; something exciting happened in the first paragraph, and so on through the whole pernicious, bandit-making story.

Why do we allow this poison to be manufactured and sold? "Who would want to read such stuff, anyway?" someone says. I'll tell you who reads it,—the young chaps who commit the murders, robberies and other crimes. The men of tomorrow are the victims of the yellow-backs. The bad book or even the passive book which some librarians will tell us "does no harm" has no place on a library shelf or table.

Cervantes' bachelor tells us that "there is no book so bad, but something good may be found in it," but Carlyle says "if time is precious, no book that will not improve by repeated readings deserves to be read at all." Even our leisure time is valuable. In fact, the boy problem, so called, is one which deals largely with the use of spare time, play time or leisure as we may see fit to call it. Is there any better way to use at least a portion of this time than by permitting the boy to visit, talk and commune with the mighty dead?

If we will carefully guide the boy in his reading during the first twelve years of his life little fear need be felt as to his book selections afterward. Too many times we say to the boy, "You must read good books. Go to the library and get something worth your while." We offer no suggestions as to the kind of book to get, and when the boy finds himself in the shadow of the long rows of shelves and books he is as apt to hoist the white flag and back out as he is to tackle the job of making a selection from the serried ranks before him. Here is where help should be given, not only in selecting a suitable book, but also in pointing out the uses of the tools of the trade, catalogs and reference books.

Regarded purely as literature the Bible stands pre-eminent. In poetry, in oratory, in logic, in biography, in history, in rules of moral conduct, government and justice, it is the source of supply, the great base upon which all else is erected. It is the one Book all boys should have and know something of. The struggles of the lad Jacob are being fought out today. The boy Joseph endured no more than many an immigrant boy of yester year. The Daniel and Gideon of old are inspirations for the boys of today as they were for the lads thousands of years ago.

In the early years of the Christian era Plutarch wrote of the world's great men. In the language of Carlyle, "They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modelers, patterns and, in a wide sense, creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrive to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment of thoughts that dwelt in the great men sent into the world; the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these." So it is evident our boy must be acquainted with the biographies of ancient and modern great and good men and if the foundation has been properly laid there will follow, almost inevitably, a keen desire for the great literary bibles and the masterpieces of the world's literature.

Reading must never be assigned as a punishment nor made a task. It should rather be regarded as a privilege and a pleasure; a *relief* from work and duty, as it were, for we must not lose sight of the fact that a boy's reading must first of all furnish pleasure and boyish enjoyment. Neither is it well to have set times to read, and require a boy to do his reading then, willy nilly. One should be in a mood to read, and Samuel Johnson's reflection, "man ought to read just as inclination leads him," is

doubly true of a boy as far as the daily time or season of his reading is concerned.

As to just what books a boy should read it is difficult to determine without knowing the individual intimately. Different natures and dispositions require different books. We should also keep in mind the fact that "a multitude of books distracts the mind." A few good books read and reread until the author is virtually a part of the reader is much better than too much fresh reading matter. We must "skim the cream off the literary pans of milk." Do not permit the boy to acquire the notion that a book once read is to be laid aside, forever. In cultivating a taste for reading, not merely to pass away time but for profit, reading *with* not *to* a boy is invaluable. Words and passages can be studied and the boy taught the real objects of reading,—culture, character building and preparation for service to humanity.

Every boy should have his own library case, or at least a shelf of the general home library which he can call his own. He should, in a measure, be permitted to select his books, e. g., of a number of good books let him take the one he wants. It may not be the best of the lot but he will enjoy more the reading of it. He may choose *Treasure Island* in preference to *Pilgrim's Progress.* Perhaps the next will be *Robinson Crusoe* when it might have been *Marmion,* but by the time he is fourteen years old he will have walked with the Master and other strong characters of the Bible, lived many, many happy hours with Grimm, philosophized with Aesop, sympathized with Jean Valjean, sailed with Ulysses, studied with Homer and supped and dined with Shakespeare, Ruskin, Milton, Kingsley and others too numerous to mention.

A note of warning should be sounded with reference to the wolf in sheep's clothing; the respectable appearing, well bound book, free from all border-ruffian trimmings, but full from first to last of highly colored sensationalism. The boys in these books are well bred but of the dare-devil type. They meet unheard of difficulties, overcome them all and after going through fire and brimstone they scale the mountain side and rescue the lovely maid from the outlaw band *ad infinitum, ad nauseam.* These books are good to look upon; in composition, grammar and rhetoric they are not bad; but they set up false ideals of boyhood; they are written to be read not to be digested; they are written to sell.

Next to the home library comes that of the school, and for homes which lack libraries it is the chief avenue of relief. Not that a school library can take the place of one in the home, but

it is perhaps the best substitute. In the home pinched with poverty it is a ray of light and warmth, and where parents are incompetent it assumes a most important role. Their outlook as well as that of the children may be broadened and there will be developed not only a desire for good reading but a better parenthood in this generation and those to follow.

We would not taboo clean fiction although it must be understood that fiction can sap the vitalitiy of the mind as dissipation destroys the vigor of the physical being. A boy's library must contain some good fiction. If he cannot have this at home, a fine work can be done by the Sunday Schools in supplying the need. Sunday School libraries certainly have their place and they can be made interesting to the boy, provided we eliminate the dreary type of book picturing the saintly, preternaturally pious boy who delights in all kinds of unworldly pleasures but, sad to relate, dies young.

Neither is it necessary to embrace such evils as Oliver Optic, Henty and the like. There is a happy medium and we today have many books worthy of a place in our real boy's Sunday School library. Our list would include books by Hughes, Barbour, Connor, Trowbridge, Maclaren and others. Such a library would be used and its real purpose, the building of character and manhood, accomplished.

We would not conclude without making specific mention of a class of information so necessary to a boy's proper physical and moral development yet it is denied so many lads. Many parents do not appreciate their full responsibility to their boy and in face of the scriptural warning "How shall we escape if we neglect" we hear, in the language of Dr. Stall, the bitter cries of the boys and young men who were left to grope in the dark to blindly blunder. "Why did not some person warn me! No friend or teacher, neither in the day school, or the Sunday School, not even our minister or doctor ever said one word of warning to me upon this subject! Father and mother, who must have known all about this danger, never mentioned the subject to me. Instead of telling me the truth and warning me they tried to deceive me, and in ignorance, left me to go wrong without warning."

We say to our boys, Stop! Look! Listen! Get an education; be honest; do not use liquor or tobacco; avoid pool halls, dance halls, and gambling dens. Do not swear; do not fight; do not this and that, but of *the God-given passion of a normal boy*, the one sure and inevitable temptation, "the affiant sayeth nothing"; and alone, unwarned and unarmed the boy is set upon and too often

vanquished. Let us prepare ourselves to tell our boys what they ought to know. Let's begin early to sow the seeds of purity. Let's tell the boy his life story *first* and in the *right* way, not waiting for some vile tongue to impart it in a vulgar manner. Such a book, and there are other good ones, as *What a Young Boy Ought to Know,* by Dr. Stall, will be invaluable in fortifying a boy for the inevitable attack.

We would say more of the boy and his books and this most important phase of child training, but the time limit precludes. Let us resolve to make greater and better use of the minds and personalities of the masters in training our boy for his work and his place in society, teaching him to select these close companions and shapers of his character, as he would his intimate friends. The line of Scripture, "train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it" was never truer than when applied to his reading matter.

DISCUSSION: Miss Charlotte Templeton, Lincoln, Neb., and Jeannette McGregor, St. Paul, took part in informal discussion which followed.

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SOCIAL RESEARCH IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS* †

E. E. Southard, M. D., Director, Psychopathic Department, Boston State Hospital

I have been asked to lead a discussion upon the *Utilization of Public Institutions for Research Work,* a discussion held by direction of last year's Baltimore Conference and by arrangement with our Committee on Public and Private Charities. I have been challenged by Mr. H. H. Shirer, the chairman of this committee, to present an address upon the *Public Institution or Department and Social Research;* but with the permission of the chairman, I have chosen rather to turn the topic and to consider *Social Research as a Function of Public Institutions.* Let me acknowledge at the outset a greater degree of modesty in accepting this challenge than is even customary. I have myself been related more or less intimately with public institutions, municipal or state, since even before my graduation in medicine, fifteen years ago, and I know that for years the phrase *utilization of public institutions for research work* pretty exactly met my idea of what was the proper attitude of the scientist and reformer to

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public institutions. Public institutions we all took, and some of us still take, to be somewhat in the passive voice and in the objective case,—a mine to be explored for the ore of progress. It was years before I achieved, or was tamed into, a realization that public officials were in many instances (at all events, under stable political conditions) themselves scientists and reformers in an important and pragmatic sense, that they were often as much in the active voice and the nominative case as the social workers outside the institution walls. The truism at last dawned upon me that the public institutions of today are merely the crystallized social endeavors of yesterday, and that many of the best social endeavors of today are destined to crystallize out into public institutions of tomorrow. This I call a truism, but it is not entirely obvious to a great many of us here at this conference. One reason why I wanted to modify the title of my topic was related to precisely this truism. Public institutional data do not exist in the form of ore to be mined. The data that are of social importance are, as a rule, new data, to be gathered along novel lines and to be gathered in the cold, gray light of statistical method. It is often, then, a question how public institutions and public officials shall utilize the eager and available talent of the socialized, and not yet entirely *publicized,* world.

You may inquire exactly how I am using these two terms: *public* and *social.* Inasmuch as definitions of some sort are necessary in the discussion as I somewhat broadly and vaguely plan it, I propose to adopt a particular definition of these terms, which I borrow from the captions of the forthcoming work of my eminent colleague, Prof. Roscoe Pound, on *Sociological Jurisprudence.* For certain legal purposes, Dean Pound considers public, social, and personal interests. By *public,* Pound means governmental; by *social,* he refers to those activities which go beyond the individual person and touch social considerations in a form not yet reduced to government and law.

We have found in our practical work at the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston that these distinctions are really effective in parting out our work into special fields. Aside from our (a) distinctively medical work (the share of the physician as such), we deal (b) with problems of the individual (the task, formerly, of the pastor, the guide, philosopher, and friend, the philanthropist in the narrow sense; and now possibly fallen to the lot of some of the more enlightened psychologists), (c) with social difficulties (including all those group difficulties of the family, the factory, the parish, the voluntary association, and the like); and, finally, (d) with public problems (those that touch the law

courts, schools, the immigration bureau, the industrial accident board, etc., etc.). Now, it is clear that there are no strict, logically definable demarcations between the medical problems, on the one hand, and the problems of individual psychology, on the other, and between the problems of the relatively unorganized social group, on the one hand, and the group organized on a governmental basis, on the other. It is true that the task of the physician and the task of the psychologist are not easily to be separated logically, and that it may not be well to separate them practically. It is also true that the social worker must have a strong sense of public duty and of the law as such, and that the courts and their officers become in so far the better as they become more socialized. We hear much of this term *socialize*. As a public officer, I must exhibit the particular idol of my tribe by insisting, however, that not merely must the judges and probation officers become socialized, but the social workers must to a still greater degree become publicized (if I may be pardoned a new and uncouth word) if we are to keep the plow in the furrow of progress.

So much for a sketch of the distinctions between social and public interests. Whether we regard an interest in the individual as evolving from group interests, or whether we regard the interests of the social group as developing by a sort of integration from separate individuals, at all events we perceive that, once established, social interests tend to crystallize into public agencies and laws. When requested to speak on the topic of *Utilization of Public Institutions for Research Work*, it seems to me at least that since these public institutions represent a crystallizing of social interests of the past, we shall be dealing in our research work upon these public data rather with historical interests than with the ideas of the future. Now, it may be that these social ideas which, being in the historical layer, have attained public weight and authority, are more important subjects for analysis than the inchoate social ideas of the present. At all events, I believe that the worker who feels that public institutional records contain important unworked mines of social progress, is destined too often to reckon without his host.

When we look narrowly at the topic of *Public Institutions or Departments and Social Research*, we perceive, then, that the public institution or department is the product of social researches successfully executed in the past, successfully executed and reduced to firm and generally accepted principles. The evolution of public institutions and records of progress such as Indiana has made in one hundred years will form wonderful

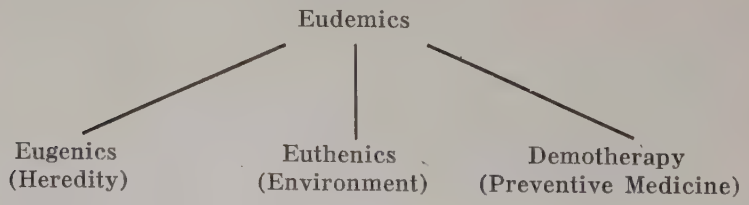
mines for historical research, from which prediction as to the future of social and public progress may perhaps be made. It is as if, somehow, the leaves of progress, shed in the carboniferous age of early social progress, had turned into the coal beds of the present day.

Research is an equally interesting term; it has somewhat the same connotation of the imperfect, the unfinished, the up-striving, which we attach to the term *social.* In many states and in certain commonwealths, it is possible to get no money for research into a given topic when a large amount of money is available for investigation into the self-same topic. Many a practical Yankee is afraid of research, but welcomes investigation. Just as the term *social* stands to the term *public,* so the term *research* stands to the term *investigation.* We have confidence in a measure in our public servants. We have confidence in a measure in investigations. We know how public servants and investigations stand. We are pretty sure they will not, in any event, be dangerous. As for social work, and as for research, these are within the general field of innovation. They tend to exude novelty, danger, and even explosions. Parenthetically, accordingly, I counsel those of you who find difficulty in securing money for certain social work and for research, to see whether money cannot be gotten publicly for said work, and whether an investigation will not secure the same results as would research without raising the eye-brows of the solid citizen. Had I been asked to speak on the topic of *Public Institutions and Investigation,* you would have expected quite a different line of considerations. Investigation does not necessarily seek novelty. Investigation is, to be sure, a form of search, but that investigation which we term *research* has the attraction and the danger of innovation.

As my comrade on the program has not appeared today, I am permitted,—if not challenged,—by the chairman to speak more fully upon such allied matters as I may choose. I wish, therefore, to seize the opportunity to let fly among you a classification of these social and public concerns which I have been privately using for some time. After classifying very sketchily what George Eliot might have termed the "melioristic" arts and sciences, I propose to analyze the various threads of interest in our program, to learn if possible what the general evolution of this program has been and what is the logical outlook for such programs in the future.

The entire group of these arts and sciences which may be termed in George Eliot's phrase "melioristic," I wish to place under a single heading, namely: the heading of *Eudemics.* You

will readily perceive the significance of this term. You will remember the important congress which was held in Washington upon *Hygiene and Demography*. The term *demography* here specified all those matters which are subsumed under the head, *Vital Statistics*, and all other matters which could be reduced to any form of description having to do with the people collectively taken. The census bureau is one vast mechanism for demographical purposes. Now, if we place in one group all those arts and sciences which tend to the improvement of the people, race, or social unit, we may properly adopt the term *eudemics* therefor. Under eudemics we shall find, of course, all those important matters of viriculture, more commonly known by the Galtonian term *eugenics*, namely: all those measures which seek to better the race through operations of heredity. In apparently strong contrast with these eugenic matters, our great melioristic group (eudemic) will contain what Mrs. Richards termed the *euthenic* arts and sciences, namely: those which deal with improvement of environment in its possible relation to improvements of the social unit therein. Under this caption we think of such matters as the anti-alcohol program, the anti-syphilis program, the minimum wage propaganda, the child labor law, etc., and with these two sub-headings of heredity and environment we might think the general nature of eudemics to be indicated. However, modern medicine has shown that there is a third topic almost equally grand, namely: the topic of preventive medicine, or hygiene, as applied to the race or social unit. This category, following my colleague, Dr. Adler, we may term that of demotherapy. In diagrammatic form, we should then have the following:



Now let us see how our conference is organized to deal with these matters. An inspection of the program shows that besides the executive committee, we have standing, or program, committees as follows: On children, on corrections, on the family and the community, on feeble-mindedness and insanity, on health,

on inebriety, on the promotion of social programs, on public and private charities, and on employment. I have no doubt that all these committees are entirely worthy and doing appropriate and effective work, and I have no reason to suppose that the policy of accretion by which these committees have been built up is not a proper policy, however illogical it might seem to the purist in categories. Let us, however, examine the titles from the standpoint of our classification,—more to test the classification than to test the inclusiveness of our conference topics.

The committee on children obviously has relations to all three major sub-divisions of eudemics. The children lie nearest to their eugenic or cacogenic sources. They are the object of the most eminent and logical legislation of the euthenic variety; and the medical or preventive aspect of their well being is also represented, as I note, by a medical member upon the committee. Upon the whole, without knowing anything whatever as to the make-up of this committee and its aims, it seems clear that the committee on children should be strengthened to take in the eugenic interest and somewhat strengthened in the demotherapy direction. From the work of Dr. W. P. Lucas, with which I was familiar in Boston, but which has been transferred to California, I am inclined to suggest also the desirability of including adolescence in this topic, or extending the topic to include the adolescents. There would even be no logical reason why there should not be a separate committee on adolescence, which should, of course, have a strong medical representation on account of the special psychopathic problems that the adolescents show.

The next committee is that on corrections. Here the major interest is apparently in the environment; that is, in euthenics. It is perhaps a counsel of perfection to ask that the hereditary aspect of crime shall be taken up by our conference, so dubious are the sources of information as yet. I am convinced, however, from personal experience that this committee on corrections should be strongly reinforced from the medical and sociological side. I feel, in short, that this committee, built on the practical public concerns of the prisons and ancillary agencies, should be broadened in several directions, but especially in the medical, or more narrowly put, the psychiatric direction.

The third committee, on the family and the community, is as broad in its name as the entire melioristic group of sciences. Who can deal logically with the family without taking an attitude to heredity (eugenics) on the one hand, and to such matters as alcoholism and syphilis on the other? I perceive that many

of my hearers may think that my views are perhaps here prejudiced by idols of the tribe that I mentioned above. Was there not a lady who did not like *Elsie Venner* because she thought it a "medicated novel?" Very possibly you may regard my view of these committees as medicated. The social workers with whom I come in contact are never without their hereditary and medical problems when they come to deal with the relations of the family to the community. If we restrict these interests to statistical ones, on the one hand, or to individualistic ones, on the other, regarding our statistics as made up of more or less normal individuals, we shall not, I think, get on. And, at the least, I insist that the limitations of interests on the part of such a committee to the environmental (euthenic) ones is a dangerous limitation.

As for the committee on feeble-mindedness and insanity, in which I am, of course, particularly interested, I understand that a proposal has been made that its name be altered to *mental hygiene,* and I regard this change as both logical and now desireable. I need not insist upon the triple interests of this committee, but I wonder whether it would not be well always to bear in mind in the construction of a committee the necessity of representation from all sides. On the whole, in this committee we are rather more interested in demotherapy, a good deal interested in eugenics, and perhaps less interested than we should be in environmental matters.

The committee on health is, by definition, a committee on demography, and has its other interests largely in the euthenic direction, and not especially in that of heredity.

With the committee on inebriety, on the other hand, we find the interest largely an environmental one, and secondarily in matters of the therapy of the race or social unit.

The committee on the promotion of social programs deals with the entire topic of eudemics.

The committee on public and private charities, whose privileges I am usurping today, deals doubtless largely with improvements of the environment; that is, with euthenics.

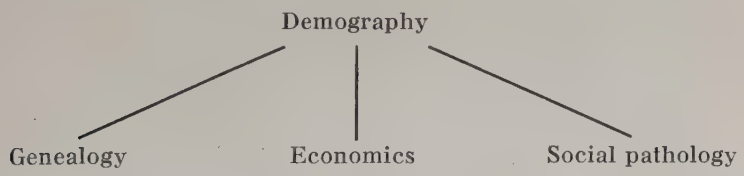
And the last but not least committee, on employment, is again a committee largely of euthenics.

To sum up these committees, then, we find that their major interests lie somewhat as follows:

Children:	Euthenics and eugenics.
Corrections:	Euthenics and demotherapy.
Family:	Euthenics and eugenics.
Feeble-mindedness and insanity:	Demotherapy and eugenics.
Health:	Demotherapy and euthenics.
Inebriety:	Euthenics and demotherapy.
Social programs:	Eudemics as a whole.
Charities:	Euthenics.
Unemployment:	Euthenics.

I do not need to insist that all these committees touch one or two or all three subdivisions of eudemics, and yet it will be obvious that hardly any committee can be said to deal adequately in its program with all three, or even with two of the three aspects mentioned.

At this point, I may repeat that the art or science of eudemics is by definition an uplift or betterment art or science, and that each of its subdivisions is such an art or science of improvement. Should we try to tabulate the factual arts and sciences which correspond to those of uplift or betterment, our diagram would stand as follows:



Let us briefly review the committees from the opposite direction. Eudemics as the globar art and science of the improvement of the race or social unit, is of course in one sense the topic of the entire conference (although I should not here advocate a change of name of the conference merely to fit this excellent Greek word *eudemics*) and we find that the committee on the promotion of social programs also virtually by definition deals with the entire subject. If so, our suggestion is that the committee should be greatly strengthened in the direction of heredity, on the one hand, and of medicine on the other.

As for eugenics, we find that, logically speaking, the committees on children, the family and the community, and on

feeble-mindedness and insanity, should deal therewith; but, I think rather unfortunately, none of these committees is very strongly supported in the direction of eugenics. It is impossible, however, to believe that those who conceive the duties of the National Conference in a broad sense can avoid taking an interest in the work of Galton, Pearson, Davenport, Morgan, Wilson, Castle, and their peers.

As for the arts and sciences of environmental improvement, we find the committees on children, on the family and the community, on public and private charities, and on employment, taking a vivid interest therein. Also, the committee on health, with its relation to occupational diseases, has an important relation to economics and to euthenic development. The committee on inebriety, largely a matter at one time of legislative propaganda and the like, is now becoming more than an euthenic matter, and by the personnel of its committee, it is clear that it will proceed to those important character studies which have so much to do with the prognosis of inebriety.

Those of us who deal with the psychopathic side of life believe also that the matter of public and private charities has important relations to this matter of character study. A committee in our Psychopathic Hospital in Boston on employment has dealt with a very interesting side branch of that enormous problem by a study of certain character types which have a bearing on employment. Here in euthenics, has lain the largest interest of our conference. Yet it seems plain that other branches of the art and science of social betterment need cultivating by many of these committees.

As for demotherapy, we find it, naturally, the topic of the committee on health and of the committee on feeble-mindedness and insanity. We feel that the committee on corrections should consider that proportion of its criminals which are psychopathic under other categories than the environmental ones, and the same can be said of the committee on inebriety. I have no idea what the active forces of our conference may feel upon these matters, and as I said above, I am not at all sure but that the method of development of committees by accretion is the best method of evolution after all. I have gone over these topics largely to bring out the main features of the classification of betterment of arts and sciences which I gave above. This I do because I wish to show the deep roots which our social programs really strike. It is a commonplace that the nineteenth century is the century in which the science of statistics was

born, and that science was, of course, born in the interest of society, as can be seen from the etymology of the term *statistics*, than of pure science. These matters are dealt with in an important and thorough manner by Merz in his *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. In the early nineties my good friend and chief, Prof. Royce, developed his notions about the social consciousness, which have been worked over and given an original turn by my colleague, Richard Cabot. All these matters hark back to Mill, Comte, Spencer, and the rest.

If, then, we seek to utilize public institutions for research work, we must remember that public institutions are themselves the outcome of social work, and that their chief value, provided that they are upon a sound foundation, is as material for historical study as for the purposes of prediction. Indiana may borrow some ideas from Massachusetts, Masachusetts in turn from Indiana, and as we well know the relations of these two particular states have been very close in just these ways that we are considering. It is questionable, however, whether the data of either, utilized by statistical methods for research work in the ordinary sense of that term, will yield exceedingly important results. Rather, I insist, the public institution must be made to gather certain new data upon various new lines. While the private and semi-private social agencies are prosecuting researches, let the public institutions prosecute the same work under the more innocent term *investigation*. As public institutions represent the past, it is clear that they represent more or less exact conclusions, good or bad, of the effective social workers and politicians of the past. The great distinction between the publicist, on the one hand, and the social worker on the other, is that the publicist deals with the fixed and conservative data of the past, and the social worker deals with desires for the future. It is somewhat curious that in my experience, I seem to meet really but two types of people. I meet the people who work their lives through on the basis of hypotheses, and I meet people whose lives are founded upon desires. I rather prefer the latter type of person,—at all events, to talk with,—but I find that the government offices are infested with the other type of person. Government, it may be said, is founded upon hypotheses and not on wishes. The National Conference is a vehicle of wishes. I should not want it to lose its optative tendencies, but on the whole, if the social workers are to get the public institutions to deliver up their data, the social workers must themselves adopt the rationalizing, hypothesis-making habit.

Whether the National Conference deals with an art of social betterment or a science thereof has often been mooted. For the moment, I seem to regard it as dealing with eudemic art rather than eudemic science. The more, however, the Conference becomes a vehicle of hypotheses and less wholly a vehicle of wishes, the more will the public institution or department be utilizable for social research.

DISCUSSION

Katherine Bement Davis, Ph. D., Chairman, Parole Commission, City of New York

This morning when I asked Dr. Southard if I might see the paper which I was to discuss, he said it was impossible as it was only in his head. I have listened to it with great interest. I believe I understand what he was talking about, and his analysis of the relationship of the different branches of social work to each other is most illuminating. Unfortunately, I never have been able to learn big words, and I cannot remember the ones he has used. His interpretation of the subject to be discussed is somewhat different from what I had conceived it to be.

Every state in the Union is supporting a number of institutions of varied types. Many thousands of dollars are spent annually on these institutions. They include asylums for the insane; institutions for feeble-minded adults and children; institutions for defectives of all classes, such as epileptic, deaf and dumb, blind, etc.; our penal institutions; our institutions such as poor houses; and other places to which those who cannot care for themselves are sent. Many of these institutions are very old, running back to the time when there was very little thought of anything except kind custodial care for the state's dependents.

Today we live in an age where we are seeking for causes. We are not content with mere plastering and poulticing of the ills of society. We want to find out the reasons why, and, if possible, remove them. We are realizing that an ounce of prevention is worth many pounds of cure. Often individuals who have given little thought to the matter look upon scientific investigations as the suggestion of the cold-blooded and inhuman individual. There is, however, a growing realization among those who are directly responsible for the care of the defective and delin-

quent classes, that the only possible hope for the future is through the kind of scientific investigation which can be made as to causes only in such institutions as these. It is the realization of this fact that has led to the establishment of such institutions as the juvenile clearing house in connection with the courts of Chicago; the Bureau of Social Hygiene in connection with the State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills; to the scientific work being done in the Indiana State Prison, and other similar institutions. In other words, we are come to recognize our great state institutions as human laboratories. The people who live in them have either broken the law, or are unfortunately dependent upon the public for support. The study which can be made of this human material in no way interferes with the kind and humane treatment of the individuals while in the institution, and lays a foundation not only for more efficient work by the state in dealing directly with the problems in hand, but also in eradicating causes.

I should like, therefore, to most strongly urge that our public institutions throughout the country be continuingly and increasingly used as laboratories for scientific research work which will repay the citizens of the state many fold in reform and prevention.

DISCUSSION: The informal discussion which followed, was participated in by Dr. Thomas H. Haynes, Columbus, O. and James O. White, Cincinnati.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF MUNICIPAL CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS*

L. A. Halbert, General Superintendent, Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri

I have undertaken to ascertain the main features of charitable and correctional work undertaken by the 123 cities of the United States which have more than 50,000 population. The replies received are quite incomplete and the sources of information were often unofficial but such partial information as I have seems sufficiently interesting to warrant presenting it to you and it is given in the hope that it may arouse sufficient interest so that a

*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 11:00 A. M.

more complete compilation of information in this line may be had in the future.

If we were able to ascertain the activities of all incorporated towns and cities, it would show a tremendous volume of activity and an expenditure of many millions of dollars. New York city alone spends over ten million dollars annually. In fact, in variety and extent this would probably far outrun the state charitable and correctional work, although that branch of public service has been emphasized as a department of this Conference for many years.

The Bounds of Municipal Activity

In the first place, let me say that the volume of charitable and correctional work, or social work of any kind, undertaken by the municipal government is not an index to the state of social progress or the amount of public spirit in any city. There are many cities in which the unfortunate people receive very intelligent care and social conditions are being aggressively improved, where the agency for doing this work is not the municipal government, but it may be a multitude of private agencies or some other units of government besides the city. In various states the local charitable and social work of a public nature is done almost wholly through county institutions; in fact, there are at least twenty-six cities in the group investigated that have not even a city prison in which prisoners serve sentences, but the correctional institutions are part of the machinery of the county government. Among such cities are Philadelphia, Buffalo, Indianapolis and Milwaukee. They have county institutions to care for petty offenders.

The city government as a unit seems to be more responsive to social needs than the other units of government. The city councils meet frequently and many city commissions meet daily, while the state legislature meets annually or once every two years. It is easier to impress a compact community. Misery is more apparent in the cities than in the rural districts. In fact, the cities are suffering an unjust burden because the unfortunate people of all states come from the country and the small towns to get the advantage of the highly developed institutions of the cities. If the cities are going to supply the facilities for caring for these people, and it seems most practical for them to do so, we should have more strict and practical settlement laws so that the cost of this work could be charged up to the scattered communities where it belongs. A city has to become very large before it is a practical unit for certain kinds of institutions, as,

for example, insane asylums. Of course, the usual custom is to have state insane asylums and that is most practical, but St. Louis and Baltimore, and perhaps other cities, have their own insane asylums. When a city is a large enough unit so that it contains enough cases of a given type to warrant a specialized institution for them, then it may be a practical unit for handling that kind of cases, and if it does handle them, it should be protected against having to care for the cases of smaller communities by strict settlement laws, as I have just said.

Medical Charity

Recently, a survey of the public health activities of all cities having more than 25,000 population was made by Mr. Franz Schneider and published by the Russell Sage Foundation. This showed an approximate outlay of ten million dollars for the 227 cities having more than 25,000 population. Free clinics of a general character and clinics for infant welfare and for tuberculous patients, as well as hospital care and medical outdoor relief, might all be classed as forms of charity. Only thirty-one per cent of the cities showed any dispensaries or medical outdoor relief. Fourteen per cent showed special work for cure and prevention of tuberculosis. Seventy-nine per cent showed medical inspection of school children. Forty-four per cent had what is called the "complete program" of infant hygiene work. The survey made by Mr. Schneider did not cover the matter of city hospitals or free hospital treatment. In some cases, this is administered by the health department and in others by the department of charities and I have no adequate statistics in regard to it. The published reports of New York and many smaller cities show extensive activities along this line.

Hospitals, Infirmaries and Other Homes

As a general rule over the United States, almshouses are county institutions; and yet almshouses are a very important activity in many of the larger cities. The inmates in various institutions under the charge of the Department of Charities in New York city have an average daily population of over 10,000. Some of these institutions are hospitals, but this figure does not include the inmates of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals, which amount to many thousands more.

The poor of Chicago, which is the second largest city, are cared for by the county. In Philadelphia, which is the third city, the almshouses for men and women contain an average daily population of 1,600 and the hospitals have approximately

4,500. In St. Louis, the county and city governments are consolidated. The daily average attendance during the year 1915 was about 850. The tuberculosis hospital had an average attendance of about 125 and the sanitarium for the insane averaged about 2,000.

The Boston infirmary officials have two institutions under their charge and the average attendance is about 1,100. Besides these institutions there are two city hospitals that, judging from their expenditures, must have an average attendance of 2,500. The daily average population of the city hospital of Cleveland is 450. The almshouse, which is known as the Cooley Farm, had a daily average attendance of over 700 in 1914. The Baltimore city institutions have an average attendance of 1,700 and a large part of it is almshouse population. They also pay for a good many special charity cases in private institutions.

It is my impression from the examination of a large number of reports that comparatively few of the smaller cities have almshouses, but very many cities offer hospital care, either in their own city institutions or in private institutions at the expense of the city. What happens when towns of small size support almshouses is well illustrated by the following extract from the 1915 report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Maine:

> The records of the office show the following interesting data concerning the almshouses of the state. It appears that the total number of almshouses in the state is 133; that of these 29 are closed, or now not in operation, leaving only 104 open at the present time. Of these 104 which are open, however, seven, when inspected, had no inmates, leaving 97 actually in operation with inmates. As to these 97 almshouses, it appears that 15 had but one inmate, 12 had only two inmates; 52, or more than 50%, had four inmates or less; and 81 had less than ten, leaving only 17 which had over ten inmates.

Special Provisions for the Unemployed

There are known to be 26 municipal free employment bureaus. In several cities during the winter of 1914-15, special public projects were undertaken to provide work for the unemployed. A full account of the activities of this kind may be found in the unemployment survey of 1914-15 published by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Twenty-seven cities are known to have municipal lodging houses. A number of these have sprung into being on account of the very unusual amount of unemployment which has existed for the past few years and reached its highest point last year.

Public Outdoor Relief

The custom in regard to giving public outdoor relief by munici-

palities varies greatly but it is known that fifty of the cities having more than 50,000 population do give outdoor relief. These cities are scattered in twenty different states. In those parts of the country where the town or township is the principal unit of local government it is almost universal to have municipal outdoor relief, but even in those parts of the country where the county is the predominant unit for local government the municipalities have undertaken some public outdoor relief. It is a notable fact that there is no municipal outdoor relief in New York, except to the blind, nor in Philadelphia or Baltimore; but Boston has a considerable system of public outdoor relief and so have Cleveland, Detroit and St. Louis. Although New York City does not have public outdoor relief, Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady, Syracuse, Utica and Yonkers, in the same state, all have. In ten cities, namely: Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton and Toledo, Ohio, Portland, Ore., Memphis, Dallas, New Orleans, and Topeka and Wichita, Kan., the municipal government contributes relief through the associated charities.

Municipal Aid to Private Charities

Thirty-five cities are reported to be giving subsidies to private charities. Thirty-nine are reported to be giving no subsidies, and I have no report on 49.

New Orleans is said to contribute quite extensively to private charities. Among the other cities are New York, Buffalo, Minneapolis, Toledo, Washington and Indianapolis. It is my impression that the trend of the present time is against this form of co-operation. The movement started by the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland endorsing good charities and eliminating bad ones has been taken up officially and become a function of the city government in twelve of the cities included in this survey.

The municipal government of Los Angeles passed a law requiring that all the private charities operating in the city must have a license from the municipal charities commission, and that body did a vigorous and, in many respects, useful work in improving the standards of private charity; but it is my understanding that the attempt of the city to exercise this degree of control over the charities has now been abandoned. Berkeley, Cal., has employed that system successfully for several years.

The plan of endorsing charities and using education and publicity as a means of control is probably slower, but it is less difficult to administer and is quite effective. Personal soliciting, or begging, is against the law in most cities, but the machinery for suppressing beggars is seldom efficient and I do not think it is

likely to be so except where special mendicancy officers are charged with the duty of enforcing this law.

Special Charitable and Social Activities

Kansas City established a free legal aid bureau as a part of her city government in 1910 and since that time, similar bureaus have been established in St. Louis, Omaha and Dayton. St. Louis has a Board of Children's Guardians, which places out and supervises dependent children in private homes. The same board also is able to support children placed with their own mothers and, in this way, they give what is equivalent to mothers' pensions. Cleveland has a very interesting and aggressive Immigrant Aid Bureau as a part of the city government.

Possibly the pension schemes for policemen or firemen, which exist in various cities, should be referred to as a part of the charitable machinery of municipalities, because the funds for these are supplied mainly by the city.

In the time of emergency in the winter of 1914-15, the Chicago city government even undertook to conduct stores where people could buy groceries and other supplies at cost. Some years ago Detroit established an extensive system of vacant lot gardening, under Mayor Pingree, which gave the mayor the nickname of "Potato Patch Pingree." Home gardening and vacant lot gardening are carried on extensively in Kansas City under the direction of the supervisor of agriculture employed by the Board of Education.

No doubt, this audience would be capable of adding still more to this list of special activities, if they had an opportunity.

Correctional Activities

It was something of a surprise to me to discover that there were twenty-six cities large enough to be included in this inquiry that had no city prison whatever. Philadelphia and Buffalo are the largest cities which use only county or state institutions for correctional purposes.

Among the cities having prison farms should be mentioned Cleveland, Washington, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Providence and Milwaukee. Duluth, Minn., has a farm operated jointly by the city and county for petty offenders.

There is not sufficient time to expand upon the advantages of outdoor work for prisoners in this paper but the cities using this system are highly gratified with the results. The Detroit city workhouse was the first institution in the country to apply the principle of the indeterminate sentence. This was brought about

while Z. R. Brockway, the famous pioneer advocate of this measure, was superintendent there.

About two years ago, the legislature of New York established a parole board of New York city penal institutions and, at the same time, established a system of special prolonged sentence for habitual offenders.

Forty-one cities and probably more now have systems of probation or parole in connection with their city prisons or municipal courts. This is a comparatively recent development. Kansas City, Minneapolis, Detroit and Washington, D. C., make allowances to prisoners' families left destitute because of the incarceration of the breadwinners. These cities and Cleveland and probably others have a system of making weekly collections from paroled men who have been convicted of non-support or neglect of their families.

At least 22 cities have special correctional institutions for children. One of the best known is the Warrensville Farm at Cleveland.

In a few cities, the Juvenile Court is a part of the municipal government but this is generally a state court.

Forms of Organization

An outstanding feature in regard to the organization of municipal charities and corrections is the utter lack of uniformity in the distribution of functions between city, county and state governments in the various parts of the United States. The variety of different kinds of activities to be found in different cities exceeds but little the variety of forms under which these things are administered. Sometimes institutional heads are appointed directly by the mayor. Sometimes the separate institutions each have boards over them and they select the superintendent and employees. Sometimes various charitable institutions are grouped together in a department and a commissioner supervises them all or administers them. Sometimes the various institutions are grouped together under a board which has its executive officers and administers them. Sometimes they are established by city ordinance and sometimes they are established by state law. Sometimes the employees are chosen by civil service, and sometimes they are not. Where the cities have a large measure of self-government, or home rule, there is probably a larger tendency toward concentration than there is in those cities where various institutions have to be established by acts of legislature of the state.

Missouri cities have home rule and have unified administration of municipal social work in the three largest cities, namely, St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, all of which have comprehensive departments of public welfare. Ohio cities also have a large measure of home rule and Cleveland, Dayton and Columbus have unified and comprehensive departments of public welfare which combine the charitable and correctional activities and other forms of social service, such as public health and recreation. Boston has a great variety of boards and officials established in various ways, mostly by acts of legislature.

Testing Municipal Activities by Charity Organization Society Principles

Testing municipal activities by charity organization society principles shows some interesting results. Investigation is said to be the first principle of organized charity. Among the different services which have been instituted in accordance with this principle might be mentioned the work of probation and parole officers and psycopathic clinics for delinquents, medical inspection for school children, and an increasing amount of investigation of individual applicants for outdoor relief, as well as the institution of hospital social service. These all betoken an increased recognition of the principle that investigation is the necessary basis of sound treatment.

Besides these applications of the principle to case work, one might see a wider application of the same principle in the increased number of inspectors of the living and working conditions of the people, such as sanitary inspectors, tenement house inspectors, plumbing inspectors, factory inspectors, food inspectors, building inspectors, dance inspectors, etc., and there should also be mentioned the beginning which has been made in the establishment of social research work by various municipalities, notably the Research Bureau of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, and the various other cities which have adopted the board of public welfare idea. The cities are more determined than ever to base their actions on information.

The second principle of organized charity is said to be reconstruction. The liberal provision of hospital treatment, clinics and tuberculosis sanitaria, bear witness to the cities' determination to cure the sick. The introduction of reformatory influences and measures into the correctional system has been rapidly increasing. This is the meaning of parole officers, prison farms, prison schools, and prison hospitals.

I am unable to say just how much progress has been made in placing the outdoor relief of the municipalities on a scientific basis, but I find the reports of Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Denver, Bridgeport and other cities setting forth their ideas about reconstructing the families that are helped.

The third principle is that of co-operation. The lack of co-operation is a great weakness which is very prevalent in the charitable and correctional work of our American municipalities. We have many boards and officers and institutions and lack a unified system of a consistent social program. The theory behind the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, when its system was being constructed, was that all the municipal social work should be systematized and unified under one management. This idea has since been adopted by ten other cities as follows: Duluth, Denver, St. Joseph, Chicago, Cleveland, Dayton, Columbus, St. Louis, Omaha and Dallas. The welfare boards of Denver, St. Joseph and St. Louis all consolidate both city and county welfare work under one board. Attempts have been made two different times to establish a welfare board in Seattle but without success. Similar measures have also failed of adoption in Sacramento, Lincoln, and perhaps other places. The name of the Department of Public Welfare has been adopted in Detroit, but a comprehensive system has not actually been established. A charter containing provisions for such a department was defeated in Cincinnati. A charter containing such a system is now being considered in Grand Rapids. A state law providing for such a system for Hartford, Conn., was defeated in the legislature a few years ago. The idea is making headway as you can see from these developments.

The fourth principle of organized charity is said to be prevention. This means the prevention of poverty, crime and misery by removing their causes. The activities for the prevention of infant mortality, of tuberculosis, of contagious diseases in general, through inspection, quarantine, vaccination, etc., bear abundant testimony to the recognition of prevention by our municipalities. The inspection of commercial amusements, the aggressive suppression of the social evil and the voting out of the saloons, all of which measures have received increasing support and adoption from the municipalities of the United States, bear witness of the intention of the city to prevent crime. The free legal aid bureau, the free employment bureau, vacant lot gardening, the prosecution of husbands for non-support, and many such like activities, are aimed at the prevention of poverty. The

municipalities present many shining examples to prove that they recognize the principle of prevention.

Efficiency

The organization of municipal charities and corrections should be carried out in line with the principles of efficiency. The cities' activities for social welfare should all of them be administered by a permanent staff of well qualified experts. This means a fair and practical merit system for the civil service. There is an increasing tendency to recognize the professional character of social work and to admit that training and experience are necessary, and this will receive increasing recognition on the part of all people who appoint workers to social service positions, whether they are civil service boards or not. One difficulty at the present time is that there is not an adequate number of qualified people seeking these positions or of people qualified to hold them if they got them. There must be increased training for public service. The difficulties connected with establishing the civil service of cities on a higher plane are not insurmountable and nobody is justified in dismissing this problem as a hopeless one. In fact, it is the special duty of social workers to see that the public service is improved and elevated in every possible way.

MUNICIPALIZATION OF CHARITABLE AND CORRECTIONAL WORK IN CHICAGO

Louise Osborne Rowe, Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare, Chicago

The Department of Public Welfare is still in its infancy, having been established less than two years. The most difficult phase of a new project often lies in its beginning, for it is at this period that skepticism, pessimism, unjust criticism, predominates. The very newness, the natural temporary disorganization, creates this. It is a burden under which every new public enterprise must suffer for at least a short period of time.

It is in all frankness that I tell you that many have doubted with genuine sincerety the necessity for a Department of Public Welfare in Chicago. In view of the fact that there are at present between five and six hundred social agencies operating in the city, it is not difficult to understand how many who do not comprehend the mission of such a municipal department should be

of the opinion that another agency would have a tendency to further complicate the present organization and work of the numerous agencies. However, this skepticism is confined principally to those who are not in accord with social work and to a few who or are conscious of the overlapping of work. This argument is of minor importance, for the Welfare Department has a distinct and separate mission to perform, which would be almost impossible for a private agency to promulgate. I take the liberty of quoting from the splendid address made by Charles E. Merriam as a member of the City Council to this body when he introduced the ordinance creating the Department:

> It is time to study scientifically the facts regarding poverty, misery, vice and crime of our city; to analyze these facts and in the light of modern progress to devise ways and means of removing their causes as soon as possible. We must do for the social and industrial conditions of the city what the Plan Commission does for its material outline—to inquire patiently and ascertain if the individual's right to pure air, pure food, reasonable working conditions, reasonable wages and reasonable recreation, has been preserved under our urban conditions; to war upon the rate of infant mortality, upon the dreaded diseases of typhoid and tuberculosis, upon the adult death rate, upon the unsanitary dwelling, upon the starvation wage, upon all the conditions that tend to depress the level of physical stamina and narrow the horizon of moral energy and human hope. We recognize the great doctrine of conservation in relation to forests, mines, soil and water power, as worked out by state and federal governments. The doctrine of human conservation is equally important for our great cities,—the conservation of childhood, motherhood and the home; the conservation of health and happiness of the millions who make up the communities.

Let my point be clearly and indelibly impressed upon your minds—that it is not the mission of this Department, nor the intention of the commissioner, to infringe upon the work and activities of any other social agency. Its mission does not take it into the fields for rendering individual aid and relief. Indeed, it does not deal with the individual and his needs. Its mission is to explore new fields, some that are known to us, many at present unknown; to be a sponsor for laws and ordinances; to search for fundamental facts and truths; to lessen the work of the social agencies only through the means of eliminating causes and unfit conditions through proper legislation and to assist them in upholding present standards by keeping eternal vigilance over the enforcement of present ordinances and city regulations. Lastly, as I interpret the unwritten mission of the Department of Public Welfare, it should serve in time as a center or clearing house for all social and research work in the City of Chicago. When this point has been achieved the overlapping of work cannot fail to be eliminated.

The Department of Public Welfare is a part of the municipal government; the commissioner has the co-operation of the officials of all municipal departments. This fact is surely a valuable asset. The activities and scope of our work, in accordance with the ordinance, must be classified under two divisions; namely, the Bureau of Employment and the Bureau of Social Surveys.

Bureau of Employment

The Bureau of Employment is the practical side of the Department. Its relation to unemployment was intended to be principally of a scientific and statistical nature; to collect information relative to working conditions, wages, hours of labor, and to bring about practical relief of unemployment. Owing to the abnormal industrial situation during the past two years, and in view of the past inadequate provisions of the state employment bureaus for serving the unemployed of Chicago, even in times when conditions were more normal, the urgent need of a well-organized employment bureau under municipal management forced the Department of Public Welfare to open a Skilled and Unskilled Free Labor Bureau for men and women. Other activities of the Bureau to date have been to establish and direct new policies in the management of the Municipal Lodging House, relative to relieving Chicago of its burden in caring for the shiftless, vagrants and unemployed of other communities; to operate a municipal woodyard which has served successfully in providing a work test for all applicants to the lodging-house during the past year.

This Bureau has maintained a special agent at the lodging-house to make a careful study of the homeless men problem, as well as the problem of vagrancy, with a view to inaugurating a campaign, in co-operation with officials in other cities, for the reduction of vagrancy, as well as to outline a plan for constructive work tending toward the reclamation of this class to society.

This Bureau has operated a number of municipal farm gardens. Our purpose, further, is to foster the home garden movement, and to establish municipal children's gardens in districts where they are most needed.

Bureau of Surveys

The Bureau of Surveys is purely of a scientific and statistical nature. The work of this Bureau to date consists of a number of surveys of minor importance, the publication of a *Social Service Directory*, the compilation of a Social Surveys Catalogue, and the establishment and operation of a Bureau of Information.

The function of the Bureau of Surveys is limited to social

research and recommendation and, being thus limited, it can be stronger than if it were expected to promote a variety of uplifting schemes. Its work is to study social conditions, to collect information which may be used to bring better conditions. Private philanthropy has led the way in social research in Chicago; has shown the need of it, and has shown that it should be a public function.

Bureau of Information

During the past year the Bureau of Information was established as an activity of the Department of Public Welfare in order to meet in a constructive manner the constantly increasing demand upon it for general relief, medical attention, legal advice, institutional care, etc.

The first function of the Bureau has been to inquire into the nature of the troubles or complaints presented and to refer the complainant to the agency or individual appropriate to his need, since it is not within the power of the Department itself, as legally constituted, to give material relief.

As demands upon the Department have grown there has been increasingly forced upon its attention the need for a branch in its organization which shall act in a thoroughgoing way as a general clearing house of information on all matters connected with municipal affairs. At the present, time and energy are lost every day by many people in search for information pertaining to phases of the multiplicity of activities engaging our city.

The Bureau of Information is only in its experimental stages as yet, but some of its possibilities for service are clearly seen. The following activities are already occupying its attention in addition to the one which has been mentioned:

1. Keeping a social service directory of all the public and private social service agencies and institutions in the city of Chicago. The first directory has already been published and presented to the public. A card index of additions and changes is being carefully kept which will make possible revised editions of the directory from time to time.

2. Collection and filing of copies of the latest reports of all charitable and correctional public agencies of the city, county and state, as well as current reports of the various private agencies of the city.

3. Collection of all social surveys and investigations which have been made in the United States in general which are of noteworthy importance.

4. Collection of all social surveys and investigations possible to secure bearing on Chicago in particular.

5. Listing of all surveys, studies and investigations relative to Chicago which are proposed or which are in progress under the direction of various agencies or individuals.

6. The arrangement of the assembled materials which have been indicated in the preceding paragraphs in such a way that they may be conveniently used by the general public.

Doubtless other possibilities for this Bureau will emerge as its usefulness grows and as new demands are made upon it.

Beginning in August the Department of Public Welfare will issue a monthly Bulletin. This Bulletin will be published for the purpose of keeping the municipal authorities, the social workers of Chicago, and those citizens interested in research work in close touch with the activities and purposes of the Department of Public Welfare.

THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

James M. Ford, Investigator, Research Bureau

This institution, already familiar to many of you, is a pioneer in the movement of unifying and making a part of one system all of those municipal activities which attempt to ameliorate distress, prevent injustice, improve the environment, or administer treatment to delinquent persons. All functions of the Board of Public Welfare are carried on in some fashion in many other places. While it is true that some of these functions are still carried on in Kansas City on a much larger scale than elsewhere, it is also worthy of special mention that a few other cities are now operating some particular division of their Welfare Department under a much more effective ordinance than ours.

Perhaps I can clarify some hazy or mistaken ideas. The Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri, is altogether municipal, but is not organically connected with the police department as in some cities; nor does it include the work of public health as is true in St. Louis, St. Joseph and Dayton. We are not connected with the juvenile court, which is a county institution. Also we are not the main agency which administers outdoor relief.

Almost twice as much money, as is expended for all other pubic and private charitable enterprises, is paid out annually for the relief of the sick poor by the city health department. The Hospital and Health Board maintains the General Hospital,

the Contagious Hospital, the Colored Hospital and the Tuberculosis Hospital, the average combined attendance being in the neighborhood of 500 persons. The services of city physicians are provided for the sick poor in their homes.

The work of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare aside from the General Office is divided into ten departments: (1) The Municipal Farm (for delinquent men); (2) the Women's Reformatory; (3) the Parole Department; (4) the Free Legal Aid Bureau; (5) the Department of Factory Inspection and Labor Statistics; (6) the Research Bureau; (7) the Department of Censorship and Recreation; (8) the Welfare Loan Agency; (9) the Department for the Homeless and Unemployed (including the Municipal Rock Quarry); and, (10) the School of Social Service.

The Women's Reformatory, the Municipal Farm and the Parole Department were historically first and, taken together, constitute our correctional system. To our Women's Reformatory are committed all delinquent women convicted in the Municipal Court whose fines are not paid. The usual attendance is about fifty. The average amount of time served by the women is a little less than the proverbial "thirty days." These women are regarded as patients who need treatment, but the period of incarceration is usually far too short to admit of much treatment. An effort is made in the short time to provide wholesome recreation, to build them up physically, guide them into some legitimate interests, and train them to earn a proper livelihood. A new Women's Reformatory is soon to be constructed in the country. In the new institution it will be possible to segregate more effectively the first offenders from those of the recidivist type.

Delinquent men are committed on non-payment of fines to our Municipal Farm where they are provided with plenty of outdoor work under healthful circumstances. An average attendance during the past year of about 200 men is conspicuously less than the average attendance of the two previous years. The prisoners are employed in stock raising, gardening, road building, quarrying, and various kinds of building construction work. Others are employed in the blacksmith trade, shoe making, tailoring, and baking. At present much of the work of the prisoners goes for permanent improvements. Dozens of men have been voluntarily committed to the municipal farm for the purpose of taking the drug or liquor cure.

Our Parole Department of nine workers is maintained to exercise a degree of guardianship or supervisory restraint over three or four hundred persons who are always on parole. Paroled men in the year 1914-15 earned nearly $190,000.00. That year about

$13,600.00 was paid through the Parole Department by non-supporting husbands for the use of their families. Seventy-six per cent. (76%) of all paroled men "made good" on parole. The percentage of paroled women who made good was not so large. All applications for a parole are passed on by a Parole Board consisting of Board of Public Welfare members and workers.

Our Department of Recreation, having supervision of all public dances, skating rinks and penny arcades, is now operating under a very satisfactory ordinance. This department, clothed with the authority of issuing or withholding all licenses for the operation of public dances or skating rinks, is able thereby to compel the management of each hall to maintain a high standard of conduct. It is the present practice to issue licenses for a period of two weeks only. The city of Dallas has gone a big step beyond Kansas City. Their ordinance also gives the recreation department supervision of the pool halls.

Of course, the greatest commercial amusement is the moving picture film. Kansas City had, I believe, the second official censorship of films. To date, our censors have condemned about 65,000 feet of film as unfit for exhibition. Something like 13,000 feet of objectionable "cut outs" are now in our office. The policy of our local department is to censor films mostly from the standpoint of the child. In the near future this department is to be so enlarged, with equipment and workers, that all films coming to Kansas City will pass in review before our censors before they are released. All "cut outs" which are ordered will be made at our office.

Kansas City, Missouri, is one of the few cities which has a municipal free legal aid bureau. In the year 1914-15 6,252 new applications for legal assistance were filed, 2,494 of which were claims for wages. During that year $7,706.00 was collected without any charge whatever to the clients. Many cases involved settlements for damages of one kind or another. This department furnishes funds for filing meritorious suits in the justice or civil courts. Also, considerable money has been spent in apprehending wife and child deserters. Loan Sharks formerly flourished in Kansas City. Our Legal Aid Bureau is responsible for much of the lessening of this evil.

All women and children who become stranded in Kansas City can receive free meals and lodging at city expense until they can find employment or be transported to relatives, or until they are otherwise permanently cared for. All homeless able-bodied men who apply for assistance are given an opportunity to earn meals and lodging by breaking rock or such work as they can do. All

disabled men are given free meals and lodging until they become able to work. In the case of those who are aged or otherwise chronically disabled, all possible efforts are made to get them permanently disposed of as soon as possible. The Kansas City Provident Association furnishes all transportation funds and conducts the necessary investigation of the applicant's resources.

In connection with this department we operate our Municipal Rock Quarry, which gives daily employment during the winter to between 60 and 150 men. Until recently the city operated an employment bureau for those least able to secure employment for themselves. About 30,000 jobs (most of them temporary) were furnished during the year 1914-15. That bureau is now operated by the Helping Hand Institute. Our employment bureau for women is also a safeguard against distress.

The Department of Factory Inspection is charged with the function of enforcing all state and municipal regulations regarding conditions under which industrial workers are employed. Aside from the regular inspections and the securing of hundreds of specific improvements such as safety devices, blower systems, better ventilation, etc., the department has secured the installation of a number of washrooms, shower baths, rest rooms and drinking fountains all more complete than the ordinance requires. An educational campaign has been carried on, (1) by means of thousands of posters; (2) by organizing parties of shop foremen to visit our safety exhibit; and (3) by organizing safety committees in several larger plants. This department has given particular attention this year to the enforcement of the nine-hour law for women. A few important surveys have been made and published by this department, including a "Survey of Working Children in Kansas City" and "Wage-earning Women in Kansas City."

The Research Bureau of the Board of Public Welfare is the municipal agency for gathering data in regard to social conditions, not alone that we may know what are the actual facts, but that from time to time we may test the efficiency with which existing agencies (including our own) are really bettering social conditions. A recent invesigation was made by the Research Bureau into the cost of Workingmen's Houses. A number of smaller surveys have been made from time to time at the request of some other agency. The Research Bureau spent much time promoting social center meetings in the public schools. This work was later taken up by the parent-teacher association of each district.

The Research Bureau officially endorses such private charitable enterprises as conduct their work according to generally accepted standards. At present we cannot abolish inefficient charities, but the Bureau stands ready to give information as to the standing of the soliciting organizations to any prospective donor who inquires.

The Kansas City School of Social Service, under the auspices of the Board, is just completing its third year. Six lectures each week, besides considerable field work under competent direction for a period of two years constitutes the course. The courses offered are very similar to the courses offered in the New York, Boston, Chicago and St. Louis schools for training social workers.

The Welfare Loan Agency, though managed by private capital, is under the auspices of the Welfare Board. During the past year over $100,000.00 has been outstanding in thousands of small loans on furniture or jewelry, at the rate of one and one-half and two per cent. per month. A small profit is realized on the capital loaned, but all profits are turned back into other charitable channels.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD OF ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI

W. A. Crossland, Executive Secretary

St. Joseph's experience in charitable work has been much the same as that of other cities. In the olden days the mayor was the only source of public relief. He was the friend of the poor, both worthy and unworthy. The fund was dispended with no investigation, with no attempt at constructive work; it was simply a beans-and-bacon bureau. It was a most admirable way of gaining the patronage and good will of the poor. The politicians thought that the plan was the best ever devised. This fund may not have been flagrantly misappropriated, but it must have been of some value or the politicians would not have protested so bitterly when the relief fund was divorced from politics.

Later the relief bureau was transferred from the mayor to a Charity Board composed of citizens appointed by the mayor and the county court. This was a step toward reform, for it removed the relief fund farther away from political influence. An overseer was appointed who dispensed the relief. The fund was still a beans-and-bacon bureau, with no investigation of applicants, no constructive work. The pension system grew up and a comparatively few dependents received most of the aid. Dependency

was often encouraged by continuous relief. These conditions obtained until three years ago, when public spirited citizens determined to change the old order.

The Welfare Board

Social experts were employed to make a survey of public charitable work. A bill was drafted, introduced into the legislature and passed, creating the Social Welfare Board of the City of St. Joseph, Missouri. The Welfare Board is not a municipal board; it can be altered or amended only by an act of the state legislature.

The law says that all public charitable work must be centralized in the Board. It is illegal for either city or county to expend funds for charitable purposes within the city limits, independent of the Board. The Welfare Board is empowered to care for all the sick poor and the well poor in the city, with the exception of those suffering with infectious and contagious diseases. The excepted dependents are under the authority of the Board of Health. Now instead of three sources of relief, there is but one source. It can be readily seen what such centralization means in attacking the problems of poverty.

The law goes farther and gives the Welfare Board the power to inaugurate any new work that will improve the living conditions of the dependent and near-dependent classes. This means that any sort of social service may be attempted. The Welfare Board is composed of six appointed members, the mayor and presiding judge of the county court. The appointed members serve without compensation and their terms are for three years. The city and county each appoint a member every year. The income of the Welfare Board is provided by the common council and the county court. The Board has exclusive power over the funds appropriated for its use; it hires and dismisses all social workers, physicians, and employes. Plainly the provisions of the law are broad; and real welfare work under the leadership of trained workers is possible.

Every law has its defects. There are two in this law worthy of mention: only appointed members should compose the Board; there should be provision for an adequate income. The Board presents its requisitions to the authorities, but cannot compel their acceptance.

Early History

The Welfare Board began its work in June, 1913. It has been in existence two years and nine months. For the first nine months the problems before the Board were enormous. It was

provided with no settled income and was itself an object of charity. It had to assume all relief work, inaugurate new work, without the services of trained workers. During the first year a trained executive secretary was secured and welfare work inaugurated. The year that has just closed showed that these departments of work were extended and still others organized. The income of the Board is steadily increasing. There was no settled income during the first nine months. The second year the Board received eighteen thousand dollars, and the past year twenty-two thousand dollars. Under the old system at least thirty thousand dollars was spent annually in temporary relief. The Welfare Board is asking for this amount for the furtherance of real welfare work.

To give the reader an idea of the scope of the work, the following comparison is here presented. Note the many new departments inaugurated by the Welfare Board.

1. THE WELL POOR.

Welfare Board	Former System.
Investigation Bureau	.....
Registration Bureau	.....
Department of Records	.....
Employment Bureau	.....
Legal Aid Bureau	.....
Clothing Department	.....
Wood Yard	.....
Homeless Men Department	.....
Welfare Board Farms	.....
Relief Department	Relief Department
Volunteer Service	.....
Donations	.....
Burial Department	Burial Department

2. THE SICK POOR.

Home Medical Service	Home Medical Service
Dispensary Service	Dispensary Service
Visiting Nurse Service	.....
Obstetric Service	.....
Hospital Service	Hospital Service
Hospital Social Service	.....

Results: Well Poor

The Investigation Department made 5,153 visits and interviews with the poor during the past year. There is one paid investigator and four volunteers.

The Registration Bureau has a total of 5,146 registrations; this is approximately six per cent of the population of the city. The Department's 3,000 social histories contain a wealth of valuable information.

The Relief Bureau expended $5,559.86 after adequate investigation of applicants had been made. Approximately 15.8 per cent of the aid granted was earned by the poor. Fifty per cent of the relief was given out during the months of December, January, February and March.

The Clothing Department distributed 6,116 garments valued at $2,289.11. During "Bundle Day" last fall, the Board secured several thousand garments.

The Legal Aid Bureau furnishes free legal aid service to the poor. Since its organization, the department has handled thirty cases.

Through the Employment Department the poor earned $9,354.39. This was the amount actually paid to the poor by employers. The poor earned almost twice as much as the total amount of material relief. The majority of these people would have found it necessary to ask for help had not employment been found. They were rescued from the abyss of poverty by constructive social service.

Through the generosity of the C. B. & Q. Railroad, the Welfare Board was able to maintain a woodyard for the unemployed. Twenty cars of discarded shop wood and railroad ties were distributed to the Board with the understanding that the wood would be distributed free to the deserving poor. Four hundred and sixty loads of wood, valued at $920.00, were given to the deserving poor. Workers were paid out of the relief fund.

The Welfare Board is farming two tracts of land this spring. Potatoes, beans, onions, turnips, and other winter vegetables have been planted. Applicants in need of relief are doing the work. Farm work will be a summer work test as wood-sawing has been a winter work test.

The Research Bureau has made three studies since its organization. They are: "Study of Five Hundred Homeless Men;" Causes of Poverty;" "Conditions of Personal Hygiene Among the Poor."

Increasing interest in welfare work has been shown by citizens. During the past year six have volunteered their services gratis. They made 393 visits to the homes of the poor. Volunteer service under the direction of trained workers has in it an appeal to those who wish to give a part of their time to social service.

The Playground Committee, composed of a joint committee from the Welfare Board and Commerce Club, secured an appropriation of $2,000.00 from the Common Council for the public playgrounds. Four playgrounds were maintained with an attend-

ance of 2,000 different children. The Grammar School Base Ball League was organized. Seven directors were employed to supervize the grounds. The committee is asking for an appropriation of $3,000.00 for this summer. In all probability six playgrounds will be maintained.

The Welfare Board buries the dead. Last year there were 92 pauper burials in the city cemetery. The Welfare Board intends to plot the ground and beautify the cemetery, so that the poor man who has no money to pay for burial will not feel that he or his relatives will be buried in a neglected potter's field. In time St. Joseph will have the best planned city cemetery in the West.

The law creating the Welfare Board gives it power to act as a disbursing agency for generous citizens who wish to relieve the poor. Last year the Welfare Board received from various sources, gifts of cash, fuel, food and clothing, amounting to $1,924.00. Citizens are willing to give if they know that their donations will be rightly expended.

The Sick Poor

The care of the sick poor with the exception of those suffering with infectious and contagious diseases, prisoners, the insane, and county farm inmates, is exclusively vested in the Welfare Board. This branch of the Board's work is more important than the care of the well poor but is less appreciated and less known. The Board must care for approximately 4,000 people who at some time during the year are afflicted with anything from a slight cold to hernia, pneumonia, or cancer. The physical welfare of these wards is of paramount importance. Nothing less than a complete medical service promptly administered and adequately financed, is the goal towards which the Board is striving.

The Family Physician renders professional service to the sick poor in their homes. The prescriptions are filled at the nearest drug store and the Welfare Board pays the bill. The Board maintains a twenty-four hour medical service. Last year the Family Physician made 1,570 visits to the homes of the poor. At the dispensary the Family Physician gives professional attention daily. Last year he rendered 935 services. The need is for a new dispensary, fully equipped. Thirty-seven per cent of all home medical services is rendered at the dispensary.

The Visiting Nurse Association have continued to care for the sick poor under the supervision of the Welfare Board. The community owes a debt of gratitude for the generous service per-

formed by this agency. Last year 679 visits were made to 208 Welfare Board patients. The Welfare Board grants expert obstetric service to expectant mothers. Whenever possible they are taken to the hospital for confinement. If they refuse hospital care, the best service possible in their homes is rendered. Prenatal and post-natal care are rendered by the Visiting Nurse Association.

The Welfare Board has greatly improved its hospital service by classifying the patients and specializing medical service. Patients are classified under the following heads: medical, obstetrical, eye, ear, nose, and throat. The Welfare Board is considering further staffing of the hospital service. The Family Physician admits and dismisses all hospital patients. He is superintendent of medical service in and out of the hospital.

In the hospital, patients are given food, shelter, clothing, nursing care, medical and surgical attention. Patients are cared for in a private hospital. Last year there were 422 hospital patients. Of this number, 122 were private cases. There were 14 births and 3 deaths. The total amount of the hospital bill for the year was $7,916.10.

Social work with hospital patients is undertaken to supplement the work of medical service. The social worker and the physician must work hand in hand to restore a patient to health and independence. This department secures social histories of patients, confers with relatives and friends, cares for families while in the hospital, affords them convalescent care, secures employment and grants material aid and personal service. The valuable results of social service must be conserved and the social worker must do it.

Supplementary Assistance Volunteered

Much valuable work performed by the Welfare Board cannot be measured in dollars and cents. The results are in the lives of the poor who have been put on a self-supporting basis. However, the following social service can be computed. Through trained workers, constructive methods, adequate records, and intelligent investigation, the Welfare Board rendered $15,226.49 in service which the poor did not receive under the old system.

Cash paid to employment applicants	$ 9,353.79
Clothing distributed to the poor	2,289.11
Wood distributed to the poor	920.00
Cash donations	134.72
Miscellaneous collections from wards	594.87
Donations of food and fuel by citizens and organizations	1,924.00
	$15,216.49

Our Welfare Board has passed the experimental stage. The politicians admit that the Board has come to stay. You would arouse a storm of indignation by submitting a proposal to repeal the law. It stands as a memorial to those who fathered the movement, and demonstrates that a public board can really do constructive and preventive work for the poor of the community.

MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE PROPOSED NEW CHARTER OF GRAND RAPIDS

Evelyn Gail Gardiner, Executive Secretary, Social Welfare Association, Grand Rapids, Michigan

In representing Grand Rapids in this discussion of municipalizing social service I cannot contribute anything from experience. We in Grand Rapids have only a dream which we are struggling to convert into material form. We are trying to infuse life blood into dry provisions of law, and embody a vision in the charter of a city. This vision is nothing less familiar than the vision which leads you all, the belief that poverty is preventable; that it is not the inevitable condition of a class, but a by-product of social and industrial mis-management; and further, we are establishing in our charter the principle that preventive programs and constructive social service are community functions.

Grand Rapids, which is a city of 130,000 population, will, next August, vote on a new charter which has just left the hands of the charter revision committee.* This charter provides a commission form of government with a city manager, supervising, through directors appointed by him, the three main departments of public service, public safety and public welfare.

In the section covering the department of public welfare, the new tendency toward the transfer of constructive philanthropy from private to public auspices is crystallized into public policy. The department of public welfare, covering health, recreation and the care of the poor, establishes constructive social service as a municipal function. This section met decided opposition from members of the charter revision commission, and was keenly debated, but was adopted by a vote of 13 to 2 without alteration, except in phraseology.

In general, our charter closely follows that of Dayton, not only in the plan of commission government plus city manager,

*The charter was subsequently adopted.—Ed.

but in the *general* outline of this department of public welfare; but I wish to call your attention to two points in which we claim that it excels the Dayton charter or any other city charter we know of. In the first place, we have incorporated into this proposed charter of our city a few brief clauses stating as definitely as we could the standards of constructive social service. In the second place, we have safeguarded the administration of social service by stipulating the type of worker who may be employed on the staff. In neither of these two points have we gone as far as we desired, but we have gone as far as the limitations of the charter form will permit, by which I mean, of course, that in a charter, as in other forms of basic law or fundamental framework of government, it is not advisable or proper to destroy elasticity by too much detail.

Let me quote three paragraphs of the charter:

> By any means made available pursuant to this section, the Director of Public Welfare shall cause to be made careful, kindly and thorough investigation of the circumstances of all applicants for aid and all poor persons brought to his attention, and of the causes for their distress. If such investigation shall show that a resident of the city is unable through his own efforts or the assistance of those legally liable for his support, or through other natural sources of aid, to procure such sustenance as his well being and the good of society require, the director of public welfare shall cause to be made such provision for such person as may be necessary and shall in each case attempt, through approved methods of social service, to restore the dependent to self support and to maintain at least a minimum standard of living which will secure physical, mental and moral well being.

In this paragraph it is made plain that the investigation of applicants for aid shall be an examination not only of the circumstances of the applicants, but also of the causes of their distress. That the attempt shall be made to procure assistance for applicants who are unable to help themselves, not only from those legally liable for their support, but also from other natural sources of aid, such as relatives, churches, lodges, etc. It is made plain that if this attempt to secure aid from natural sources fails to procure such sustenance as "the well-being of the applicant and the good of society require," *such* provision shall be made as is necessary to maintain at least the minimum standard of living which will secure physical, mental and moral well-being; and further, that the attempt shall be made, through the approved methods of social service, to restore the dependent to self-support.

Of course, not a word of that is new to any of you. These are the threadbare phrases of modern C. O. S. work, but they are new, brand new, in this relationship. I mean, as an explicit

charter declaration of municipal policy and official duty. So far as I know there is not a city charter in the country which, in providing for the care of the poor, even remotely mentions these standards of modern philanthropy. The inclusion of a definite statement of these standards in the charter is important for this reason: The poor departments of the various cities of this country, which we are all only too ready to condemn for inefficient, superficial work and the use of long-discarded methods have been operating on the basis of an antiquated idea of charity. The legislatures of sixty or more years ago, that framed the laws under which they operate, knew nothing better, had no opportunity to know anything better, than the old type of relief giving, the petty dole of material relief which would keep the wolf from the door. It is quite true, I admit, that old laws can be stretched, that new interpretations of the functions defined in a charter will admit of the establishment of new ideals without definite revision of charters or of statutes. However, I believe there is a decided value, too important to be ignored, in defining, in the basic law of our cities, in *terms* of *these new ideals*, the legal duty of officials.

As to the type of officials and employes required, the charter states:

> The city commission may provide for the creation of a social service staff under the Director of Public Welfare to conduct and perform the investigations and other social service work of his department, and to consist of a Supervisor of Social Service and one or more workers chosen for their special fitness and training, provided, that such supervisor shall be a person who has attained a standard of training represented by having completed a University course in Social Economy or the prescribed course of a reputable school of Social Economy or the equivalent of either in private study and actual social work, and provided further, that until such time as the City Commission shall make adequate provision for such staff out of the funds of the city, the Director of Public Welfare may utilize, in lieu thereof, and under his direction, but without cost to the city, the services of any available trained social workers of good repute in the city.

The clause providing this staff is made permissive, rather than mandatory, but there is only one alternative open to the city if it does not supply a staff of the required type: that is, to utilize the services without cost of such trained social workers as may be available in the city. The presumption is that the staff of the Social Welfare Association, the name given in Grand Rapids to the charity organization society, would be used in this case. The alternative is definitely limited by the first sentence of the preceding paragraph, *"By any means made available pursuant to this section,"* investigations shall be made, etc. The

purpose of this alternative is to avoid the danger of an evasion of the requirements as to the staff, and to meet the excuse that sufficient funds for the employment of a staff of trained social workers were unobtainable. Until funds are forthcoming, until the taxpayers are willing to support efficient social service, an arrangement may be made with the Social Welfare Association or other agency by which social service will be maintained for the city free of charge, and relief administered to the poor from the city treasury. We do not consider this an ideal arrangement, but it may be an appropriate intermediate step.

A further safeguard as to the type of workers to be employed is provided, we believe, in the very fact of city manager government. The contention of those who believe in this form of government, is, as you know, that the city manager, not being an elective officer, but being appointed by the commission, will be presumably a highly paid expert, and in turn will presumably appoint experts rather than political henchmen as heads of departments, since his reputation and tenure of office will depend upon the character of administration he provides. The experiment of the city manager-commission form of government is too new to afford proof as to whether the contention is justified, but at least it would seem to promise more efficiency than the old form.

The charter further provides that

> the Director of Public Welfare may, with the approval of the City Commission, from time to time deal specifically with any particular problems relating to questions of health and poverty, such as sanitation, housing, child labor, child hygiene, unemployment, provident loans and legal aid, and carry on such other work as may tend to promote the physical, moral or social welfare of the inhabitants of the city.

It may perhaps interest you to know that this step of transferring constructive philanthropy to the municipality was initiated, and in fact this section of the charter was written, by the Social Welfare Association. And you may be interested to hear an explanation of our attitude in the matter. We do not ignore the historic objections to public poor relief or the undoubted evils which have generally accompanied this system, but we believe that these evils may be avoided if adequate safeguards can be employed and we are convinced that the care of the poor and prevention of poverty are logically community functions.

This brings me to the mooted question which has been a vortex of debate in this section of the conference. In the time allotted me I cannot rehearse the arguments in detail, but to summarize them briefly: The arguments in favor of public

administration of social service involve chiefly three points; that since the causes of poverty are largely social, society or the community should assume the function and bear the burden of cure and prevention, and that it is more consistent with democratic principles that the poor should seek assistance from the city government than from philanthropy supported by the rich. These two points are theoretical, but fundamental. The third point is practical, the argument that a service which depends for its financial support on voluntary contributions is necessarily inadequate.

The opponents of this policy seem to confine themselves to arguments which are wholly practical. I do not think I have heard one argument denying the theoretical justice of the proposition. The opponents point to the evils and abuses of public poor relief throughout its history: the inefficiency of officials, the waste and misuse of funds and the harsh treatment of applicants—all *administrative* evils. They do not prove to us that these evils are inherent in public administration, or that they are insurmountable.

The failures they cite of public administration are the failures of the old type, material relief, not of social service under public administration; and, of course, we must acknowledge that that antiquated form of charity was nearly as disastrous under private as under public auspices. The chief point here lies in the accusation that the public department did not develop social service as the private agencies did, a fact which only bears out the theory that experimental or pioneer work is better conducted under private auspices, and this brings me to another point.

If we grant, for a moment, that social service is logically a community function, and that with sufficient safeguards efficiency may be procured in public administration, must we then believe that this great charity organization movement has been developing along the wrong track? On the contrary, in developing the standards and the technique of constructive social service, in establishing the ideal that such service involves not only sympathetic care and rehabilitation of the poor, but the scientific study of causes of poverty and the development of preventive programs, the C. O. S. movement has been most consistently following the principle above referred to, that it is particularly the function of private philanthropy to pioneer in new fields, develop methods, establish standards and then turn over this accepted and matured regime to public authority and support.

But to return to the chief objection to the project, this dread of transferring the functions of organized charity to the munici-

pality—the fear of inefficiency. Analyze this dread, what is it that we distrust? It is nothing less grave than the dread that democratic government cannot be made efficient, that mismanagement and corruption are inherent in democracy. Are we ready to acknowledge that fear? I hope not. We must confess, no doubt, that democratic government is not yet a glowing success, but democracy is still in the experimental stage. Surely it is too early in the game to give up and accept failure.

Well, then, if we sincerely believe in democracy, why should we hedge when it affects something we care about? In this question of the transfer of social service to the municipality the easiest way, of course, is to yield to this dread of inefficiency and to continue indefinitely to substitute good private service for bad public service; private philanthropy for community obligation and public duty. But why take the easiest way? Why not accept the more difficult and the more logical task, and by devoting our energies to *making* public administration efficient, develop our democratic theories into democratic practice. Place the responsibility for the care of the poor and the prevention of poverty—for the reparation of community mistakes and of social mal-adjustments—where it belongs; but our responsibility does not end there. We must go over with it. Why shouldn't the social workers become public servants in every sense of the word? Not, of course, with the purpose, it is needless to say, of saving our jobs; there is no social worker worthy of the name who would not unhesitatingly sacrifice his position and his salary for the good of the cause; but simply with the motive of preserving the standards we have reared and of contributing such efficiency as we have attained; contributing our equipment, our ideals and our devotion to our cause.

It is a difficult program; but not impossible. It is the only program consistent with true democracy.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF CHARITY IN DENVER

Gertrude Vaile, Executive Secretary, Bureau of Charity and Correction of Denver

The work of administering the public charities of Denver is placed in the hands of a Commission of Charity and Correction consisting of five non-salaried members with an executive secretary. There are six divisions of the work, the poor farm, the

municipal lodging house, the woodyard, the detention home, the mothers' compensation and the outdoor relief. The medical charities do not come under the Department of Charities, but that of Health. I will speak only of the mothers' compensation and outdoor relief.

The mothers' compensation work is carried on by the Department of Charities jointly with the Juvenile Court. According to the Colorado law the state itself has no part in the administration of the funds for this work. It simply empowers the counties to do it. The funds are appropriated by the counties to the county authorities in charge of poor relief to be paid out by them on order of the juvenile (or county) court. Thus both agencies are involved and duplication is inherent in the law. The relief authorities would certainly have full power to investigate regarding the expenditure of their funds, but the law says that "the Court shall appoint proper persons for the investigation, supervision," etc.

Under like conditions in Chicago when the Funds to Parents Act went into effect the county agent and the juvenile court both investigated, a very expensive proceeding and often cruelly hard upon the applicant. In Denver to avoid that difficulty the juvenile judge appointed the relief department to investigate on behalf of the court. The outdoor relief department accordingly makes the investigations and recommendations, the court decrees the allowance, and the outdoor relief department supervises the cases.

Our staff is too small to give the quality of supervision that we desire, but we try to see that the house is reasonably well-managed, that the children's school reports are satisfactory, that their health is looked after and their employment as they come to working age. We feel that this allowance to mothers has proved of great value and is accomplishing what the ordinary forms of relief could not accomplish as a preventive measure for the saving of mothers and children.

It is a recognition by the state that a mother of young children left without other resources than her own efforts, and with only the low earning capacity of the average unskilled woman, cannot in the nature of things be both father and mother at once. She cannot both support the children and care for them. In the effort to do both she will probably break down in one or the other and probably both. And so the state says in effect that, however plucky the mother may be in that effort, the sacrifice may be too great and she has a right to ask this aid for the better care of her children. Thus the mothers' pension can and does

come in in time to prevent catastrophe where ordinarily other relief comes in only after the break-down.

But this very fact that it is easier and more dignified to ask for a mothers' pension than for other forms of relief does also bring applications that never ought to come. We are realizing very keenly that a great instrument for good could become a great instrument for demoralization and an intolerable burden to the tax-payers unless the investigation is very careful and thorough, the supervision carried on with great wisdom and patience and constancy.

In the outdoor relief department Denver has been making a great effort to change the old archaic county agent office for doles of coal and groceries into a real department of social service along the lines of the charity organization society. We keep full individual case histories on which we may base consistent and developing plans of help. We have our weekly case conferences, made up of volunteers especially from churches and other organizations. We have our various committees and our friendly visitors.

Or perhaps I should say we have had all these things. What the future methods may be is all unknown. Even while this conference is meeting we have had a city election in Denver in which we have repealed commission government and established a new form of city administration. We have now an all-powerful Mayor, a Cabinet of four department managers appointed by him, and an elective Council of nine members having legislative but no administrative functions. Civil service has been swept away and all things rest in the will of the mayor. The newspapers from home are naming my probable successor. My chair may be occupied on my return and all we have worked for may go into the scrap basket. Yet I think it will not be so.

A year ago we had a city election. At that time the Department, I am sure, was saved by the backing of good people of the community who thought the thing we were trying to do was worth while.

That is the one thing I want to say, that the success or failure of the public administration of charity is bound to rest upon the backing of the good people of the community, and primarily upon the private charities themselves. It is the workers in the private charities who know how the work should be done. It is they presumably who care how it is done. It is they who have the power to get it done right. Where the public administration is poor I hold that it is in considerable part the fault of the private

charities who have not considered it worth while nor their duty to try to make it good. I am not referring to Denver (the public and private charities work well together there) nor to any other particular city but to the relation of public and private charities in general as it seems to me to exist over the country.

I realize that the private charities have been justified in their distrust of public relief. In the past it has not in general been well done. And considering the handicaps and the instability to which public administration of charity is yet subjected I would be slow to advocate rash extensions of public administration where it does not exist or the turning over of private work to public administration where the community sense of responsibility for public work is not well developed. Yet I do say that public administration of charitable work, including outdoor relief, does exist in most places and is going to increase. It is in accordance with social justice and the spirit of the times that it should increase. It seems to me that it is the duty of every good citizen, and especially of every one connected with the private administration of charity, to demand that the public work shall be good wherever it exists and to help to make it good. I am urging you of the private charities not to stand aloof from the public charities in distrust or indifference but to stay with them, and wherever you see a glimmer of right desire on the part of a public official hold the thought and help it to come true.

The big and interesting problems of public administration that lie before us are not of law, nor theory, nor organization, but of the spirit of the work, the winning of public recognition of its dignity and importance and the fine co-operation of public and private forces.

THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNITY

PROGRAM

Co-operative Credit, general session, p. 419.
Health Insurance, section meeting, p. 434.
Record-keeping, roundtable, p. 452.
Civic Effort in Small Communities, section meeting, p. 472.
Medical Facts for Social Workers, section meeting, p. 495.

Introductory Remarks by the Chairman of the Committee*

Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Member Board of Directors, Associated Charities of Boston

In listening to the speakers for the Committee on Family and Community this last week, I have been struck afresh with the force of an old truth, namely, that what we call "social vision"—which I take to be an imaginative pre-figuring of the results of any course of action as they may affect large numbers of people—is necessary to a worker in order that he may select the best practical methods in his everyday work. This vision or these ideals people do not as a rule disagree about. We are all pretty much at one as to ultimate aims. Where we disagree is on the methods of putting ideals into effect. Therefore it is fitting that a Conference such as this should turn its discussions principally upon methods. As a matter of fact, it usually takes more brains to devise effective methods of arriving at an end than it does to conceive that end in the first place. Nevertheless social vision is necessary. It is necessary not only as affording an irradiating idea to throw light along one's future course, but also as serving as a selective agent to guide the judgment in its decisions as to what elements are important and what are relatively trivial in any matter under consideration. To illustrate: we have had, this last week, a meeting on the record keeping of case work agencies. It is clear to me that the worker who has in mind as an ultimate purpose of records the supplying of material for research will do more effective work for the individual family than the one whose purpose begins and ends with family treatment. The former will be more thorough, more accurate, and moreover will find his "vision" a touchstone to make him keener to recognize facts that may be pertinent not only for research but quite as

*General session, Monday, May 15, 11:00 A. M.

much for treatment. I do not for a moment mean that any worker should collect facts about his families solely for statistical purposes. But if he has it in mind that his record will be used in studies of general conditions, his faculties will be quickened at every point in his treatment of a case.

Again, we have had a meeting on the correlation of civic effort in small communities,—towns or cities, that is, numbering from five to twenty-five thousand. Here, too, the worker who has it in mind that he will do his part to lead individualistic towns-people to a conception of their town, of their state, of their nation as a collective entity will come to wiser decisions even in the details of his management of playground, charity organization, public health work, etc., than will the worker who does not look beyond the establishing of a vigorous social agency. In other words, this larger social outlook, this forward sweep of the imagination leads to effective discriminating in the methods of practical every-day work.

The subject for the general session is "People's Banks," or co-operative credit. One purpose of these banks is to encourage thrift. If through this organized thrift many people of circumscribed lives may win by their own effort wider opportunities, and gain a business experience which is in part, at least, a training in the mutual obligations that must be observed by people who are closely associated, then this social aim will point the way to methods which will prove practical in inculcating thrift.

PEOPLE'S BANKS

Arthur H. Ham, Director, Division of Remedial Loans, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

Among the obstacles that lie in the path of the modern program for the improvement of social and living conditions in all the respects of health, efficiency, material welfare, recreation and intellectual advancement none looms larger than these: (a) the lack of thrift in American families, (b) the many forms of waste and exploitation surrounding the purchase of necessities, and (c) the lack of reasonable credit by means of which emergency needs may be met. In spite of its extravagant and wasteful methods of living the family usually manages to provide itself with the necessities of life and it is the call for extraordinary financial outlay, unforeseen and unprovided for that marks the beginning of the

fall of most families which claim the attention of the relief societies.

There is a time-honored delusion that thrift is represented by savings bank deposits and commentators of American unthrift are fond of comparing the $48 per capita average of savings bank deposits in the United States with the larger average of certain European countries. A writer in a popular magazine recently, to prove us a prodigal people, went so far as to move the decimal point one place to the left and credit us with a per capita average deposit of only $4.84. Such comparisons invariably fail to include the two billions and over of individual deposits held by trust companies and commercial banks and $1,300,000,000 deposited in the 6,600 building and loan associations throughout the country. They fail to take into account numerous other factors, such as the great sums invested in small securities. This is well illustrated by the steady decline in recent years of net deposits in the New York savings banks which is attributed by well-informed bankers not to decreased savings but to the growth of "investment intelligence" which has led many people who formerly deposited their savings to buy small participating mortgage certificates and good stocks and bonds issued in small denominations.

Though the average of savings deposits is not a real indictment of American thrift and foresight there is no lack of evidence of unthrift in the wasteful and uneconomic use of income by American families. Out of the weekly wage many a family can buy what it has to in the way of necessities but it cannot so apportion its expenditures as to permit buying in large quantities and so effect a saving. Cheap amusements, reading matter and such things are within its reach but the purchase of winter clothes or household equipment often presents as great a problem as the payment of hospital expenses.

The device employed by business to meet these conditions is the instalment agency from which the family may procure clothing, furniture, etc., and pay for it in small regular instalments out of income. Unfortunately this agency in unscrupulous hands has been used not only as a means of enticing people to purchase unnecessary articles but also to reap a profit far beyond a reasonable interest on deferred payments or proper compensation for risk involved in such credit transactions—thus becoming an important contributing cause of poverty and distress.

Credit is founded on confidence, i. e., the trust that the lender has in the reliability of the borrower and his ability to meet his obligation when due. Commerce depends on credit, production

cannot go on without it and there are times when the ability to obtain a loan is of the utmost advantage to a workingman. Banks are the machinery by which credit is converted into money but the workingman turns to the banks for temporary help only to find that their services are not available for him,—that confidence on which credit is based comes from a belief in the solvency and efficiency as well as the integrity of the borrower. Character, capability and capital are the tests on which banking credit depends and the needy wage earner, regardless of his unassailable honesty, sobriety, and industry, is insolvent and so cannot qualify. Some time ago the country was startled by the alleged statement of the late J. P. Morgan before a congressional committee that "Character is the basis of credit." He was not quoted quite correctly. What he said in answer to the question "Is not commercial credit based primarily on money or property?" was, "No, the first thing is character." He enunciated no new principle in banking. He merely neglected to say that the other co-essentials of credit are capability and capital.

The savings bank cannot loan to the wage earner because of legal restrictions limiting it to investment in approved bonds and real estate mortgages. The commercial bank will not loan to him because he cannot satisfy its requirements as to security and, besides, his loan is too small to bother with. Our vast array of savings institutions mobilizes the savings of the people, not for use by the classes that assisted in the accumulation, but by large commercial and industrial borrowers. They are "People's Banks" at the receiving teller's window but something else at the loans and discounts counter.

Overtaken by illness in his family or other emergency, facing the danger of losing an insurance policy through lapse in premium, of losing his equity in his home through arrearages in taxes or of losing his household goods through inability to meet the extortionate demands of the instalment shark, the workingman turns to the agency always advertising its readiness to come to the assistance of unfortunates—the professional money lender commonly referred to by those who know his characteristics as the "loan shark." From this good angel the needy man may obtain a loan on security of pledge or mortgage of his personal property, assignment of wages, or the endorsement of a friend, at an interest charge of from 100% per annum upwards and thereby begins a chain of transactions which, except in rare instances, leads to greatly increased distress and often to theft, family desertion and suicide.

Recognizing the need for and the legitimate uses of credit in

the economy of the wage earner and the parasitic character of the loan shark who fattens upon his need, there came into existence the remedial loan agency formed by public-spirited men not primarily for gain but for the purpose of demonstrating that the small loan business which has always been considered extra-hazardous is not in reality fraught with unusual risk when properly conducted and that under methods based on higher standards of business morality than the loan shark employs, the business can be successfully and profitably conducted at rates very much lower than those which have long prevailed. In this respect the remedial loan societies, from the great Provident Loan Society of New York to the chattel mortgage associations employing but a few thousands of capital, have been conspicuously successful. They have not sought to monopolize the small loan business but their competition has been sufficient to force professional money-lenders in a great many cities to reduce their charges to a reasonable level. Their influence has assisted in securing the passage of adequate legislation in a large number of states and their example has attracted reputable capital into the business, without thought of philanthropy, but in the belief that it offers a reasonably safe and profitable investment even when conducted within legitimate bounds.

Not a few money-lenders who strenuously opposed the passage of remedial legislation, having tasted the joys of conducting a legal business encouraged by the state and yielding a fair profit, have recently formed themselves into associations which are co-operating with state officials in detecting and convicting violators of these laws and are even employing attorneys to assist the authorities in upholding the constitutionality of the very laws they sought to defeat. This is one of the most gratifying and significant results of the remedial loan movement.

In spite of the great improvement that has taken place within the last few years in the conditions under which the small loan business is conducted, the fact remains that none of these agencies, philanthropic or otherwise, attempts to loan to the workingman at a charge approximating the rate on commercial loans even though some of the profit-making agencies in this field attempt to create such an impression. The very lowest charge made is 12% per annum and in the majority of cases the charge approximates 24% per annum. Even at this rate many such agencies find it is not easy to return a fair profit on the investment after operating costs have been met. The point should also be emphasized that none of these agencies finds it possible to loan on the sole security of the character of the borrower.

They insist that their estimate of his honesty and efficiency be backed up by guarantees in the form of material security or the endorsement of other individuals who appear to be solvent. The question is, can the honesty, trustworthiness, sobriety and industry of an individual serve as a sufficient guarantee for the repayment of a loan without material security or the endorsement of an employer or creditor and can credit be obtained by such a man on this basis at a rate of charge approximating that prevailing on commercial loans?

There is one type of institution and only one that can advance money to the working man on security of his honesty and industry and that is the institution which is so close to him as to be able to determine his reliability with fair accuracy—his character becomes the basis of credit only when it can be appraised. Such an appraisal involves an intimate knowledge of his personal habits and of his financial and domestic situation. No capitalistic agency can obtain this knowledge,—it is obtainable only by a man's immediate associates. In other words, character credit for workingmen can come only through mutual protective action by workingmen, that is, through co-operation.

Co-operation comes most easily to men in times of great difficulty. As the Rochdale pioneers united in a plan of distributive co-operation; as the German peasants, workmen and tradesmen united in co-operative credit associations as a means of obtaining credit which as individuals they could not obtain; as the peasants of Ireland united to free themselves from the Gombeen man, so also in this country are workingmen beginning to unite as a means of freeing themselves from the grip of agencies which exploit their necessities and as a means of obtaining credit on a reasonable basis which now they can obtain, if at all, only at a high price. This form of co-operation which is known in Germany as the Co-operative Credit Association, in Ireland as the Credit Society, in Italy and Canada as the People's Bank, is known in this country as the Credit Union.

The history of modern credit contains no more striking phenomenon than the wonderful development of the credit union in Europe in the last 50 years and its tardiness in developing here. The number of credit unions in existence throughout the world at the outbreak of the European war was more than 65,000 with a membership of 15,000,000 people and an annual business amounting to $7,000,000,000. The movement which originated in Germany in 1850 has now spread to practically every European country and even to India, Japan and Egypt. Russia, which in 1904 had 378 of these unions, now has 14,000. The number in

Germany in 1914 was over 18,000, making loans to members in one year of over $1,500,000,000. In 1909, when the first credit union law in the United States was enacted in Massachusetts, there were 40,000 unions operating abroad with an annual turnover of $4,000,000,000. Japan alone had nearly 2,000 unions in 1909 and the little country of Roumania had 2,500 unions with a membership of 350,000 or 35% of the total population of the country, but in that year there was not a single co-operative credit union, rural or urban, in the United States.

Now let us see just what a credit union is. It is an association of persons, united by some common bond or community of interest, joined together in a co-operative endeavor for the following purposes:

1. To encourage thrift by providing a safe, convenient and attractive medium for the investment of the savings of its members,

2. To promote industry, eliminate usury and increase the purchasing power of its members by enabling them to borrow for productive or other beneficial purposes at a reasonable cost,

3. To train its members in business methods and self-government and bring them to a full realization of the value of co-operation.

Under the law of New York—and this is typical of the credit union laws now in effect in eight states in the Union—seven or more persons may combine to organize a credit union in any city, town or rural community. The basis of membership is good moral character—reputation for honesty, sobriety and industry—and identification with the basic unit upon which the credit union is founded, such as employment, neighborhood or fraternal association, membership in the trade union, church club, etc. Dealings are had with members only.

The funds of the credit union consist of the sums paid in by members upon shares or on deposit and of borrowed money. Shares are issued in small denominations—usually $5—and may be paid for in regular weekly or monthly instalments. Each member is required to subscribe for at least one share and is encouraged to subscribe for as many shares as he can afford. Payments upon shares are savings for distant expenditures while deposits are savings for more imminent needs. It is customary to accept even trifling sums on deposit or in payment of shares in order to encourage saving among the humblest members. Interest is allowed on deposits at, or slightly above, the savings bank rate. Dividends paid upon shares vary. Most credit unions

that have attained full headway pay a dividend rate of from 4 to 6% per annum.

In an ordinary joint-stock company the shareholder's money is the main object considered but in a credit union the person of the shareholder is of much greater importance; that is, it is an association of members and not of capital, and for that reason each member has one vote regardless of the number of shares he may hold. The one-man one-vote principle is fundamental to democracy of control. All members share equally in privileges and ratably in profits.

The active management of the credit union is delegated by the general meeting of the members to a board of directors, a credit committee and a supervisory committee, the members of which serve without pay. The directors have the general management of the affairs of the union. They act upon applications for membership, determine the rate of interest upon loans and deposits, and declare dividends. The credit committee has charge of the granting of loans to members and fixes the terms of repayment. The supervisory committee audits the books and accounts and supervises the acts of the directors, officers and credit committee.

A loan that is of no benefit to the borrower is likely to be an unsafe investment. Credit unions, therefore, loan only for productive purposes, and purposes that will effect a saving or supply an urgent need. Loans are commonly made for not more than one year and are repaid in weekly or monthly instalments determined in each instance by the credit committee in conference with the borrower. Ordinarily, loans are secured by the promissory note of the borrower with one or more endorsements of fellow-members, but on small loans endorsements are not usually required. It is the character of the borrower and his endorsers, appraised by the board of directors when the members are admitted to the credit union and again appraised by the credit committee in passing upon applications for loans, that determines the amount of credit extended. The borrower's solvency which plays such a large part in commercial credit plays but a small part in the determination of credit by a credit union.

In a joint stock bank the shareholders and constituents are mostly different people—a condition which keeps distinct the interests of the buyers and sellers of credit. In a credit union the interests of borrowers and lenders are identical. The very members who pay interest on loans are receiving dividends on their shares. This community of interest enables the credit union to loan with safety upon character alone, for the moral

responsibility of repayment is great when a man knows that by violating his obligation he not only withholds the money of a fellow-worker or associate, but invites social ostracism. The mutual responsibility of members and their self-interest causes such supervision over loans as to make the possibility of loss remote. This has been the uniform experience. What few losses have occurred have been due to carelessness and neglect of basic principles. The official reports show that in the 16 years from 1895 to 1910 there were 19 failures out of a total of 15,000 credit unions in Germany and in no single case did a depositor lose a cent. For each one of these failures there were 55 failures among commercial banks.

The credit union avoids any expensive investigation of borrowers. Overhead costs are also reduced by gratuitous service on the part of managing committees and loans can be made at an interest rate which a commercial loaning agency in this field could never approach. The New York credit union law allows a maximum interest charge of 1% per month. In the beginning many credit unions charge the maximum rate but in practice both here and abroad the rate decreases as experience is gained until it approximates that prevailing on commercial loans.

Out of the net profits each year a certain sum usually fixed by the law is set aside to a guaranty fund which provides protection for shareholders, depositors and other creditors in event of loss. The fund is the property of the credit union and no share in it may be claimed by any member except upon the dissolution of the union. It serves as additional loanable capital, making possible a reduction of interest on loans without effecting a reduction in the interest rate paid on deposits or dividends declared upon shares.

The credit union came to the United States by way of Canada, where there are now over 200 credit unions or people's banks in successful operation in the Province of Quebec. The genesis of the Massachusetts credit union law of 1909, the first enacted here, was the successful work of these Canadian associations under the leadership of M. Alphonse Desjardins. There are now some 60 credit unions in operation in Massachusetts. A realization of the need for a central body to extend the system resulted in the organization of the Massachusetts Credit Union formed by a group of philanthropic men and now including in its membership the representatives of a number of the local credit unions. It seeks to secure harmony of action, methods and accounting and by arranging frequent conferences of officials and committees of unions throughout the state offers an opportunity for the inter-

change of ideas and experiences which is having a most beneficial effect upon the movement in Massachusetts.

Seventeen credit unions are operating in New York City under the law of 1915, in addition to eight unions formed by Jewish farmers. Among the credit unions in New York City are those formed by the employees of John Wanamaker, the Mutual Life Insurance Co., the Equitable Life Assurance Society, the American Can Co., and the Postal Telegraph Co. Others are operating in groups joined together by neighborhood and fraternal associations. Steps are being taken to organize a series of credit unions among the army of employees of the City of New York. This is testimony to the esteem in which this form of co-operative financial association has already come to be held.

Savings banks, postal savings offices and interest departments of trust companies receive and safeguard the deposits of people who are sufficiently inclined to thrift to journey to these institutions, which are not conveniently located for all, and there stand in line awaiting their turn to deposit. Many a man in order to become thrifty requires a savings agency at his elbow, which not only makes it convenient for him to deposit but introduces the effective element of compulsion contained in the insurance policy and instalment purchase contract. Once a man subscribes to an instalment share in a credit union he is not only constantly reminded of his intention to save but is required to live up to his agreement unless he has some excellent reason for not doing so. An indication of the possibilities of the credit union in enticing members to save is contained in the statement, in the last annual report of the Superintendent of Banks of New York, that a single credit union in one year's time had accumulated assets of $36,000. There is no doubt that the majority of the men who accumulated this amount of capital the savings banks had failed to reach.

Consider what it means to a workingman to be able to borrow from a credit union in order to buy for cash certain necessaries of life for which he has been accustomed to pay an unconscionable profit through buying on the instalment plan!

Consider the increased purchasing power of the wages of members joined together in a co-operative purchasing association, buying in large quantities at wholesale such supplies as coal, for example, for retail sale to members, the purchasing association being financed by the credit union! These are matters clearly within the scope of a credit union.

Consider the increased efficiency and improved material condition of the man who has been paying ruinous interest rates to

a loan shark for a long time and is able to free himself through the agency of the credit union!

Large numbers of men in the employ of the Postal Telegraph Co. had for years been paying tribute to the loan sharks, who were not only always on hand on pay day to collect their toll, which did not reduce the debt, but followed their victims who sought to escape by going to other cities, by filing claims against their wages, making their lives miserable and often bringing about their dismissal from the service. Many operators were driven to do things they never would have thought of doing had they been free from this curse and they became a roving, unstable kind of workmen. Afraid to walk in and out of the front doors of the offices they dodged through rear entrances, drew their faces into all sorts of shapes so that they could not be recognized,—even changed their names when asking for employment after being dismissed. With the idea of escape from their persecutors many telegraphers requested the trade journal—the *Telephone and Telegraph Age*—to keep out of its columns any references to their movements from place to place. These requests were filed and came to be known as the "Keep-Out List." According to the testimony of the general manager of the company this condition has been entirely changed through the agency of the credit union. The filing of a claim against a man's wages by a money-lender is now an unusual thing. The "Keep-Out List" no longer exists and many an operator who struggled for years with the loan shark now walks with head erect in the knowledge that he has a savings account in the credit union and the privilege of borrowing therefrom at a reasonable rate for any legitimate purpose. The benefit which the company has derived from this changed condition is apparent. What it means to the operator and his family in terms of increased earning power, contentment and improved living conditions is no less obvious.

Credit unions are simply associations by means of which men combine to establish local, self-governing institutions of credit to meet their requirements, relying on their own efforts and initiative to work out their own salvation. Their success depends upon the character of their members—not upon their financial condition but upon their personal worth. Each member must feel the necessity for the organization, that he is a part of it, that it is his, developed and managed to protect and promote his interests —a real financial democracy of mutual assistance and mutual confidence in which each member is forced to make of his own efforts, his own character and his own habits security worth lending upon. The credit union not only manufactures credit

out of the raw material of character but it also manufactures capital synthetically just as nitrate is being reclaimed from the air, making the capital so created available for the legitimate borrowing needs of those who assisted in its accumulation.

It is essentially a social movement which teaches the true uses of credit and inculcates the principles of honesty and punctuality in meeting obligations. It encourages thrift. It increases purchasing power. It eliminates usury and waste. It teaches the real power of co-operation.

CREDIT UNIONS, AN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY

George A. Flynn, Assistant Corporation Counsel of the City of Boston

My presence at this conference is most unexpected. On Friday evening last Mr. Philip Davis, who was assigned to address you to-day, requested me to substitute for him. I was very glad to accept as I have recently been instrumental in forming a credit union among the employes of the city of Boston, and have learned how much such an institution means to wage earners who are occasionally in need of funds and have no place to apply for a loan except to the money sharks.

We have for years been endeavoring to perfect our banking system which we are told is the foundation of the prosperity of the country, but until Massachusetts adopted a credit union law in 1909 nothing had been done to authorize the formation of co-operative societies along the lines of the Raiffeisen banks of Germany and the Luzzatti or People's Banks of Italy, which are conceded to be the backbone of the prosperity of the rural communities of Germany and Italy. Nearer home we have as an illustration of the efficiency of these institutions the great success of the People's banks of Canada which were introduced there by Alphonse Desjardins, who in 1900 founded the first bank in the town of Levis in the Province of Quebec, a small farming community of 7,000 people. Starting with a capital of less than thirty dollars, this bank has loaned over three quarters of a million dollars to its members without the loss of a cent. This practical system of furnishing co-operative credit to persons of small means was first brought to the attention of our community by a group of prominent Boston Jewish merchants, headed by Max Mitchell, Felix Vorenberg and Edward A. Filene. By their united

efforts a statute was enacted by our Legislature providing for the incorporation of these banks, safe-guarding their operation and placing them under the watchful supervision of the State Banking Department. At the present time these men are engaged in a campaign to raise the sum of $50,000 to be used in promoting the formation of these unions.

Since the enactment of this law in 1909 these gentlemen and their associates have given freely of their time and money in an endeavor to place the merits of this system before the country. That their efforts have been successful is shown by the passage of the Massachusetts Credit Union Law in seven states and by the fact that the Russell Sage Foundation, through its division of remedial loans, has taken up this movement as one of its principal works.

The Democratic national administration is pledged to the enactment of legislation that will provide co-operative credit for the farmers of the country. There are now before Congress several bills looking to the formation of rural credit banks. This great movement which is so rapidly attracting attention all over the country is directly attributable to the efforts of the founders of the Massachusetts Credit Union.

To Mayor Curley belongs the honor of forming the first credit union among municipal employes. It was organized at his suggestion and with his active and hearty support because he saw in it a practical means of assisting worthy city employes to obtain necessary loans in time of need. Our Credit Union is virtually a city employes' bank. Its deposits after less than six months' existence amount to over $7,500. This money has been carefully loaned at low rates to members who have satisfied the credit committee that there is a real need for the loan and that it will be properly used. Over fifty employes have been taken out of the grasp of the loan sharks. Several have been given loans to cover the cost of sickness, several to pay overdue taxes on their homes and to pay the cost of repairs, painting, etc., two or three to pay back rent when about to be evicted, and two to pay tuition for their children for commercial courses at a business college. One loan was granted where a man borrowed $100 from a money lender and lost it in gambling. He had paid $8.75 a month interest for two years and still owed the $100. We took up his loan and he is paying $9 a month to the Credit Union, and in a year will have canceled his debt.

These transactions have been conducted on a business basis. There has been no semblance of charity about them. This is, perhaps, the greatest feature of the credit union. It is built

upon the doctrine of *laissez faire*. It helps those who help themselves. It teaches the strength of co-operation. It proves the value of thrift and the folly of extravagance.

The work of the credit committee has been most instructive. Several cases were found where laboring men with four and five children were paying a third of their salary to money-lenders. The information that came to the officers of the union and was laid before the Mayor caused him to direct the prosecution of a complaint against two loan agents and their licenses were revoked. This investigation proved that our licensed loan agents, operating under a supposedly drastic law, were in fact extracting from 150 to 180 per cent from the unfortunate people who were obliged to deal with them. The investigation also showed that the loan agents were operating in every city of importance in the state and that their business was rapidly increasing. The welfare of the community demanded a correction of existing conditions. This could be accomplished only by a change in the law, which was not an easy task.

In examining the literature on this subject it was apparent that the Russell Sage Foundation through its director of the Division of Remedial Loans, Mr. Arthur H. Ham, had done more to control the activities of the loan sharks than any other institution or organization in the country, and we appealed to Mr. Ham for advice and assistance. It is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to thank the Russell Sage Foundation publicly for the great assistance which Mr. Ham rendered. We were also fortunate in getting Representative Rowley of Brookline, one of the prominent Republican members of the House, to petition for remedial legislation. We mustered our forces before the Legal Affairs Committee but without avail. The committee reported leave to withdraw on all the legislation, several members dissenting.

Then began a campaign of personal interviews, telephone messages and sending of circulars through the mail. We finally succeeded in having the House substitute our bill for the adverse report of the committee and the Senate concurred. This bill, which limits all interest and expense charges to an amount not exceeding the equivalent of 3 per cent a month on the amount actually received by the borrower, is now before the Governor for his signature. We understand he is to sign it today. This is one of the most constructive pieces of legislation passed this year.

It will prevent deceit and extortion. It provides a means to easily calculate the amount that can legally be charged. The

lenders can no longer juggle excessive and fictitious paper charges. Its enactment is very largely due to the hearty interest and support that the Mayor has given to the Credit Union and all the activities of which it has been the cause.

In connection with this legislation we found that it was essential to have the law regulating the assignment of future earnings changed. Several attempts had been made to change this law, beginning with the state-wide campaign waged in 1906 by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. This organization made a very careful investigation of the system of purchases on the installment plan and found that it was the cause of a great deal of suffering and poverty. They found that a very large percentage of the wage earners of the state were purchasing not only clothing, but jewelry and all kinds of unnecessary articles on the installment plan, in many instances at twice the cash price. In every case the purchase was secured by the assignment of the future wages of the purchaser. As a result of their investigation and the legislation which they requested the law was somewhat changed in 1906 so that the right to assign future wages was limited to a period of two years, the execution of an assignment of wages by a power of attorney was prohibited, and the form of the assignment was standardized.

Since 1906 the legislature has been appealed to every year to further restrict the right of a wage earner to assign his future wages. This year we succeeded in getting the legislature to enact a law exempting three-fourths of the earnings from assignment at all times and providing that no assignment by a married man should be valid without the assent in writing of his wife.

We have driven the loan agent out of the city hall. The public service is already better and it must be increasingly so as the men are freed from the grip of the sharks and realize that they will never have to go back to them again. The Credit Union stands ready to make necessary advances to the employes when they are needed. Some means must be provided by the employers of labor to protect their men in time of need. This can best be done by encouraging the formation of credit unions among their employes. It will make the men independent and thrifty. The employer will get better results from the men's labor because the spirit of co-operation and thrift will be abroad among the employes. I believe the City Employes' Credit Union is but the pioneer of many to be formed among the municipal employes in all the cities in the country.

HEALTH INSURANCE*

I. M. Rubinow, Ph. D., Executive Secretary, Social Insurance Committee, American Medical Association, New York

I confess that after talking nothing but social insurance for some ten or fifteen years and little but health insurance for the last two or three years, I cannot help getting wearied occasionally. I feel very much tempted to repeat what Professor Leiserson has stated in regard to the related problem of unemployment, "Why continue the discussion of problems that have been theoretically solved so far as they can be solved? We have economists today continuing the same analysis, government commissions recommending the same remedies, social workers and reformers representing the same facts, picturing the same evils and urging the same reforms and all the while very little of a permanent constructive and remedial nature is accomplished."[1] And yet that feeling rapidly passes when another request to speak on health insurance arrives and the fact is forcibly brought to bear upon me that even among people directly connected with social problems or groups professionally interested, the entire question is as yet but little interested. We cannot expect to, more than that, we should not endeavor to pass legislation of so broad a character before not only social workers, but the people at large, have been given ample opportunity to learn what it is all about, and the most significant fact of last year's progress is that the most diverse elements of the public show a real anxiety to learn.

At the risk, therefore, of repeating things with which some of you may be perfectly familiar, let me very briefly state the case for health insurance:

In the *New York Times* for December 12, 1915, you may have read the following story:

> Mrs. C. knows that she is going blind; she knows too, that in two or three months her husband will be able to earn money for his children again. She knows, for the doctor has told her, that it is this present overwork that is blinding her, but there is nothing else for her to do. Only three months at most holds little hope when there are four children and a sick husband to be kept from starvation, and the grim business of keeping them for that time means that the mother will never be able to see again. The doctor says that Mr. C., who has had pneumonia, will be able to work within three months. He says that the mother will go blind unless she stops work now. $150 would save her; she has not one cent.

[1] *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1916, "The Problem of Unemployment Today."

*Section meeting, Thursday, May 11, 9:15 A. M.

Here is a grave social problem. The story is not the invention of a sentimental "sob sister." It is vouched for by such a reliable authority as the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. It is not an isolated case; it was simply picked up at random as one of the first cases in the list of 100 which every year at the Christmas season reminds the people of New York that all is not quite well in this country of ours. How many similar cases there are throughout the country nobody knows.

We have spent millions of dollars in collecting statistics of hogs and hens and exports and mines, but we know next to nothing as to the volume of illness, or poverty created thereby. It is reasonable to assume, however, that those cases run into hundreds of thousands. According to the experience of the Leipzig Local Sick Insurance Fund some 43% of the wage-workers take sick throughout the year. We have in this country some forty million persons in gainful occupations and perhaps at least twenty-five to thirty million of them are wage-workers, so that if the Leipzig figures hold good here, we must have nearly ten million cases of sickness a year among wage-working men and women year in and year out. I think it is safe to assume that every case of disabling illness of a wage-working breadwinner which lasts over four weeks results in actual family distress. Again, applying to our Leipzig statistics, 25% of all cases of illness, do last over four weeks; that would mean that two and a half million families every year may be facing conditions similar to those that Mrs. C. was forced to face. Here is the social problem just as Mrs. C.'s difficulties were her individual problem. Is American society prepared to give a scientific answer? The time has gone by when social workers could plead that the method of voluntary charitable relief is either sufficient in amount or satisfactory in kind to solve the problem of two and a half million needy applicants.

Suppose for a moment that the C. family was living in monarchical Leipzig rather than democratic America: What has happened to this family is not an unusual catastrophe. It is a case of pneumonia, one of the most frequent diseases under modern conditions of life. The Leipzig sickness insurance fund would have furnished Mr. C. with all the necessary medical and hospital attendance and thus prevented the exhaustion of any possible savings that the family might have had at the beginning of his illness. It would have given the attendance of an ordinary family physician and a specialist if the services of one were necessary. It would have kept him in the hospital as long as

hospital treatment was needed and sent him to a home for convalescents to regain his physical strength. It would have supported his family during all that time up to thirty-two weeks. In short, the city of Leipzig—and for that matter the entire country of Germany—has worked out a scientific answer to the economic problems of illness in wage-working families, and the answer is compulsory health insurance. Nor is it a specifically German answer. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Norway, Great Britain, Russia, Roumania, Servia—when there was a Servia—and finally, Holland, have passed similar legislation. And limited to certain groups of wage-workers, it exists in almost every other European country. That is the case of health insurance in a nutshell.

So much may be termed an argument from experience or precedent. It is not difficult, however, to construct a purely logical, rational argument for health insurance. Speaking academically, the essential characteristic of the wage-worker's economic position is that his income depends upon continuous effort.

No work, no pay; therefore, no work, no income; yet in the very nature of things continuous effort is almost impossible. It must be occasionally interrupted by a large variety of causes, of which sickness is one of the usual common occurrences. Interruption in effort because of physical disability due to sickness therefore means interruption of income, but the flow of expenditures must necessarily be a continuous one if life is to go on. Evidently there must be some mechanism for providing a continuous flow of income out of an interrupted flow of effort.

One might compare this situation to the problem of water supply, which, in final analysis, is obtained from rainfall. The demand of society for water is practically continuous, but it does not follow therefrom that we must depend upon continuous rainfall. Instead, we build reservoirs, not private cisterns, mind you, but public, or if you will, social reservoirs. To meet the continuous demand for income which persists when wages for any reason stop, we must build a reservoir in the form of insurance.

The time has almost gone when arguments for the principle of insurance need to be made to the American public. A friend of mine, a well-to-do manufacturer of Newark, suffered severely from fire. It was found that his insurance had lapsed. A feeling of sympathy in his substantial loss was mixed with one of wonder whether there was not some serious failing of mental or moral powers which would explain such carelessness.

A very close friend, a statistician, died a few years ago. He left some insurance, but so little that a fund for the relief of his

family had to be raised. We contributed willingly, but few of us could escape altogether a sense of irritation that the man should have been so imprudent as to throw his responsibility upon charitable relief.

You might say, perhaps, that for the C. family's predicament the man himself was responsible in failing to provide himself with health insurance, which can be purchased in the open market.

The existence of some two or three million workmen voluntarily insured against sickness has been advanced as an argument against our plans for a compulsory system. As a matter of fact it is the greatest argument in favor of these plans, both the fact that the three millions have it and that perhaps thirty millions do not have it. There were some six million English workman insured in English friendly societies and in this fact Lloyd George found support for his contention that the remaining ten million should be equally protected. The facts are that the development of mutual health insurance has been very much weaker in this country than in England, and only in a very few trade organizations is the service rendered sufficient and efficient. As far as the health insurance sold by commercial companies is concerned, the solution of the problem of sickness evidently cannot be found in a machinery whose loss of energy is so great that it takes sixty cents of management expenses to return forty cents to the wage-worker. The plain fact is that with all possible sources of expenditures pressing upon the wage-worker's income, only a small proportion of them in this country have found it possible to set aside a certain part for the contingency of illness.

The economic tendencies of the last decade or two were hardly such as to encourage such voluntary provision. With the rising cost of living pressing so hard upon the wage-worker's budget as it has for the last ten or fifteen years, that the purchasing value of the average wages has actually been decreasing, and the additional pressure exercised by the tendency toward a higher standard of life, the surplus in the workmen's budgets is by far not as common now as it probably was some twenty years ago, and a protracted illness necessarily represents a very much more serious problem.

Definite proposals are much easier to discuss than abstract theoretical principles. Inevitably arguments concerning health insurance in this country at the present time centralize around the definite proposals made by the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and in saying that, I have in view the published standards and the tentative

draft distributed in large quantities through the country, rather than the Mills bill introduced in New York state.

The right of a private committee to come before the country at large with a legislative proposal of such magnitude, has been questioned by some. The objections would be legitimate if the proposal represented the work of the inventive genius of a few of the members of a small committee, but the standards agreed upon by the Social Insurance Committee are not at all of this character. In so far as the inventive genius was exercised at all it applies to the administrative details only. The standards themselves are only the result of very careful study of the best that Europe could teach us.

Of the nine definite standards announced, the first one states the situation in a nutshell: "To be effective health insurance should be compulsory on the basis of the joint contributions of employer and employe and the public." It is useless to go on further unless a substantial agreement is reached on this broad underlying principle, and as a matter of fact, the discussions on health insurance in this country for the last three months largely center about the propositions contained in this general standard. It is easy enough to argue against compulsion in America, but no arguments will do away with the fact that it is impossible to hope for a broad extension of health insurance to the groups most in need of it without some compulsory system, any more than it would have been possible to realize universal education without some compulsory school law.

As Mr. Rufus M. Potts, the radical Insurance Commissioner of Illinois, well said at a recent hearing on social insurance before a Congressional committee, "The word 'compulsory' is much more offensive than is any compulsory law." Moreover, in so far as the objections raised against the principle of compulsory insurance are not dictated by commercial self interest and are not thoroughly dishonest, they are a result of an almost obvious misunderstanding.

In a great many things we have cheerfully accepted compulsory laws which really compel us to do some things, or prevent us from doing things we were used to doing, in school attendance, in sanitary ordinances, in traffic laws, in health regulations. The compulsion of health insurance over the workingman is no more than the ordinary compulsion of a tax, the proceeds of which in this case rebound entirely to the benefit of the tax payer even to a much larger extent than the tax itself amounts to. It were well if the same thing could be said of many other taxes.

Still more obvious are the interests underlying the arguments generally used against burdening the employer or the state. But study carefully the wage statistics of this country; study it both in the light of our cost of living and our customary standard of living and you cannot escape the conclusion that it will be absolutely impossible to establish a compulsory health insurance system if the total cost is to be saddled upon the wage-working class. Whether you proceed from a principle of responsibility for disease, which evidently must be divided between the workman himself, the industry or his employer, and the community at large, or from the principle of benefits to be derived from a health insurance system, which again, are not at all limited to the sick wage-worker, but accrue to a large extent to his employer in improved health conditions and to the community at large whose general standards of health cannot rise much above that of the wage-working class, or whether you limit yourself entirely to the financial aspects of ability to pay, it is obvious that some substantial share of the burden of provision against illness must be shifted from the wage-worker to other social groups. Society has recognized it by building hospitals and sanitoria and extending its public health service. The better class of employers have recognized it by establishing voluntary health insurance schemes, frequently without placing any charge upon the employer at all. In fact, it is difficult to lay one's fingers upon any one definite principle that appears entirely new in the introduction of a social health insurance scheme. It is only the combination that is new. It is upon this that we in New York build our hopes for success in the near future notwithstanding the slight setback to our plans for a State commission, a setback largely due to factional or personal politics; at least that is the most charitable interpretation that can be given to the sudden opposition which developed in the last few hours before adjournment of the legislature.

The idea is so reasonable that it cannot fail to make enthusiastic followers day by day as the purposes of health insurance are understood. Less than three years have passed since the first American Social Insurance Conference was held in Chicago. Less than six months since the first tentative draft of the bill was published by the Social Insurance Committe of the American Association for Labor Legislation. Today the state of New York is thoroughly honeycombed with committees on health insurance. Massachusetts expects to get a state commission.* Of the splendid progress made in Ohio, you in the middle west need not be told.

*Since this paper was written such a commission has been appointed.

In fact, in insurance matters we seem to be threatened with an Ohio idea, even as there is the Iowa idea in railroad matters and a Wisconsin idea in everything under the sun. And things have been stirring mightily on the Pacific coast. The California Social Insurance Commission has been specializing on health insurance for over six months and I am both happy and proud of the opportunity which I am to have of going to California to help them in that work. From the state of Washington urgent calls for assistance have come in their campaign for next year's legislature.

For two long days in the city of Washington, in a stuffy committee room, from ten o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening, arguments were heard for a wide and comprehensive federal investigation of the whole subject, and most significant of all, absolutely all political parties and shades of political opinion were united in this demand. Popular propaganda among 25,000,000 people concerned will be needed for some time, but the time for general arguments among those who study social problems extensively is rapidly passing. It is possible now to turn our attention to the careful study of details of legislation so that we may be spared the danger of mal-administration under a hastily drawn legislative enactment, to keep health insurance legislation on a sufficiently high standard and sufficiently pure, because the danger is ever present that various interests will try to divert that legislation to their own particular purposes.

It is convenient to discuss the problem of health insurance from the point of view of the wage-worker as a productive unit, but its broader aspects must not be forgotten. Social insurance is a new term for that which for decades was known as workmen's insurance or labor insurance. It may be reasonably assumed that the change of terms has brought with it a certain change, or at least a broadening, of concepts. Something must have been added to the insurance of the wage-worker to justify the new phrase. This is no place for a general discussion of the social significance of the family in modern or future society. But this much is certain. The family is not only a definite consumption unit, but the definite social institution through which the future generation is reared and which, therefore, necessarily determines the development of the human race in the immediate future. There is a very direct relation between this broad sociological principle and the specific problem of health insurance that we are discussing. Health insurance has been described as the scissors which must cut the vicious circle of a causal relationship between poverty and disease. Financial assistance only

(which is, by the way, all that most forms of private health insurance in this country grant, at present), while of tremendous importance in preventing the extremes of destitution and making possible the efforts towards cure and recuperation, is but one aspect of the functions of an efficient health insurance scheme. If it be true that medical treatment without financial support must remain a snare and a delusion, it is also true that to grant financial support in illness without making all possible effort to accomplish cure, will be a preposterous waste of public funds. The achievements of medical science within the last twenty-five years have been almost beyond the fondest hopes of those who studied medicine some fifty years ago. If there ever was a rational basis for a certain medical nihilism so popular then, it has vanished long ago. No reasonable being will doubt the tremendous efficiency of competent medical aid. The necessity of furnishing such aid simultaneously with financial assistance is recognized practically in all health insurance systems of Europe, with the one unfortunate exception of Holland. Recent investigations of the workings of the British health insurance act clearly indicate that the unsatisfactory arrangement for medical aid under that act is largely responsible for excessive claim for money benefits.

If then, the absolute need of adequate medical aid to the ill wage-worker is recognized as a matter of financial necessity in order to keep the cost of health insurance within reasonable limits, how much greater is the general social necessity for furnishing adequate medical aid to the workingmen's family? Time will not permit me to go into an analysis of the conditions of medical aid available to the twenty-five million wage-workers throughout the country. Moreover, it is a problem with which social workers are sufficiently familiar. The one serious shortcoming of the bills introduced in the three states as compared with the theoretical standards announced earlier, was the omission of the medical benefits to members of the family.

Evidently this is not stated in the spirit of criticism of anyone's effort because, after all, I, myself, was a party to the crime. It was argued in favor of such an exclusion that it was unfair to saddle the cost of the family sickness upon the employer. It was argued, moreover, that in beginning a campaign for health insurance we were not justified in going beyond the standards of European legislation. I do not know what basis exists for the general principle that it is impossible or improper for this country to go beyond European standards in matters of social legislation. We have undoubtedly gone beyond them in such things as child labor and have already set an example to Europe in matters of

widows' pensions, but the fact of the matter is that while the German written law does not require, but only permits such an extension of medical benefits to the family, the majority of the large city insurance systems actually furnish it and I, for one, refuse to see why the lessons of European experience should be less valuable than the lessons of European legislation. As a matter of fact, the acts of Hungary, Roumania and Servia do provide for medical aid to the family as one of the obligatory services of their health insurance systems.

As to the financial criticism, if it were necessary to increase the state contribution and partly relieve that of the employer for the purposes of meeting it, I would gladly welcome such a change, for there is nothing that can destroy the efficiency of a family as an institution for the rearing of the future generation as the absence of the necessary provision for keeping mother and children healthy.

I would not want to close the subject without a reference to the burning issue of maternity insurance. Medical and financial assistance to the wage-working women and proper medical and nursing aid to the wife of the wage-working man in case of childbirth are included in the basic standards of health insurance. They were excluded from the Mills bill, most unfortunately, on the pressure of a certain group of social workers; and already in defending our health insurance plans we have to meet attacks from both sides, not only from people who think that we are going too far, but also from those who rightly insist that the Mills bill does not go far enough. A purely theoretical argument was raised that maternity insurance might prove a stimulus to wage-work of married women and mothers; the objections on this ground were so emphatic as to force the provision out of the Mills bill. There are honest differences of opinion as to the proper economic sphere of activity of married women. I do not intend to stand here in support of the extreme feminist argument of economic independence of the married woman who is a mother. As a matter of fact such arguments are altogether useless. The middle-class married woman who can purchase the necessary work about the house at a lower price than what she can obtain for her trained services in a wider field frequently does so (Mr. John Martin's arguments to the contrary notwithstanding). The wage-worker's wife does not in this country or any other country return to irksome and low paid labor unless absolutely forced to it by economic necessity. Whether the promise of an efficient physician at childbirth and the promise of a few weeks' benefit is going to prove a stronger attraction than

the promise of continuous wages in forcing the married woman back to work I am unable to say.

After all, the depths of female psychology must remain a hidden book to the male mind. But I do know, and I believe even the opponents of maternity insurance know, that 15,000 women annually lose their lives in this country as a result of inefficient medical aid at childbirth. Perhaps 100,000 infants die under the age of one and a good many of them in the very early months of their life because of lack of efficient medical aid and mother's care. I also know that if wage-work of mothers is undesirable, it is one hundredfold more undesirable during the few months immediately preceding and succeeding the act of childbirth, and that no theoretical consideration of possible far-reaching effects should close our eyes to the very grave problem created by those conditions. It is at least suggestive that of the ten compulsory health insurance acts at present in force in Europe not a single one has committed the grave error of excluding maternity benefits as was proposed in the Mills bill. Here, it seems to me, is a practical suggestion for the sort of action that is imperatively needed and that devolves upon the members of this national association. The financial aspects of the problem may well be left to economists and statisticians, but the creation of a social movement for bringing back these two essential features into our health insurance plans, and for making truly social insurance, devolves upon the social workers of this country.

THE RELATION OF INSURANCE TO POVERTY

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In the middle of the 19th century an investigation was made to show the changes which insurance was making at that time in social conditions in England. A Royal Commission reported in 1850 as follows:

> There can be no doubt on the one hand of the beneficial influence exercised through insurance upon the Poor Law expenditures. It has been frequently alleged that no less a sum than 2,000 pounds is annually saved the rate payers.

As late as 1896 British statisticians estimated that the reduction in the poor rate effected by voluntary provisions of individuals against old age, widowhood and orphange, amounted to 3,000,000 pounds annually.

Notwithstanding the general belief regarding the efficacy of

insurance in preventing poverty, it is curious to note that accurate statistical data on the subject is lacking. Such data as are available in the United States have reference primarily to the reduction in pauper burials due to the introduction of industrial insurance. In a paper entitled *Practice of Life Insurance,*[1] the late John F. Dryden showed that from 1881 to 1885 the rate of pauper burials in 18 cities was 18.5 per 10,000 of population, and that this rate had fallen to 12.9 per 10,000 of population in the years 1897 to 1901. According to Mr. Dryden, the average annual pauper burial rate before industrial insurance came into existence was 23.4 per 10,000 of population. It fell to 15.6 by 1890 and to 11.8 by 1904. Mr. Dryden estimated that the annual saving to American taxpayers on account of this reduction was $250,000 per annum. At least 30,000 persons are buried annually without state or charitable assistance, who would be buried in the potter's field if the present burial rate of paupers were the same as the rate prevailing before the introduction of industrial insurance.

Similarly Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman in his book, *The History of the Prudential Insurance Company,* shows that the pauper burial rate dropped from 210 per 100,000 in the period 1880 to 1884, to 156 per 100,000 in the years 1895 to 1899. In New York City the pauper burial rate was 331 per 100,000 in the period 1870 to 1874 against an average rate of only 220 per 100,000 during the years 1895 to 1899. The drop in the pauper burial rate was coincident with the introduction of industrial insurance in the United States.

Other data to indicate the influence of life insurance on dependency are obtained from the returns from almshouses, etc. According to Zartman and Price in *Yale Readings in Insurance,*[2] a census was taken some years ago of paupers in the Philadelphia Almshouse. Of 1,100 individuals under observation only three were found who has been beneficiaries of life insurance. A census taken of the Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, almshouse showed that of 123 individuals it was found that none of these people or their families had ever been beneficiaries of life insurance.

According to Mr. Dryden, the ratio of persons in almshouses in the United States was 13 per 10,000 in 1880, against only 10 in 1903. In New Jersey the rate fell from 19 per 10,000 in 1890 to less than 10 in 1903.

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[1] John F. Dryden, Practice of Life Insurance, in his *Life Insurance and Other Subjects,* 1909.

[2] J. M. Holcombe, Function of Life Insurance, in *Yale Readings in Insurance-Life;* ed. by Zartman and Price, 1914.

That the possibility of dependency due to the lack of insurance, looms large is shown in a circular issued by the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States,[3] giving the results of searches made in probate courts. In Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, the average number of adults who died annually during the period beginning January 1, 1897, and ending December 31, 1902, was 5,164. Of these, according to the records of the probate court, 4,599, or 89%, left no estate at all. In Lucas county, Ohio, out of 7,938 adults who died during the period beginning January 1, 1901, and ending December 31, 1905, 6,204, or 78.15%, left no estate or insurance. The records of the surrogate's office in New York county for the period beginning January 1, 1901, and ending December 31, 1905, show that the average number of deaths among adults for each year during that period was 27,011, and that of these 85.3% left neither insurance nor estate.

If we turn to the records of orphanages, further illuminating data is obtained. Father Lynch of Chicago is authority for the statement [4] that of 6,000 children passing under his observation at one of the large church asylums in not more than 12 cases had the parents of these children been insured. According to Archbishop Ireland there were 200 dependent children in St. Paul at the time of his appointment in 1884. He anticipated a constant growth in this number, but an investigation made by him a number of years later showed an increase of only 10 dependent children. This he attributed to the influence of life insurance.

In an investigation made by the Massachusetts Commission on the Support of Dependent Minor Children of Widowed Mothers,[5] in the year 1913, interesting data was obtained regarding the conditions existing in families where there were orphaned children. In the families of 1,687 widowed mothers who were in receipt of relief, it was found that in 827 of these families the father had no insurance. Information was lacking regarding 414 families. Of the remainder, 228 had less than $250 of insurance.

A study made by Miss Mary E. Richmond and Dr. Fred S. Hall of 985 widows [6] known to certain charity organization societies in 1910, showed that over one-quarter regarding whom information was given were left without resources at their husbands' death.

So far, the writer has not found other data indicating to what

[3] Equitable Life Assurance Society, *Three Independent Searches* (circular).
[4] Edward A. Woods, *Taxation of Life Insurance Policy-holders*, 1907.
[5] Massachusetts Commission on the Support of Dependent Minor Children of Widowed Mothers, 1913.
[6] Richmond and Hall, *Study of 985 Widows* Russell Sage Foundation, 1910.

extent poverty results in families through the death of the main wage-earner. I have corresponded with a number of fraternal orders which have insurance features. It may be said without exception that no records have been kept by these orders to ascertain whether widows of members subsequently became dependent. Correspondence was also entered into with a number of representative orphan asylums to ascertain whether their records give any data regarding insurance on the lives of the parents of orphans in their care. In this case as well, the results were almost fruitless. The Hebrew Orphan Asylum of New York city reported that an examination of the last hundred applications of widows for the admission of their children to the institution indicated that 25 husbands had been members of fraternal orders paying a death benefit of $500. Nine others were members of societies providing free burial. No families among the 100 cases carried life insurance.

One or two other investigations into the conditions of workingmen's families bring out certain data regarding the relation of insurance to the economic situation of these families. In the study of the Philadelphia Clothing Industry made by the Henry Phipps Institute,[7] it was found that in the case of males 56.71% carried life insurance. In the case of females it was found that 21.9% carried life insurance. Eighty-five and eight-tenths per cent of all the male insurance was carried in fraternal orders, due to the fact that this was largely a Jewish group.

In a study made by the Committee on Women's Work of the Russell Sage Foundation of 693 cases under care by the Charity Organization Society and the United Hebrew Charities of New York city,[8] it was found that of 449 men and 207 women who reported in reference to life insurance, 108 men and 60 women carried such insurance.

It will be noted that the references given above, with few exceptions, are not of recent origin. The writer has been unable to find any statistical data that is conclusive or which more than indicates the general belief that reduction in pauperism and dependency has been materially influenced by insurance. In the hope of obtaining some definite information on this point two studies were made, one positive and the other negative.

The negative study referred to was an inquiry into and investigation of 1,000 cases selected at random from 1,136 cases closed

[7] Henry Phipps Institute, 8th Report; *Factors Affecting the Health of Garment Workers*, by Landis and Reed.

[8] Russell Sage Foundation, Committee on Woman's Work, *Study of 693 Cases Cared for by the Charity Organization Society and United Hebrew Charities* (MSS.)

by the Charity Organization Society of the city of New York during the months of February and March, 1916. Of the 1,000 cases it appeared from the records that 363 of the families under care carried insurance either in trades unions, lodges, benefit societies or life insurance companies. Seventeen families had had insurance but had allowed it to lapse. It is believed that these are minimum figures. It is probable that in some of the other families insurance may have been carried, although this fact does not appear on the case records. It is safe to say that over 60% of the families were never insured.

The causes which created need for charitable intervention in these thousand cases are similar to those known to other societies and need not be developed at this point. For our purpose it will be sufficient to study the cases in which the predominant cause of distress was the death of the chief wage-earner. Two hundred and forty-four of the families came under this category. In 230 the chief wage earner was the husband, in 13 cases the mother and in one case the daughter.

Of these 244 families in which the chief wage-earner had died, 162 had never carried insurance of any kind. In 69 of the remaining 82 families, insurance benefits had been received by the families of the deceased. In the 12 remaining families, there had been insurance at some time or other but the insurance was allowed to lapse. In one case where insurance was carried the claim was contested by the insurance company.

In 63 of the 69 cases the amount of insurance was specified. This averaged $319.52.

Families receiving $1,000	4
Families receiving $500 to $999	9
Families receiving $200 to $499	25
Families receiving $100 to $199	22
Families receiving less than $100	3
Total families	63

Out of 69 cases where the cause of distress was the death of the wage-earner, in 39 of these cases the wage-earner died before the case was opened, and in 32 cases the wage-earner died after the case was opened. Furthermore, it was found that in 37 cases where the wage-earner died before the case was opened, application for assistance of some form or other was made to the Charity Organization Society within three months of the wage-earner's death. As these cases were typical of conditions, I am giving herewith the analyses of 11 of these cases to show the conditions which existed in the family which made it necessary

for application to a charitable society notwithstanding the fact that insurance on the wage-earner was in force:

Case No. 165930, opened February 1916, three weeks following death of man. Payment of insurance was delayed due to misstatement of age of insured at time of application. Insurance of $418 was paid and case closed.

Case No. 144653, opened January, 1913, three weeks subsequent to man's death. Family consists of widow and three young children. Some insurance was received (amount not specified) but evidently enough to cover funeral expenses of $100 and leave a small balance. The C. O. S. for period of over two years, paid rental besides giving considerable financial aid for food and clothing. Finally the widow secured well paying work and was able to support the family.

Case No. 165337 opened December, 1915, three months after man's death. Family consists of widow and two young children. Insurance of $190 wes entirely used for funeral expenses and doctor bills. Woman pregnant, later gave birth to stillborn child. Woman working, and case referred to Board of Child Welfare (Mothers' Pensions) and closed.

Case No. 164268, opened November, 1915, three months after man's death. Widow a young girl of 19, had married because of necessity a worthless idle young man and they separated shortly after marriage. The husband's mother had always supported the man and upon his death she received $800 of insurance, out of which she paid funeral expenses and herself kept the balance. The widow and young child were sent to the widow's mother who promised to support them.

Case No. 160604, opened March, 1916, one day following the death of man. Family consists of widow and four young children and widow's father-in-law, age 75 and dependent. Woman works and receives $6.00 per week. Insurance of $110 received upon death of man paid only part of the funeral expenses amounting to $117. Considerable financial aid consisting of weekly payments of from 3 to 5 dollars was given by the Society for a period of over one year, when the Board of Child Welfare gave a monthly allowance of $32.50. The man at some time had carried other insurance but had lapsed same.

Case No. 166133, opened February, 1916, one day after man's death. Family consists of widow and three young children. Insurance of $200 covered funeral expenses of $171 and left a very small balance. The C. O. S. gave in funds the small amount of emergency relief needed and provided for the transfer of the family to New Jersey where the widow had relatives who promised to aid her.

Case No. 145011, opened February, 1913, one day following man's death. After funeral expenses were paid, only $15 remained of the $200 insurance received. Family consists of widow, one son in reformatory and five children, of whom two daughters are working and together earning $12 a week. This $12 is the sole income of the family. The C. O. S. paid for glasses for one of the children and secured medical aid for the widow for treatment of slight injury to hand, besides aiding members of the family to secure work. In 1915 the son was released from reformatory, secured work and from then on contributed from $5 to $10 monthly to the support of the family. Then the family became self-supporting and the case was closed.

Case No. 163396, opened July, 1915, seven days following death of man. Family consists of widow and four young children.

Insurance to the amouunt of $400 was received on death of man. Funeral expenses and doctor bills totaled somewhat over $200. This left a considerable balance, information concerning which the family at first withheld in seeking aid from the C. O. S. The C. O. S. secured medical aid for the widow during an illness of typhoid fever besides giving the family financial aid. The widow was able to work and the case was closed since family with the aid of relatives was able to get along.

Case No. 118926, opened June, 1909, three months after man's death. Family consists of widow and four young children. Insurance of $213 was used entirely to give the man a "nice" funeral. Family received from the C. O. S. considerable financial aid covering a period of several years, and finally was able to get along with the aid of several interested parties.

Case No. 146182, opened in April, 1913, about three months subsequent to man's death. Family consists of widow and three young children none of working age. Insurance to the amount of $118 was received on death of man. The funeral cost $146, the difference being made up by collection among neighbors. A monthly allowance was given by the C. O. S. for over two years when the Board of Child Welfare gave aid and the case was closed.

Case No. 121396, opened November, 1909, 6 weeks subsequent to man's death. Family consists of widow and three young children. Insurance of $300 covered the funeral expenses and left a substantial balance. Considerable financial aid was given by the C. O. S. throughout a period of several years until two of the children grew up and procured work. Then the family became self-supporting and the case was closed.

A summary of these cases shows that in eight cases the distress was due to the death of the wage-earner, in two cases there was no actual distress and in one case the cause of distress had no relation to the man's death or to the insurance received. In 11 cases only was relief given. Three cases were referred for widows' pensions after considerable financial aid had been given by the society. In six cases financial assistance was given by the society or aid obtained from other sources until the family finally became independent through itself or with the assistance of friends. In one case advice only was given and in another case the family was transferred to the care of relatives. In three of these cases the insurance money was used to pay funeral expenses and though a substantial balance was left, the families eventually required charitable intervention. In three other cases, after payment of funeral expenses, a very small balance was left. In two cases the insurance money just covered the funeral expenses. In two cases the insurance received paid only part of the funeral expenses. One case is exceptional in that the amount of insurance was $800, the premiums of which had been paid by the mother who, after paying $100 towards the funeral, appropriated the remainder for her own use. It is significant to note in this connection that the amounts spent for funerals were relatively

high and indicate the possibilities which lie in the movement for funeral reform.

In this connection it is interesting to note the amounts of insurance where these figures are available in relation to the amount of time after the death of the main wage-earner until the case was opened. The average amount received in 35 cases was $310.14. In 13 cases, opened during the three months' period following death, the average amount of insurance received per family was $233.85. For the next 9 cases, opened following death by a period greater than 3 months but under 1 year, the average amount received per family was $251.67. For the 5 cases, opening 1 year following death, the average amount of insurance received was $475.00. For the 4 cases opened 2 years following death, the average amount of insurance received was $468.75. For the 1 case opened 3 years following death the amount of insurance received was $500.00. There remain 3 cases in which the date of death was too remote to have any significance from the standpoint of amount of insurance received and the time of case opening.

It would seem, therefore, that in the smaller number of cases coming to the C. O. S. was there any insurance. In those cases, moreover, the insurance usually covered only the burial costs. However, in the cases becoming dependent after a reasonable period, it would appear that the length of time elapsing between the death and the application for aid was in direct ratio to the amount of insurance in force—the larger the amount, the longer the interval.

Supplementing this study of the Charity Organization Society, which, as stated above, treated the subject from the negative side, a study was made of 942 industrial death claims paid in four typical towns by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1915. These represent all the claims paid in these cities. Of these, 273 claims were on the husband and father, 168 on the son, 107 on the daughter, 297 on the mother and 97 on non-relative or not specified. Investigation of all the families in question to determine their present economic status was made in the month of March, 1916. In every case at least 3 months had passed since the insurance benefits had been paid. In a number of instances very nearly a year had expired.

Of the 942 families almost all were found self-supporting and for this reason no attempt was made to analyze them, excepting one group of 258 families in which the husband or father had

died leaving dependents. The following indicates the condition of these families:

Found self-supporting	226
Dependent on the widow's earnings	3
Dependent, with no relief necessary	3
Dependent on friends or relatives	10
In receipt of widow's pensions	6
In receipt of workmen's compensation benefits	2
In receipt of relief from charitable organizations	8

It should be added, in a considerable number of families in which the father or husband had died there were other wage-earners through whose earnings the family was able to maintain its independence.

Final conclusions cannot be drawn from the data submitted in these studies, which are preliminary only. The statistics show rather clearly, however, that the larger percentage of individuals who apply for charitable assistance have not been insured. Furthermore, the preponderating number of individuals who do insure, even for comparatively small amounts, do not require charitable assistance. It would, however, be unsafe to assume that were it not for insurance, families would become dependent. So many other conditions enter into family life that a much more intensive study will be necessary to determine just what relationship insurance does play in the prevention of poverty. It does appear that the individuals and families who insure themselves show a certain ability to meet crises and that probably they might be able to meet these crises even if they had no insurance. On the other hand, the families who apply to charity organization societies and other relief organizations seem to lack certain stamina to meet difficult situations and even with insurance funds are unable to contend with the outside forces which eventually force them into economic dependency. These beliefs, however, require further substantiation. They are cited here simply to indicate the fertile field of study which lies open both on the part of charitable organizations and insurance companies. If the paper does nothing else it should bring out the possibility of closer co-operation between these two groups of social institutions in the hope that through better co-operation systematic studies may be made to prove statistically what is undoubtedly true; namely, insurance has a very decided effect in diminishing the amount of dependency.

DISCUSSION: Those who participated in informal discussion were as follows: Helen Pendleton, Newark, N. J.; William H. Pear, Boston; John J. O'Connor, Chicago; J. W. Magruder, Baltimore; Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield.

WHAT A CASE RECORD IS FOR*

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It will be difficult in this paper not to dip into other phases of our common task. Particularly must it be kept in mind that this is not a discussion of case work in any of its aspects. We have only to do with the record of case work. Nor, perhaps, do we cover the entire subject of the record. The content of the record is a whole subject in itself and is touched only incidentally. But it does seem necessary to expand the subject to include the topic "What a Case Record Is" as well as "What It is For." It is difficult enough to make the separations indicated above; but the nature and the purpose of a case record are apparently indissoluble.

The case record may be called the clinical notes of the social workers, but much is lost in this comparison for the clinical notes are just what they say, notes made at a real or imaginary beside regarding the particular disease a physician is treating.

Social work considers the man in his entirety, in all his relations; with all his background and with all the ramifications of his complex life. The physician's interest is mainly in a disease which has found its lodgment in a patient. The disease as an observable and measurable entity together with its relation to the man is his comparatively simple subject.

Social work, however, has to do not with an entity, but with relation or, more exactly, with a failure in relation. Anything that concerns that relationship may be of importance and be a part of the record. Even medicine—especially in mental cases—is abandoning clinical notes as its record and recording extensive data.

This sets social record-keeping in a new class. Its very breadth of base brings its own problems. The social worker must choose with exceeding care what he shall record and stick closely to his plan when it has been thoroughly tested out by experience.

The case record is a repository of information gained about the client. Everything pertinent is included; everything trivial, unimportant is excluded. This distinction is difficult to set down in words—although it is clear enough to the experienced case worker. The record should contain all the information about

*Roundtable, Thursday, May 11, 11:00 A. M.

the client given by himself or his references, when given as information. The client's observations or his experiences are not important—belong to the trivial group—except when they bring out a state of mind or motive. A man said to one of our visitors apropos of her effort to get him into a sanatorium—"My father died coughing, and I shall, too." That observation illuminates many dark and difficult pages of record. But, in general, it is narrative alone which the record receives; the story of the client in action, present or past; how he acted during his different experiences; how they affected him—in short, it is the record of the study of a man in his social relations. It is scarcely possible to be too concrete. A recent report said, "Rooms were dirty and disorderly. Woman excused their condition on the plea that she had been sick the previous day. While visitor was there, toast which woman was making burned and she scraped the burned surface off so that it fell on the floor in the middle of the room." Scraping the toast will never be forgotten—pages of description would. So vivid is such a picture that justice to the woman might require the recording of incidents of a better significance as they arise.

The purpose of the record is to conserve the information gathered by the case worker for his future guidance or for the guidance of any other social worker. In short, the object of the case record is efficiency in treatment with the subordinate object of saving the client from unnecessary inquiry.

Case work without a record depends for its maintenance upon the memory of one individual—its findings and results are largely closed to everyone else. When a worker leaves her job or dies, her entire accumulation is lost. We have in our city a woman who for thirty years has been placing children temporarily in country homes. She probably places four or five hundred a year. She has built up a perfectly marvelous group of correspondents all over our part of the country who find these homes at her request. But she has not a single record of one of them and when she dies the whole work of a lifetime will collapse. It is a wicked waste of resource.

The ordinary volume and flow of case work necessitate a record for its maintenance. The memory necessary to carry the details of half a dozen clients is exceptional; but no one can carry in a serviceable manner the bewildering detail about the clients who pass through the ordinary office within a month. The memory of any person reaches a saturation point and refuses to take new information unless there is an out-go of memory content as well as an in-take.

Case work in the absence of records tends to deteriorate. Case work dependent upon memory has a subjective standard with an inclination toward a narrower base, that base being either the line of least resistance or the worker's sympathies and prejudices. With the case record as a constant objective guide, methods of investigation can be compared, fruitfulness of resources, accuracy of predictions, success of methods or treatment may be tested. In addition, the mechanics of supervision are much simplified by the record for a case worker's faults, her excellencies and her progress can be measured with greater accuracy through the case record than by any other means.

Without the record co-operation in the broad sense is impossible. The success of co-operation varies directly with the completeness of the interchange of information. With all the good intent in the world no worker carries in her mind all the facts on which co-operation is built. As a matter of fact the co-operating agency is likely to be interested in some phases of the client other than is our case worker. The point of contact for co-operative effort may appear in the case record but may not be remembered by the case worker.

Reports on clients are unjust without the case record. It is a common experience when we have attempted to summarize a client's record for someone newly interested and then check up our report by comparison with the record, to feel ashamed of the inadequacy and partiality of the report we have given. I wonder whether the easy going explanations of poverty made by earlier workers, that it was due to drink, that it was due to shiftlessness and those other now forgotten theories—as well as some of the more contemporaneous economic ones—were not due to the poverty of records. They reported on the basis of their prejudices and forgot the vast wealth of detail which had not been systematized because the technique for its classification did not exist.

The case worker is not a social investigator and is not directly interested in social investigations or statistics as such and therefore rigorously excludes from the record all information not needed for treatment. Parenthetically, it should be said that the statistical value of such information as the case worker does secure is enhanced and not decreased because it is an incident and not the direct object of the investigation. There is written in, or buried beneath, the large accumulation of records in any case working agency statistical information of primary importance.

The case record consists of two parts; that which we know as the "face sheet" and that which we know as the "history." The face sheet contains information that can be placed in schedule form. It is the last remnant historically of the application blank. Its value consists in presenting to the case worker in one place a cross section of the situation in the family at a given point. Its contents are conditioned by two considerations; that which experience has shown us to be recorded safely in this fashion; and secondly, such information as it is convenient to tabulate by this method.

The principal criticism of the face sheet is that its entries are modified with difficulty. To obviate this, effort has been made to place upon it only facts of a so-called permanent or relatively permanent character. This, I believe, is a mistake. We want on the face sheet an accurate, complete view of the client during treatment. Many of the controlling factors in his life are temporary and should be placed on such part of the record as they can be quickly seen by the case worker. For that reason, I think the face sheet should be divided into two parts. The first should carry the social facts which continually change, and the second sheet the referential information which does not change but which may grow. On the first, or social, sheet would be the names, ages, occupations, diseases, marriages, deaths, divorces, family status, income, etc. These should be changed on the face sheet as often as they do in fact. Special provision should be made for these changes. When the space allotment is exhausted a new sheet should be made out.

The referential, or second, sheet should be treated differently. There, where occur the names of relatives, friends, employers, institution, etc., the information is of a permanently valuable character and new information should supplement and not supersede the old.

The history or story section of the record is to preserve as clearly, concisely and uncolored as possible the story of the agency's relation with the client and of the parallel inquiries in so far as they are not summarized on the face sheets.

Before going farther it is well to indicate what the case record is not meant to be. It is not written to keep tab on the worker's use of her time nor an itinerary of her motions. The processes by which hidden persons were found are unnecessary and the recording of unsuccessful efforts to see the client or references is superfluous. Even as a tab on a worker's use of her time it is poor. Some form of a daily log such as is used

in efficiency tests is a much better measure of a worker's activities than is the case record.

Neither is it a convenient place for the display of the worker's opinions, impressions or general philosophy. Impressions have a place, as will be explained later. But the record is the story of a client and only those things should go on which have to do with the delineation of his characteristics, experiences and connections.

It is a serious mistake to say that the client seemed sick or appeared lazy or was suspected of not telling the truth when the facts are at hand on which those impressions are based. It is the verified, particular illness which is of value in the record. The evidences of unwillingness to work or the contradictory statements which disclose the untruthfulness are what should be on record.

An aspect of impression, a sort of second-hand impression, is placing the client's opinion or statement on the record as a fact. Although the client is nearer the difficulty than the case worker and is, therefore, less liable to be deceived by appearances, still it is poor record keeping and poorer case work to place in the record the fact that a man has tuberculosis because he says he has.

One very difficult source of information closely allied to impression and inference is that which comes from gossip. As the case record is a guide for efficient action in the future, it can be seen at once that on one hand there is a stream of gossip, impertinent in the original sense of the word, entirely irrelevant, and on the other hand certain forms of gossip are valuable clues or valuable in confirming opinions secured from other sources. Information gathered from a previous neighborhood belongs essentially in the gossipy group.

The solution for this is to begin the record of every interview with the full name, address, and relationship of the person interviewed. This gives a means for determining the reliability of his statements. Whatever is said about our client should be on our records. Some of it undoubtedly will be false. There is no presumption of its truth because it is on the record. To evaluate it properly, however, its source should be clearly indicated.

In writing the report of an interview there are two general forms which may be used. The report of the interview may be reproduced much as it occurred. This gives a vividness and color to the record of considerable value. It cannot be reproduced verbatim, however, and therefore is apt to be unnecessarily repetitious. The more general method, however, and the one

which I am inclined to urge is an organization of the report of the interview along logical lines. If it is the first interview and it is held in the home, the story should follow somewhat this order: first, the client's statement of his situation written out with sufficient detail to reproduce the client's state of mind. This then should be followed by the background, immediate first and then remote. In the next place should come the surroundings: the children, the home and the references, which naturally lead to the concluding part which should describe the outlook as it was tentatively reached in the first interview. Some, with the best of authority, prefer a different order: i. e., to begin with the background, lead up gradually to the present crisis, and then the first formulation of treatment. It is, at this point, valuable for the visitor to add a separate paragraph, summarizing her impressions as impressions. It is essential to a just estimate of the client or the reference. "The woman was intelligent, spoke sympathetically of her sister's family; she evidently was herself unaccustomed to want and a successful home maker." "The woman was ignorant, indifferent to her sister's needs; evidently one whom trouble had crushed and hardened." Given in this way, clearly as impressions in a plainly indicated paragraph by itself—as the local color through which the evidence is to be estimated—impressions are not only harmless, but add a valuable element to the completeness of a case record. Also in a separate paragraph, after the interview, should be placed any treatment given: such as relief, instructions or advice. It should not be in the body of the interview.

Dr. Healy, of the juvenile court of Chicago, suggests that a different color sheet be used for the different types of information; information from the family would go on one color paper; from the family's relatives on another, etc. This is an interesting suggestion never adopted, I think, by family case-working agencies. It is well worth experimentation as it would bring out clearly the different types of sources and, therefore, of evidence.

Letters: Filing letters is the most difficult mechanical problem we face because they vary in size of sheet and bulk. Postcards and short letters written on one side may conveniently be pasted to a blank sheet. Full size letters and copies of out-going letters must take their place with the record sheets. There are three ways of filing letters: the first is to keep them separate from the case record but to have on the case record an index of the letters as well as a statement in the history portion of the record of their going and coming; the second is to file them chronologically in the back of the record placing the proper notation in the

record itself; the third method is to file the letters immediately after the record sheet on which the notation of their going and coming is placed. I very much prefer the last method. The others are mechanically neater but the letters never get read.

The record as a whole gains in clarity if a few typographical rules are followed. The date of the interview should stand out sufficiently to catch the eye of the reader instantly; on the history sheet there might easily be left a margin which should contain only these dates, or the dates might be put in in separate colors, or they might be underscored.

Paragraphing is very important. Most paragraphs are too long. An ordinary interview should be broken up into as many paragraphs as it has subjects. What is said of the man should be in one, about the woman in another, the diseases of either in still another, etc. Paragraphing in this manner leads to a more logical arrangement of material and is a first class aid to rapid finding of information. It also increases the speed with which the record can be read.

Different interviews should be separated not only by new paragraphing but by uniform spacing—double, treble or even quadruple—any device to make the interview stand out as a unit.

Somewhere in the record it is valuable to have a summary of all the preceding story. This is usually made at the close of each treatment period. It should show at least the main outlines of the condition of the family at time of application, the length of period under care and what had been accomplished with a statement of conditions at the close. The danger of this summary is that it will be read and the record neglected. This danger can be minimized by making the summary very short.

Personally, I do not like the use of numbers in the record to indicate individuals, that is, "1" to indicate the man, "2" the woman, "3-10" the children, all the way down to where you get "64," indicating some attenuated connection. It saves no time for the writer or the reader except in the instances of the man and woman and it is unnecessarily impersonal. To designate the two heads of the family as man and woman is good, strong Anglo-Saxon and entirely unobjectionable. It is also an unmistakable identification so important in record keeping. Some prefer the titles "Mr. N." and "Mrs. N." This has not quite the same certain identifying value and does not appear to me any more dignified nor, in fact, quite as dignified as "man" and "woman." As alternates the words wife and mother, and husband and father can be used. Children, relatives and references

are always to be called by their full names and their relationship unless repetition becomes tiring or superfluous.

Case records more often fail through attempting to be too brief in describing people than in describing them too minutely. It is maddening to read a record which refers to Mrs. Smith without telling who Mrs. Smith is at once, or in the immediate context. This is due to a lack of imagination on the part of the record writer who, herself, remembers that Mrs. Smith is the visitor for a neighboring church and has been mentioned once before in the record but forgets that the previous interview may not be read or, if it is read, that particular relationship remembered. This same comment applies to every name mentioned in the record. The one or two extra words necessary to identify the name take very little time and space but save enormously in the ease and rapidity of case reading.

I want to say a word about the style of the record; not an altogether superfluous subject as it might seem, for most of our records are deadeningly stupid. We must bear in mind that records are written to be read and do not exist as disciplinary tasks for the case worker. I like Stevenson's prescription for style "never use two words where one word will do" if to it is added the necessary condition, which he practised but did not preach, that the one word must be the exact word to express the idea. We have attempted to be brief by mutilation not by careful selection. We have cut off the subjects of our sentences, designated our people by symbols, and co-operating agencies by initials but the space that we have saved by the process of subtraction has been lost in the unorganized story we have written.

We cannot be stylists by formulae. Any general plan which we attempt to follow or imaginary outline we fill out kills the life of the narrative. To write a good narrative one must recreate the incident dramatically so that it lives again in the writer's mind and he puts down on the record the incident as a living organization. If it is done thoroughly, if his imagination has recreated the situation so that it has a living form, it will assume a natural style that will tell in the fewest and most exact words the interview which is being reproduced.

Record-reading is the most horribly monotonous task to which the case worker is condemned. Because it is so monotonous a case record does not begin to have the influence on family treatment it should have. We must make it a thing more nearly approaching the life which it records than we have yet done. To do it we must be prepared to study carefully where our case records are useless—their numberless repetitions and their form-

lessness—and be prepared to spend more thought and time in securing the approximately ideal method for preserving the information which in its recital stirred us to action.

SHAPING THE RECORD TO FACILITATE RESEARCH

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At the National Conference in 1911 Dr. Adolf Meyer of Johns Hopkins said: "The best record is the one which helps most in the handling of the case while the work is going on and which allows other helpers to know in the worker's absence what the facts and the plan are. Such a record is sure to be good for research as well."

Mr. Bruno goes a step further than Dr. Meyer in definiteness by requiring fulness and accuracy of the total picture of the individual case and by insisting upon saliency and organization in the items included in a record. But both men agree that a record written for treatment purposes is sure to be good for research. Does this follow?

The statements of Dr. Meyer and Mr. Bruno put explicitly two possible aims of record-keeping: first, to directly benefit the family concerned by making available the facts of the case whereby clients are saved the embarrassment of re-investigation, and whereby a logical, constructive and progressive plan is made; second, to benefit society by using the illustrations of causes and sometimes of cures of social mal-adjustment contained in case records for ultimate statistical and research purposes.

We agree with these gentlemen that items in the record should have saliency, organization, fulness and accuracy, for purposes of treatment, but we must dissent from the view that this is sufficient to insure research material. A worker whose interest begins and ends with treatment tends to be satisfied with handling the relatively immediate needs of a beneficiary, and his records reflect this superficial attitude of mind. The purpose of research imposes a longer look ahead in determining what constitutes saliency, fulness and accuracy, and entails a corresponding care for the record form. In other words, when his concern is limited to the individual in distress, it leads, we believe, to less thorough and less accurate work with the individual in question than follows when he expects his work to bear upon large scale

treatment, which will include hundreds of cases. The case worker, then, must be concerned with research for the sake of the quality of case work itself. In this sense we regard him as a social invesigator.

Once we have accepted research as an avowed purpose of record-keeping, we find we have in our hands a clarifying test of record standards. The social case record is a statement of an agency's experience with and knowledge of a given individual or family. Since this case work is the same, whether it be charity organization, prevention of cruelty to children, medical social service, or some other specialization, the records of the various case work agencies should be fundamentally alike.

There should be uniformity in essentials with allowance for variation in points which each agency may especially emphasize. Such uniformity will react favorably upon the standards of case work, while at the same time making readily available the material for research which is at present almost useless because of the practice of many methods of recording. The value of common methods has been attested by the Board of State Charities in Indiana as shown in their use of uniform records in almshouses. At present probably every agency in the country must plead guilty not only to a lack of uniformity between themselves and other agencies, but even to a lack of any clear and thorough-going standards within their own organizations. One may take as indicative Mr. Murphy's statement of last year that the histories of the Boston Children's Aid Society are of little value for research because of the lack of material uniformly compiled case by case.

All case work agencies have certain material in common, and so far as this exists we would doubtless agree on the advantages of uniformity in conserving this data. This was doubtless in the mind of Mr. John Koren, when, as chairman of the Committee on Statistics, at the 1908 conference, he urged the "adoption of uniform and complete records with the main facts consistently and comparably recorded; that systematic knowledge might be available for general purposes as well as for the more direct benefit of the individual family concerned." He suggested the advisability of an agency charged with the responsibility of devising model record systems. The most difficult part of our problem lies in dealing with the material that is peculiar to the specialization of each agency.

This paper is the culmination of a year's work with a group that has set itself the problem of approximating a standard of record-keeping that may be applicable to diverse types of cases.

Membership in the group includes directors, executives and case workers with experience in public and private agencies. The group, representative of a wide range of interests, has arrived at tentative standards by which it is proposed to test cases of the various types.

The most obvious part of the record for standardizing is the *face card.* Here we differ from Mr. Bruno in believing that only permanent identifying facts should appear. Family names, births, deaths and marriages, color, race, nationality and religion, previous addresses, matters of guardianship, adoption and naturalization, and the names of other interested agencies are all in this class; they are all matters of concern to any case work agency and lend themselves readily to uniformity of tabulation.

However, our difference with Mr. Bruno on the subject of the *face sheet* is not so great as might appear. Instead of having an up-to-date picture on a supplementary sheet, as he suggests, we would incorporate this summary conspicuously either by putting it in red type or by using a red marginal note in the chronological record. As a substitute for the face sheet, our group considered the advantage of using red-letter marginal captions in the history. This we discarded after deliberation for two reasons: it overcrowds the margins which were needed for a purpose to be mentioned later; it fails to make certain the assembling of statistical data. (*See face sheet charts, Nos.* 1 *and* 2.)

Turning from the face sheet to a consideration of the chronological narrative record, we believe with Mr. Bruno that the record should not serve as the visitor's report to the supervisor, nor should it detail the processes of getting things done. As a reaction from the too meager records of former days, the present tendency, in dictating to a stenographer, is to include much ephemeral and extraneous matter, much second- or third-hand information, when direct first-hand information is available; many impressions without a sufficient basis of fact; many vague statements.

In studying a number of the best records available from several agencies ranking well in Massachusetts, the group found these criticisms to be applicable in every instance. On the other hand, it found omissions and gaps. The same worker may include much unnecessary matter while at the same time excluding facts of unquestionable relevancy. An illustration of this was a record showing a physician's statement that Johnny's teeth needed immediate attention. Although this record contained many entries of ephemeral value, nowhere did it show that this recommendation

was followed up. On inquiry, it appeared that the teeth had been put in order with promptness. This oversight in recording was probably due to the fact that the visitor had not taken time to read back the record. If either statement should be omitted on the permanent record, it should have been the recommendation rather than the statement of positive action taken.

In order to check such omissions, to insure more continuity in narrative and to reduce the bulk of the permanent record, one of the visitors from the Church Home, a child-placing society in Massachusetts, has, for the past winter, been trying out the following device. The visitor enters on a temporary sheet, filed with the record, rough notes made from day to day, while the facts are fresh and small details are still in mind. These notes the visitor writes in any such abbreviated form as she sees fit, taking care that they are decipherable in an emergency by some one not familiar with the record and that they are up to date. This temporary sheet includes tentative plans, facts that may contradict each other, etc. To it she clips all correspondence including ephemeral letters of arrangement and routine, the latter preferably carboned on different colored paper. Every two weeks, on active cases, she summarizes the sheet. At this point, she weighs the cumulative value of the data—organizes it for the permanent record. The temporary sheet she then destroys and starts a new one. (*See Charts* 3 *and* 4.) When, as is the usual method, the visitor dictates for the permanent record immediately after an interview or event, she is apt to give undue importance to many facts which, after the emergency passes, prove, in perspective, to be of little or no permanent value either in the solution of the particular problem or for research work. To repeat, it is not the process of getting things done that matters, but rather the account of the effected plan. It is too soon to predict with certainty as to the value of this experiment, but the outlook is favorable.

At least we can say that such carefully planned dictation as is suggested by the experiment impels the case worker to more clean-cut, consistently thought-out recording. The total result produces a more logical, purposeful history. Under this method, the visitor in question is spending more time in preparing material for dictation. She feels, however, that the better case work which has resulted from her clearer thinking is sufficient compensation for some added labor. If students were trained from the beginning in some such method, the time element would be considerably reduced.

As a rule, social workers allow too little time for record-

writing, or rather record-thinking, with the result that they dictate in loose terms. The use of this temporary record plan would be one means of correcting the common habit of making vague general statements. Case histories are replete with examples of this sort.

The temporary record plan is also a means of improving arrangement within the record. Although this is largely a matter of mechanics, it is important that we should follow some uniform plan. If we agree upon a chronological rather than a topical order, certainly the date should be entered first. Next, stereotyped headings such as "Wife visited at home," "Mary called at hospital," save time in dictating as well as in studying a record afterwards. The source of information should appear, preferably in the following order: first, relationship of informant to the beneficiary; second, the informant's name; third, his address, as, "man's sister, Mrs. Jane Green, 16 Broad St., Chelsea." If we use a colon after this description of the source of information, what follows then stands as the statement of the informant and such words as "he said" or "stated" become superfluous.

In recording the interview itself, especially perhaps the so-called first interview, which is apt to be long, we can use paragraphs to indicate the following divisions of subject matter: First, facts as given by the informant, his first-hand evidence standing out from the second-hand. The introduction of a few illustrative and direct quotations from his conversation put in quotation marks is an admirable way of characterizing the person interviewed or the one he is talking about. Second, the informant's opinions and impressions, in other words his interpretation of these facts. Third, his suggestion as to policy of treatment.

Given such a clear arrangement of facts within the interview, marginal captions in red type offer a topical reference that facilitates research. Thus far social workers have attained very little, if any, uniformity in the use of this device. It is one of the points our study group has in mind to consider more intensively. It should be possible in some such way to make conspicuous factors recurring in many cases; from the eugenic standpoint, for example, it might be well to call attention in the margin to matter relating, say, to the marriage of defectives. Diseases of social concern, housing conditions, alcoholism, or even traits of character, are a few of the items, which, if accessible, may give us generalizations of common concern. Much information lies hidden in records that might be made available by this simple method of first organizing the informant's story

and then of using red ink marginal captions. The danger in the use of captions lies in a possible lack of discrimination in selecting the facts for such emphasis. This danger, however, should prove a challenge to us to get well-equipped workers. Not only does material that is common to all types of case work agencies lend itself to this scheme of red-letter notes, but the more

Chart No. 1

FACE SHEET

SURNAME	CROSS REFERENCE	ALIAS	NO.

GIVEN NAMES	LEGITIMATE	COLOR	BIRTH DATE	BIRTH PLACE	NAT.	RELIGION	DEATH DATE	DEATH CAUSE
MAN								
WOMAN (MAIDEN NAME)								
ALLEG. FA. ILLEG. CH.								
CHILDREN								
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								

PARENTS MARRIED	DATE	PLACE	BY WHOM	VERIFIED
SEPARATED (LEGALLY)			COURT	
DIVORCED			"	
PREVIOUS MARRIAGE			TO WHOM	
SUBSEQUENT "				

PERMANENT PHYSICAL & MENTAL DISABILITIES	GUARDIANSHIP OR ADOPTION	DATE
MAN		
WOMAN		
CHILDREN		

DATE OF COMING TO CITY	STATE	U.S.	SETTLEMENT	NATURALIZATION
MAN				
WOMAN				

specialized material that each type of agency may need for its own use yields itself to similar arrangement. It might even be practicable for agencies to agree on a list of topics to be thus emphasized so that, as in the case of the face sheet, statisticians might know where to look for certain definite data.

When we approach the subject of record-writing from the

Chart No. 2

RELATIVES

KINSHIP	NAME	PERMANENT PHYSICAL & MENTAL DISABILITIES

REFERENCES

NAME	CONNECTION	DATE	DEFECTIVE ANCESTRY

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION	DATE	ADDRESSES BEGINNING WITH EARLIEST

OTHER INTERESTED AGENCIES	DATE

point of view of research as well as from that of case work, we shall get better results for our clients who must always remain our immediate concern while, at the same time, we shall arrange our facts with such orderliness that the statistician will be able readily to select those which are significant for drawing conclusions that will point the way to measures for community betterment.

Chart No. 3

3/27/16 Fo. mo. E. had ill turn yesterday--seems brighter today. Will consult dr.

3/28/ Holden Hospital. Dr. Kay: E. has bronchitis w. slight temp. Recommends hos. care as pneumonia might develop. E. adm. to H. Hosp. Temp. 104- respiration high.

3/31/ Dr. Kay: E. very ill. Temp. at 104-5. Diagnosis deferred.

4/1/ Dr. K: E. more comfortable. Temp. normal, pulse and respiration normal; crisis past. Considers case one of pneumonia tho not clearly defined.

4/4/ Dr. K: Ano. rise in temp. not accounted for.

4/4/ Mo. to off: Worried and upset over E's condition. Has heard alleg. fa. is back at his mo's. Will consider prosecuting but still undecided.

4/5/ Supt. Nurses, Miss Smith, Holden Hosp: Dr. Greene called in consultation. Intestinal obstruction now suspected. Case a puzzling one. temp. variable, operation not yet advised.

4/6/ Mo. at off: Dr. Kay says E. has tb. lungs. source undetermined. None in her fam. (Wishes E. had died at birth and before she became so fond of him)

4/6/ Dr. K.: No positive diagnosis tb. Still puzzled over case E. little brighter today but still in critical condition. Has chance of pulling thru.

4/6/ Saw mo. at employment: Miss Wilson, Hotel, Marblehead, has asked her to come back for laundry work this summer. Thinks this may be advisable as can make more money thus by boarding E. nearby. Will go to see lawyer today about prosecuting alleg. fa. Wishes Edward had died before she became so fond of him.

4/7/ Dr. K.: E. had more comfortable day; does not take nourishment properly. Suffers from exhaustion. Has a gen'l infection, not tb? Still on dangerous list. Localized in intestines.

4/8/ Nurse. Miss Smith: E. off dangerous list.

4/10/ Police: Unable to locate man.

4/15/ Dr. K.: Two Wasserman's come positive, diagnosis syphilis.

4/20/ Vis. mo: Warrant issued by Lowell Municipal Ct. 4/10. Miss Wilson will pay $8. a week and board. Wants girl June 1. Mrs. Gray will not keep baby if girl goes to Marblehead.

4/21 Tel. Ct. and verified statement re warrant.

Chart No. 4

Syphilis	4/18/16 (NRA) Holden Hospital, Dr. Kay: E. admitted for diagnosis and treatment 3/28. Pneumonia threatened, tb. suspected. High temp. Ch. very ill for a mo. Intestinal complications - a baffling case. Diagnosis, congenital syphilis made 4/15. Anti-syphilitic treatment ordered.
Bastardy action	4/28/16 (NRA) Lowell Municipal Court, Clerk, R.B. Babb tel: Bastardy warrant issued for Elmer Brown 4/10/16 on mo's complaint.
	4/28/16 (NRA) Lowell Police Sta. Capt. A--: Man cannot be located; satisfied he went under alias.

WIDER USE OF CASE RECORDS

Carol Aronovici, Ph.D., Director, Bureau for Social Research, Seybert Institution, Philadelphia

Case records have long been the objects of dispute among social workers, boards of directors and the uninitiated public, but seldom has the problem of the record as a constructive factor in social reform become the subject of intelligent discussions.

A case record is a more or less accurate picture of facts relating to an individual or family, secured with a view to facilitating an accurate social diagnosis which would lead to effective and prompt treatment of a particular case. That often some of the information gathered and recorded relative to a case or group of cases is found to have no bearing on the problem to be dealt with and is, therefore, apparently useless information, as far as a particular case is concerned, is not to be doubted. Upon inquiry it will be found, however, that successful medical diagnosticians must also rely upon case records and that many of them contain useless or irrelevant matter, but that efficient service makes it necessary to obtain a large amount of information which can be sifted in the search for facts and factors upon which an accurate medical diagnosis can be based. If this method of recording cases is essential in medicine, which is surely on its

way towards becoming a positive science, it is easily conceivable that in the field of social service, which is still a great way from having developed a technique of accurate social diagnoses, this method of recording is imperative. In this latter field, it must be remembered, the method of treatment demands recognition, not only of the individual concerned but of his relation to a complex, not wholly understood and constantly changing social order.

In dealing with the subject of the case record we must remember that between its use as a means of diagnosing a condition and its use in research there is a wide field of usefulness to which the case record may be put by both social workers and trustees.

Many social workers accept the task of preparing their records with a certain degree of fatalistic submission to precedent without appreciating the fundamental need for a knowledge of the facts upon which they base judgment that will be fair and just, not only to those whom they propose to aid, but to their own sense of discrimination and understanding of human problems. The worker who claims to understand the intricacies of human life in relation to society without invesigating, recording and correlating human and social facts, assumes a comprehension of society that in the centuries past has been the gift of the epoch-making geniuses who have hesitated and deliberated long before taking the responsibility for the settling of human destinies for which case workers almost daily make themselves responsible.

Admitting for the sake of argument that, as a means of diagnosing, *case records* with their time-consuming costliness, do not wholly justify the financial investment they represent, we find, upon inquiring, that there is *a wider use for the case record* which has as yet remained untouched.

Accumulated experience is a valuable asset in all work, but in social service its value can hardly be over-estimated. The daily dealing with cases of profoundly varying types and of varying degrees of interest produces upon the mind of the worker impressions, the relative importance of which, when translated into the personal point of view through the mentality of the worker, is bound to be distorted by the degree and type of impressionableness, if I may use the word, of this same worker.

The case record, when kept carefully and analyzed at given times, should serve to strengthen personal convictions derived from experience by verifying the results and should give balance to personal impressions by affording evidence upon which they may be corrected and adapted to the actual facts.

We hear much about efficiency in social work, but the measurement of this efficiency can only be brought about by a careful analysis of results. It is true that each social worker has a personal standard of efficiency, but such standard can be conveyed to boards of directors and the charitable public only through the measurement of results accomplished and failures encountered in the service. Both the social worker and the public need more than the word or impression of the worker to convince them of the value and efficiency of a particular type of service. A careful analysis of the case records, and that only where the case records are accurate and complete, would yield a reliable estimate of results accomplished. It must be remembered that charity's function is serving the poor and that good service must be efficient.

Beyond the measure of service relating to individual workers and institutions we will find a use for good case records as a basis of comparison between the work of different individuals or agencies working in different geographic spheres and using different or similar methods. If adequate and, as far as possible, uniform records are used by the different agencies or individuals, the analysis of such records serves as a medium for the exchange of information concerning results accomplished and tests of efficiency of methods when the methods are the same and for laboratory experience for different methods. This value of exchange of experience, whether with the same or different method, has not been appreciated sufficiently in social work and should command the attention of both workers and trustees. The value of case records that are complete and uniform as a test of methods of social service from a laboratory point of view, is clearly evident.

Turning from the value of the good case record as a means of increasing efficiency of service, we must not disregard the record as a source of information for sociological research. Buried in the scores of thousands of records of welfare agencies of this country are first-hand, accurate sociological data gathered without bias and without a preconceived point of view. Causes and effects, response to treatment and failure to respond, adequacy of social efforts and clear relationships between individual and community conditions are displayed in simple, well classified and chronologically arranged records. They hold for use vast stores of information, which when analyzed, should point the way toward a more constructive point of view of our social tasks and a clearer understanding of the larger social problems which are clamoring for solution.

Social workers, the trustees of our welfare agencies and the public at large should learn to appreciate the value of case records, but this can only be done by their wider and more intelligent use. Wider and more promising horizons of social service may be opened by a broader use of case records and the individual worker swamped by the details of uninspiring and apparently useless work of recording information may see a new and inspiring vision in what seems at present a humble task.

CASE RECORDS: DISCUSSION

Fred R. Johnson, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Boston

In the few minutes allotted to me for discussion I wish to confine my remarks to the use of case records for research purposes.

The consideration of health insurance, to which many of us have listened in this room this morning, emphasizes the necessity of research in social work. The kind of health insurance to be adopted in the United States, as well as the time of its adoption, will be materially influenced by the extent to which our medical and social agencies reveal how large a proportion of dependency in the community is caused by illness. Similarly other social reforms are retarded or hastened by the extent to which facts, hidden in the case records of our different societies, are made available.

Serious question arises, however, as to the value of statistics collected as a matter of routine by many societies. Those of us connected with charity organization societies know that some of the families under our care are known intimately for a long period of time, while others are known less intimately over a brief period of time. Many families come to us in the busiest months of the year, when it is difficult to do as thorough work as we should like. There is likewise a difference in the type of problems. The disabilities of homeless men, for instance, are not revealed thoroughly because the homeless man is a transient for whom the period of treatment is generally brief. Where there is no limitation in the intake of cases it is difficult to gather thorough and comparable figures as a matter of routine from year to year.

A different problem exists with agencies, such as many of our child-placing societies, who are able to limit their intake. They

can become thoroughly familiar with the status of all children accepted by them, and consequently are in a position to gather statistics conecrning all such children which are comparable.

The utility of gathering statistics of disabilities as a matter of routine by societies, able to limit their intake, is illustrated by the Boston Provident Association, a relief society. In its last annual report (1915) are comparative figures as to disabilities for the years 1912-13, 1913-14, and 1914-15. In those three years widowhood has declined as a factor in its cases from 30% to 14%, accident or occupational disease from 13% to 4%, while unemployment increased from 28% to 43%. These figures reflect in an interesting manner the influence of the public statutes concerning mothers' aid and workmen's compensation, and the abnormal amount of unemployment in the winter of 1914-15.

What of societies whose work makes limitation of intake impracticable or undesirable? They should, at least at intervals, make cross section studies to determine the nature of the social ills which are revealed to them. Only by so doing will they be able to make that contribution towards an understanding of the problems of dependency which the community has a right to expect.

DISCUSSION: The following named delegates participated in informal discussion: Dr. E. R. Hayhurst, Columbus, O.; Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Isaac Brown, Steubenville, O.

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CO-ORDINATION OF CIVIC EFFORT IN SMALL COMMUNITIES*

Margaret F. Byington, Associate Secretary, American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, New York

In recent years this Conference has frequently discussed the problems of rural or semi-rural communities. It has perhaps sufficiently emphasized the fact that juvenile delinquency, poverty, the problem of the unassimilated immigrant, preventable disease, bad housing, even inadequate recreation facilities are present in small as well as in large cities. The more difficult question which we still have to answer is how the small city can so organize its social and civic enthusiasm as to overcome these evils. We have, it is true, discussed charity organization work in the small city, rural recreation, county child placing work. These discussions, however, have usually centered about the modifications

*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 11:00 A. M.

of the particular program necessary to adapt it to these new conditions. Should not our starting point rather be the small city as a social unit; its problems, its opportunities and the methods by which its civic and social work may be effectively organized and co-ordinated.

At the present time the condition in small cities is certainly chaotic. Sometimes the organization first started is the one most needed, sometimes it bears no relation to the crying need of the particular community. A society to take neglected children and institutions to receive them but no agencies to keep families together; a tuberculosis association in a place where there is little tuberculosis while a shocking housing situation is not even recognized; a juvenile probation officer but no supervised recreation; these are situations which I have more than once encountered. There are, moreover, usually too many agencies, some with no paid worker, some with part time workers or with local secretaries who have had no training. Too much emphasis has been laid on organization; too little on the probable effectiveness of the work once the society is organized. The national organization may be in part responsible for this with their enthusiasm for their particular program. Each activity is indeed desirable but we, and I speak as one of them, do not always think through the problems of the whole community and the relative importance of its needs. This Conference is certainly the place where, with the help of the small city workers, we may thrash out these questions and formulate, little by little, a joint policy which we shall all have a part in working out.

First of all, we must bear in mind that social organizations are closer to the community life in a small city; that there is no group of paid workers, or what some one has called professional volunteers, who are going to demand new activities or co-ordinate existing ones. Instead, its responsibilities rest with the rank and file of the citizens. We must, therefore, build on local situations, not on theories. To those of us who work in or with small cities, their charm and stimulus lies in the fact that they have individualities which must be considered. We must aim to co-ordinate, not supersede, the personal vital interest in the town; to guide, not destroy, the responsiveness to local needs and the enthusiasm for social organization.

In the second place, we must reckon with the rather obvious fact that while the needs are as multiform as in larger cities, the community cannot maintain as many specialized organizations. This for three reasons: There are not enough citizens to serve on the boards and to give their personal interest to many organ-

izations and, therefore, if too many are started we simply have the same people serving over and over. In the second place, financial resources are not sufficient to maintain many agencies though this, of course, varies in different communities, depending on their wealth. Lastly, while all kinds of need exist, the number of instances of each and the amount of time necessary for educational work is lessened so that fewer workers are needed.

I have often found, especially in places nearer the larger cities, several agencies with the same people on their boards, many of the same contributors and many families being visited by each of their workers. A brief study of this situation was made in one of the New York suburbs, with a population of about 10,000, which had four agencies visiting families in their homes besides the hospital and day nursery. Of 127 families visited by the Associated Charities, 110 were also under the care of visiting nurses; 22 were being visited by the nurses from the babies' dispensary, and 14 by the tuberculosis association; 39 had had patients in the hospital and 12 had had children cared for in the day nursery. Conversely, of 608 contributors to these six agencies, 92 gave to two organizations; 64 to three; 41 to four; 22 to five and 6 to six. These spent about $5,000 in salaries and other forms of service. The needy families were being over-visited while certain weak spots in the local situation, such as the lack of recreation, probation work, housing reform, etc., were ignored. The primary interest of this community was in organizing something; their local social needs had never been considered as a whole.

Co-ordination of social interest in the small cities must, therefore, as in this case, mean some amalgamation of social organizations. Which kinds of work are most usefully combined and how many kinds can one organization undertake; is there any type of agency which is usually needed first; is it better to have one or two strong local societies or more agencies based on a larger unit such as the county?

For a city of 10,000 to 25,000 by what combination of agencies may its work be most effectively carried on? There are several lines of cleavage. The primary one, between public and private agencies, is blurred by the frequency with which privately initiated activities are taken over by the public and likewise by the importance of continued private interest, after they have been taken over, in order to maintain public work at a high standard and to win the community's support for it. Even in cities of this size, all the work should not be taken over by public departments, for perhaps even more than in larger cities there

is need of an organization, representing the citizens at large, which shall know at first-hand what the social conditions of the community are and shall stimulate the sane development of both public and private action.'

Then there is the division between the various types of problems; health, delinquency, dependency, recreation, etc. Are there any fundamental lines along which co-ordination or amalgamation is to be sought? My own feeling is that the first fundamental distinction is between work with families, or with individuals as members of the families, and work that is outside the limits of family life. In making, recently, a study of the programs of the various national movements for social betterment, I was deeply impressed with the way in which each of them was extending its work to the home. The campaign for the prevention of infant mortality has passed from legislation to provide pure milk, to the most intensive training of the individual mother in the care of her child. The public school has visiting teachers to adjust the home problems of the pupils; the juvenile court makes parents responsible for the delinquency of their children. The points of contact with the families are indeed widely different through court or school, through sickness or dependence, but the real question is always the same; why does this family fall below normal and how can it be made to furnish the right environment for the child? This Conference is more and more discussing family case work jointly, recognizing the likenesses in fundamentals, no matter what the point of contact with the family may have been. May not these various problems, therefore, in small cities come under the scope of work of one organization?

One frequently hears it said that the family problems in small cities are few and their treatment, therefore, an unimportant part in the local social development. Contact with small cities has, however, made me increasingly aware of the number and difficulty of these family problems; on the one hand the increasing number of immigrants of whose presence the older inhabitants are hardly aware, and on the other hand the degenerate American stock where feeble-mindedness and immorality are frequent. In one town, with a population of only 4,000, a careful survey indicated that 65 families needed some form of social service. Since the same families, as indicated in the statement above, are often suffering from several forms of mal-adjustment, one agency may well be responsible for the entire family situation even though this means some loss of specialization and

some danger of adding together unrelated activities. This society might have two workers; one a trained social worker and the other a trained medical worker.

The details of such a plan have only been tentatively worked out. Should this position be a combination one with some of the public offices, the secretary being also probation officer or truant officer? What is her relation to the city overseer of the poor? When there is no state placing out work for children, should she attempt to cover this field? At what point in the city's growth should we begin to differentiate these activities, developing a number of different organizations?

My own conclusion is that each community needs one strong agency prepared to wrestle with the problems of those families which have fallen below normal, and which is prepared to interpret to the community as a whole the conditions which have permitted them to fall below this standard; that in a small community this society should cover the entire field of family welfare work; that it should have a capable paid worker as leader of social thought; that differentiations in family work should come only when there is enough work and enough support to justify a second organization in securing a trained worker for the more specialized field; that our emphasis should constantly be placed on the fundamental importance of training for social work.

So much for the co-ordination of work with families. I shall not attempt to deal with the problems of local charitable institutions except to remind you that with the gradual giving up of institutions for children, the hospital is frequently the only important local institution. In its internal management it is usually independent of other forms of social work. The development of a clinic and of social service work may, however, well be taken up by the family welfare organization.

There is a second line of cleavage between agencies undertaking specific kinds of social work and those particularly organized to develop general social interest, such as civic clubs, some commercial organizations and many women's clubs. Public opinion in a small city is more potent because more easily organized and more directly exercised. When city officials and citizens know each other personally, opinion counts. Democracy in a New England town, with its town meeting, is still simple and direct in its action. On the other hand, the small city is rarely stirred by the consciousness of those social needs whose magni-

tude in the great cities startled the community into action. Neither does it have so close a contact with the increasing interest in social welfare. Unless aroused and guided, this power may lie dormant; if organized, it may have almost unlimited influence. Our plan, therefore, for co-ordinating civic activity must clearly recognize this possibility and unwearyingly struggle to make it effective.

This may in part be achieved through a civic club which shall focus the interest of all those with even a slight concern in the social welfare. This organization need not have a paid worker, its committees co-operating with public officials, especially with the paid worker of the family agency. Out of her intensive work with families will come a definite knowledge of existing evils, such as bad housing, poor sanitation, preventable sickness, unemployment, etc., of which the community itself is rarely aware. Sometimes it may be possible to supplement these by more technical surveys in particular fields, but the facts which point the way to this further study may well be learned during the patient day by day visiting of dependent families. The facts thus secured, and presented to the social welfare board, the civic club or the public, should be the beginning of propaganda work which should serve to co-ordinate and develop public opinion on social matters. Especially when public departments, such as those of health, correction, poor relief, do not have at their head experts familiar with modern developments in their special line, there is need of having groups of private citizens study these modern developments and see how far they can be applied to the local situation. It has been quite as often from individual citizens, as from officials, that the demand has come for separate juvenile courts, the use of public schools as recreation centers or for preventive health work.

In addition to the family agency and civic club, other specialized activities must be maintained either by the city or by private agencies. Perhaps the most important of these are recreational work and educational health propaganda. It is probably in the decision as to the number of such specialized activities, and the point at which they should be separately organized, that the greatest question arises. A general ruling may well be that until a movement is strong enough to be able to secure a competent trained worker it should remain a committee of the civic club, the social welfare agency or a joint committee of both. Frequently a civic club has secured a worker as an experiment until the public was convinced of the value and the city has

taken over the responsibility. This program should not mean the suppression of the interest of individuals nor any endeavor to control all the activities of the town. If the civic club is made truly democratic in spirit it may serve as the training school for the social thought of the community. Then, new activities can be brought into harmony with existing ones and some possible relation worked out between the greatness of the need and the order of development.

So far we have considered the possibility of organization when we take the small city of 10,000 to 25,000 population as a unit. The other possible means of dealing with these problems is by a series of organizations covering a larger unit, such as that of the county, more specialized in character. This method may well be adopted in a territory which has a good many small villages or towns not strong enough to have independent societies but which could as a whole provide adequate support making for greater differentiation. Difficulties in the way of county organizations are the securing of joint support in spite of local jealousies, especially in view of the fact that usually the community which can supply the most money has least need proportionately for the work; the developing of local committees of volunteers to maintain the work of various units with occasional visits from the paid worker; dealing with emergency calls when work is so scattered; the need for having the worker get to know and keep in personal touch with individuals in so many communities. Here again it is largely a problem of leadership. I feel so strongly that the significant factor in organizing the small city is trained leadership that I should say choose in any given situation a method by which this can be secured. If, by having three county organizations, one for dependent, neglected, delinquent children; one for families and one for recreation, you can get three experts while if societies were organized in the separate towns you could get no experts, then have three county agencies.

It must not be forgotten, however, that county organizations can with difficulty be imposed from without unless there is a local spirit and a degree of self-consciousness on which we may build. An attempt to organize the work in Queens county, a part of New York city, which contains a group of villages with no sense of joint membership in a larger community, has made me particularly conscious of the danger of being allured by the idea of county organization when there is no sense of community. This does not, of course, apply to state work with county branches.

I have not, however, included this as a possible method because while it does increase the amount of intelligent social work in semi-rural communities, it cannot, as effectively as a local organization, co-ordinate a community's civic interest.

To state some tentative conclusions: In all our small cities there is a growing realization that social problems exist. There is, too, a growing desire to fall in line in the efforts to remedy them. The agencies for civic betterment are increasing. Too often, however, these organizations are uninformed and I do not need to remind this audience what harm unintelligent activity can do or what much needed good it may fail to do. My belief, therefore, is that the purpose of all who are interested in the welfare of the small city should be to co-ordinate this civic enthusiasm under trained leadership. Neither to increase unduly the number of organizations nor to replace community interest in civic welfare by professional service, but to seek out for a given community the amount and kind of organization which will give it the most alert informed civic interest, coupled with skilled professional leadership. As I have said, this means a loss of the specialization toward which we are increasingly tending in the large cities. We are demanding, there, workers especially trained for medical social service work or probation or charity organization work. Must we set a new standard for the small city worker, emphasizing the value of accurate thorough training in the general problems of family welfare, the methods by which such families may be brought back to normal and the methods of dealing with dependent or neglected children, coupled with a general understanding of those factors which affect family life, such as housing, health, etc. This may mean some specialized form of training to give the individual worker experience in several kinds of family case work.

Whatever it involves, however, whether the subordination of our special programs or the training of special workers for this field, let us look further ahead and formulate more clearly some joint policy for the development of the work in small cities instead of following the chance impulses of the particular community that seeks our counsel. What I have stated here is my own personal conclusion after organizing experience in a good many small cities. I realize that those whose contact has come along other lines will probably differ in their judgment of the best method to be adopted. I hope, however, that this may serve, by its concreteness, to stimulate criticism and discussion.

CO-ORDINATING AS DONE BY THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE

Helena R. Stewart, Ph.B.,R.N., State Supervising Nurse, Division of Public Health Education and Tuberculosis, Ohio State Board of Health, Columbus.

Our experience in Ohio in the co-ordination of civic effort in small communities has been accumulated since 1911. In that year the State Tuberculosis Society began to organize work in the smaller cities with the purpose of centering community attention on the problem of tuberculosis. A hasty survey of the tuberculosis situation revealed the fact that tuberculosis work was well co-ordinated in the larger centers of population and that practically nothing had been done in the smaller ones. Some plan for securing community interest had to be devised which would attract attention, and at the same time be effective in creating a permanent understanding and appreciation on the part of the people that there was a health problem in their midst which needed to be dealt with.

In this discussion, we use the term "small community" to mean one having a population from 5,000 to 25,000. The civic problems in cities having populations from 25,000 to 100,000 cannot be considered as those of a small community because of the greater resources to be found in such cities for meeting the problems. The same statement applies to cities over 100,000 population. In other words, different approaches and methods of organization are needed for the large city, the medium-sized city, the small city, and the rural community. As a general proposition it may be said that our social service or civic experience has been amassed in the larger cities and this fact has had the tendency to cause any plans or methods of organization which have been found successful in them, to be transferred to the smaller community without very much attempt to adapt them to the real situation.

The same forces which operate in the larger cities to call into being the so-called civic effort also operate in the smaller cities, although on a lesser scale. Practically every small community has incipient problems of poverty, disease, housing, juvenile delinquency and recreation. Perhaps one or all of these may be present and be recognized by a few people but as a usual thing such recognition does not extend far beyond the individual aspects of the problem or problems. Adverse social conditions and situations which exist in a small community are not nearly

so numerous nor so complicated as those found in a large city. Yet they hold the same potential menace to the community life, and need some one especially trained to meet them.

The need for social service activities in the smaller communities is just beginning to secure a permanent place in the minds of the people who live in them. They are anxious to learn how to organize for effective action. The national and state associations organized for various purposes have a responsibility in this connection that cannot be discharged lightly. Each one of us is so engrossed with our own particular point of approach that we cannot view the true needs of a community from a detached position. I recall in an Ohio city of 30,000, there were field agents from four associations within the space of ten days addressing public meetings for the purpose of effecting organizations; one from the National Playground Association; one from the American Association for Organizing Charity; one from the State Commission for the Blind, and one from the State Tuberculosis Society. Each one had stressed the importance of his particular problem and the necessity of employing a well-trained and experienced worker. The local people were so confused and discouraged at the end of the series of meetings that they did not know where to turn for aid in their dilemma. Even if we grant that the problems presented were of equal importance and in need of an experienced worker to deal with them, financial considerations make it out of the question for the small community to employ several trained workers, be they in one special field of work or in several different ones.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to know what situation in a small community is the one calling for first consideration. This is not always so easy as it may seem. Human relations at their best are complex and when affected by abnormalities either in the individual or the environment they become even more complex. The ideal method in searching out the major problem would be, of course, to make a careful survey in each community before arriving at any definite conclusions. This is out of the question in most instances. There is left then the method of selection by analyzing the forces which are more nearly universal in their disastrous effects upon the individual. These forces are those which attack and impair the physical vitality of the individual members of the community. Questions of preventable disease and premature death are uppermost in every community whether it be large or small.

Dr. Devine in his book, *Misery and Its Causes,* says:

> Ill health is perhaps the most constant of the attendants of

> poverty. It has been customary to say that twenty-five per cent of the distress known to charitable societies is caused by sickness. An inquiry into the physical condition of the members of the families that ask for aid, without for the moment taking any other complications into account, clearly indicates that whether it be the first cause or merely a complication from the effect of other causes, physical disability is at any rate a very serious disabling condition at the time of application in three-fourths—not one-fourth—of all the families that come under the care of the Charity Organization Society, who are probably in this respect in no degree exceptional among families in need of charitable aid.

If this statement is true for New York, it will be found to be relatively true for other communities. At least such has been our experience in Ohio.

Health conditions in any given area, therefore, offer one of the most universal and effective points around which to rally the civic efforts of a community. Practically everyone has had some acquaintance with disease. When the possibility of preventing disease is pointed out, there is almost instant response on the part of the people. Special problems of public health work, such as infant mortality, tuberculosis, physical defects of school children and occupational diseases, make a concrete appeal to the individual which can readily be converted into community action.

We believe that the public health nurse is the first type of worker to be introduced in the small community. A public health nurse is a graduate nurse who has had training in social service work. She is a nurse and a social worker combined in one person. Her point of attack is to render concrete service to the individual or family in time of sickness and then to interpret in terms of a community civic program, the adverse tendencies which affect their welfare. The great difficulty is to secure the proper person with sufficient experience and education who can do these things. In the large city where specialization can proceed to the nth degree, social workers and nurses work side by side in the same families. In the small city this is impossible. And so a new type of worker is being developed to meet the situation.

There are 65 cities in Ohio with populations from 5,000 to 25,000. We have succeeded in forming public health organizations in 47 of these cities and in inducing 40 organizations to permanently employ public health nurses. This means that each organization raises a budget between $1,200 and $1,500 annually, to pay the salary of the nurse and other expenses. The salaries range between $75.00 and $100.00 per month.

The scope of the work done by these nurses covers the entire range of public health and social service work. In one home she

may give a bath to a sick patient; in another, a child may need glasses and the nurse arranges to secure them; in another, material relief may be imperative and the nurse arranges to secure it; and so the day of the public health nurse may be taken up with an almost infinite variety of work. We have placed great emphasis on the fact that the public health nurse is not a charity agent. We prefer to carry on the propaganda on the basis that the public health nurse is a community servant and to be called upon by rich and poor alike. By pursuing such a method we believe we can secure community action in developing a civic program much more quickly and effectively than if we were to place the services of the nurse at the call of the poor only.

We believe that the concrete service rendered an individual or family in the home opens a natural avenue for the educational work which is so necessary in developing any community program. The facts of death and disease, poverty, unemployment, juvenile delinquency and of ignorance are the daily materials with which the public health nurse seeks to quicken the conscience of her community into a recognition of the duty it has in co-ordinating its efforts to meet its civic responsibilities.

Summarizing, then, I may say that in Ohio since 1911 our work in small communities with populations from 5,000 to 25,000 indicates that the same forces are at work in them as in the larger cities to create social problems and that there is need for specially trained workers to meet them; that the forces which attack and impair the physical vitality of the individual members of a community are nearly universal and should demand initial attention in any community program; and that the public health nurse is proving herself to be an excellent agent in aiding communities to co-ordinate their efforts to meet their civic responsibilities.

CO-ORDINATING AS DONE BY CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES

Adaline A. Buffington, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Lansing, Michigan

Because our ideal of social welfare is much more possible of attainment in a small city, it seems to me very desirable in this discussion to keep our end very closely in mind. We want to make models of our small communities. Like an individual family, each has its peculiar problems pertaining to health, edu-

cation, recreation, employment and spiritual development. Like a family that we have the chance to assist in their first misfortune, these problems are in their infancy. They have not yet become chronic or fixed and, therefore, they are much easier to solve. Or, to change the figure, our small communities are the children and our big cities the grown folks. We can teach and develop children but changing grown folks is a much more difficult task. Develop conditions approaching the ideal in our small cities and we will not later have to grapple with the serious problems that confront us now in our large cities. Health, education, recreation, employment, and an opportunity for spiritual development, we want not one or two of these but all of them. Our dependent family is not on its feet until it has successfully renewed its contact with its environment along all these lines. Neither will our town be model until it is normally developed along all these lines.

Small cities differ very much, like individual families, but they have certain common characteristics. They are, first, very ignorant of the conditions under which the majority of their citizens live. The average citizen is intent on his own business and his own home. He has no time for anything else. He will tell you, if asked, that his town has no problems, probably that it has no poor; it is as good and better than any place around. He will be very much surprised and horrified to learn of cases of as great destitution or of as bad housing as can be found in the large cities.

As small cities are as a rule ignorant of their problems, so are they ignorant of their possibilities. They desire to grow large without realizing that every factory which is added to the town brings its accompanying problems of health, of housing and of destitution. They do not understand the requisites for a model city nor do they possess an ideal of it. Further they do not think of themselves as an entity, as one organism. They are individuals and groups of individuals. I have actually had people in a certain town tell me that they did not care what conditions existed in the public schools, because their children did not go; nor whether the town had sewage, because they had a system of their own. And frequently there is a group of individuals so prejudiced and so jealous of the activities of another group, that they are willing to wreck entirely the necessary work that both are engaged in, rather than work in harmony together. Your individual has to be shaken out of his individualism and your groups have to be welded together to work for the common good before any effort in the small town, whether it be for the family

work of an associated charities or for a health movement, will be fruitful. That this can be done is the fascination of working in a small community. It is possible to arouse it to its civic needs, give it an ideal and develop its civic work toward a definite goal, and to see the work grow under your very eyes. This is a much larger task than co-ordinating existing activities.

Now as to method: There must be, of course, a trained social worker, either volunteer or paid, as leader. Why trained? Because no one else will see the problem in its entirety and the end in view. Not because your trained worker is any better than any of the citizens, far from it, but simply because he or she has been trained to see what others do not see and to do what others are not in the habit of doing. The starting point is good case work begun at the point of civic development where the community is most interested. Like teaching a child, you have to have a common point of knowledge and interest to build out from. In a community of 5,000 where seven years ago they thought they had no poor, a womans' club made the experiment of engaging a visiting nurse. They not only found that they had in proportion their share of destitution but that one-fifth of their population were Italians which, unless Americanized and educated, would soon become a menace. Out of that visiting nurse's work and the work with dependent families which came to her attention, grew a nurses' settlement with one resident and one visiting nurse and a school nurse who acted as truant officer, to say nothing of general health and recreation movements. In another town the starting point was the case work of an associated charities.

I am increasingly of the opinion that the trained, general, family worker—where the town is interested enough and able to support one—is an absolute essential. Your general worker in rehabilitating families, goes at the task the way she will later have to go at the larger task of developing her community. She is not particularly biased on the side of the health, educational or industrial conditions of her family—she has to consider them all. In considering them all, she not only puts her family on its feet but she comes into direct contact with community conditions of health, education, etc., and she learns which are the most urgent problems in the community and in what order they should be taken up. In cities of 10,000 or under your worker, with a very little extra effort, will through her case work very soon know her community thoroughly. In larger cities, she will have to depend on volunteer committees helping her. Again, facts learned about community conditions through case work, are the most convincing arguments to the average citizen for bettering

conditions. Moreover, good family work is not only the starting point but the touch-stone of all other reforms; it keeps them on the ground when they are inclined to soar. What is not desirable for your individual family, is not desirable for the city as a whole.

The organization with which your family worker is connected will naturally take the lead. It has been my experience that it is not advisable to have that organization monopolize all the social work in the town. This depends, of course, a great deal upon the size of the place and the number of people interested. You do not want the same group of persons serving over and over again on different boards and thus wasting effort and money. But where it is possible to avoid this waste, the more people you can get to work in various capacities, the sooner you will educate your community and put through your social program. For instance, I have never ceased to regret the elimination of an old aid society, in a city of 40,000, by an upstart of an associated charities with which I was connected. It seemed the only thing to do at the time, as they were old fashioned and would not work with us. But if we *had* been able to get them interested to continue their relief work in co-operation with us, it would have been so much better. We have had to take over their business in second-hand clothes and are doing it very much less efficiently than they could have done it besides losing the opportunities of education through their community contacts. Following the same principle, when a free clinic was needed, that Associated Charities instead of starting one itself, interested the Graduate Nurses' Association. The outcome is a clinic supervised by the Associated Charities and managed by the nurses and the medical society. There is very much more interest taken in it than if a committee of the Associated Charities alone had begun the work.

The distinction already made between work done directly for families, and civic work not particularly connected with families, such as working out a social program, seems to me a very good one. I have found it a natural cleavage. In my town of 5,000 the women's club undertook the nursing, settlement and recreational work. These might all, except possibly the last, fall under family work. The Men's Civic Improvement Club concerned itself with the more general problems such as town planning, educational matters and methods of taxation. In my town of 40,000 the Associated Charities is the center around which the organizations for family work cluster, the Visiting Nurses' Association, the Humane Society, the Free Clinic, and the lodging house and day nursery of the Volunteers of America. A separate representative commit-

tee since developed into a City Club, is working out a health program in its various phases. This latter is a volunteer organization entirely. There has been from the beginning a close connection between it and the Associated Charities.

As to the question of when is the right time to develop specialized phases of family work such as probation work, child placing work, etc.; or as to whether your general worker should be probation officer and truant officer, I do not know. I think that given your general family worker, the development of these special kind, the better it was for my family work. An official court fields has to be left with her and suited to the needs of the individual city. Personally I have found that the farther away I could keep from direct official relations with courts of any connection disturbs the free, friendly relations with families that is so essential. We have done probation work but not as probation officers. Your choice in developing specialized fields has to be fitted in again to your social program. As the opportunities arise and money is available, the choice will lie always on the constructive side, the one that will promote your prorgam to the best advantage. In my city of 40,000, I have in the last four years devoted all my time to building up my general family work and to working up the necessary machinery to put through a health program. There were one thousand other things that could be done but this seemed the most essential.

One word as to methods of leadership. Small towns are very sensitive to criticism, particularly from an out-of-town person. Your successful small community leader keeps herself in the dark as much as possible. She plans and suggests and lets others take the ideas as their own and guides them again when they work them out. It is not how much she does herself but how much energy she can set free in others that counts.

Good family work and a social program, worked out under a trained general worker, whose organization will lead and develop specialized fields as the opportunity permits, seem to me the essentials in small community work.

CO-ORDINATION OF CIVIC EFFORT IN SMALL COMMUNITIES

Raymond A. Hoyer, Director of the Tri-Cities Social Center, La Salle, Illinois

From the historic standpoint, La Salle county, Illinois, presents a very romantic past, for it is rich in lore of the late seven-

teenth and early eighteenth centuries, when those fearless French explorers La Salle and Tonti and those zealous Jesuit fathers Marquette, Hennepin and Joliet explored the entire Illinois valley for France and their church. From 1700 till 1820 there is little or no information, as but few white men came into the region; but at the latter date the entire district received a migration of hardy Massachusetts and Connecticut families, who came in search of more fertile land than New England afforded. Peru was laid out in 1834 and La Salle in 1837, at which times the two cities had populations of upwards of a thousand apiece. Oglesby, the third of the tri-cities, was not settled, however, until nearly forty years later. With the advent of the Michigan and Illinois canal, connecting the Mississippi with Lake Michigan, the cities of La Salle and Peru began to assume important roles commercially and Peru became the first city of the state of Illinois. Work on the canal passed through many vicissitudes, culminating with the failure of the English company that had undertaken the work. Meanwhile the laborers, most of whom were Irish, who were engaged in the work of construction, were stranded, penniless, throughout the county. Finally, the state paid the men off, many of whom purchased land around La Salle and went to farming. At a later date, the canal was finished by the state.

Today we find the tri-cities—La Salle, Peru, and Oglesby—located in the sixth richest agricultural county of the United States. Add to this the fact that La Salle county maintains a very prosperous industrial life and we have a most interesting field for consideration. Moreover, practically all of this industry is located in the tri-cities, with which we are to deal exclusively in this paper. The tri-cities are typical industrial centers and as such present all the intricate problems of modern industrialism.

Geographically the tri-cities are located in close proximity to one another. La Salle being the largest and also the most centrally located. Peru is really a continuation westward of La Salle, although several forbidding ravines are to be found just at the boundary. Peru's business section, however, is a mile and a half distant from the business portion of La Salle so that the two towns are not so closely associated as one might imagine. But an interurban line connects the two cities, providing rapid transit service at frequent intervals. Oglesby is a city of more recent origin and shows all the symptoms of a growing community. Oglesby grew up around the coal mines located there, but the town has passed through few of the vicissitudes of a mining town, due in part to the fact that the early settlers were of thrifty,

wholesome North Irish, Scotch and English stock. Duncan MacDonald, secretary of the United Mine Workers for the state of Illinois, is a product of Oglesby; and today one still finds a community, whose destinies are being directed by this same group, despite a recent influx of Poles, Lithuanians, Slovenians and Italians. There is, however, little means of travel between Oglesby and the other two cities, a fact that has isolated that town from its neighbors to a much greater extent than the actual distance would require. Four miles separate Oglesby from La Salle, but when one must depend upon the very uncertain and inadequate service rendered by the Illinois Central and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroads or upon the Ford taxicab service, it is apparent that the trip is seldom made by the vast majority. The main natural barrier is the Illinois river with the lowlands adjacent.

La Salle, as I have said, was originally settled, for the most part, by Irish, but today more than half the population is composed of Poles, Slovenians and Italians. La Salle totals 13,000 in all. Peru, on the other hand, was first settled by New England people, closely followed by a group of several hundred English immigrants. However, almost from the start Germans came to the town in such large number that finally the older English settlers left in a group and settled at Streator, a town some miles south. That Peru has remained very German in character would be convincingly evident to any person of pro-ally tendencies, who chanced to state his views in that city and Peru has retained its original character to a much larger extent than either La Salle or Oglesby. Actually, however, Peru has within its corporate limits a large group of Poles, who reside just at the boundary line between the ravines. This section is popularly known as "Between the Bridges," and really acts as a very effectual boundary zone between the two cities. "Between the Bridges," is really much nearer La Salle than Peru and is probably the worst section of the township from the standpoints of living conditions, education and commercialized recreation. Here are located several of the worst saloons of the district, the worst saloon dance hall and an exceedingly dangerous beer garden and dance park, at whose door may be laid the blame for the downfall of many a local boy and girl. Peru has a population of more than 8,000, while Oglesby boasts of 5,000.

Thus we have an aggregate population of about 28,000 in the two townships comprising the community. La Salle township includes the cities of La Salle and Oglesby and some surrounding farm land, while Peru township comprises the city of Peru and

its environs. The district is so predominately industrial, however, that the agricultural question scarcely enters into the programs of the various social agencies at all.

Industrially, the tri-cities present a very interesting field for discussion. The two main groups include the concerns mining cement and those smelting zinc. The German American Cement Company's plant is in La Salle and the Marquette and the Chicago Portland companies are located in Oglesby. These three companies probably provide work for 1,500 men. The Matthiessen & Hegeler Zinc Works is located in La Salle and the Illinois Zinc Company in Peru, both plants having in normal times a large output and since the war larger sales than ever. These plants employ about 2,000 men. Probably the only industrial concern that has taken the names of La Salle and Peru into all parts of the civilized world is the Western Clock Company, which is located "Between the Bridges." Here is manufactured "Big Ben," probably the best known and best selling alarm clock on the market today. Within its commodious factories work is provided for 1,500 men and women, this being the only large concern in the three cities affording work for women. These are the largest industrial concerns in the township, although some mention should be made of a dozen smaller factories of varied character, of Peru's two breweries and of the coal mines. The mines, however, with two exceptions are subsidiary to the zinc companies, which were no doubt located where they are because of this proximity.

It is evident, even from this brief enumeration, that the demand for unskilled labor predominates and it is of interest to note that little attempt has ever been made to effect any organization among the men.* On the other hand the skilled artisans of the three cities have very powerful unions as have the miners, most of whom are members of the United Mine Workers. In this connection should be mentioned the men employed by the railroads, of which five pass through the limits of the township. These are: the Illinois Central; the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, and the La Salle & Bureau

*Since this paper was written a strike has occurred in the three cement works, and is now in its eleventh week (July 31). A conference called by the governor has proved futile and militia are being used. Demand for recognition of the union has been dropped, and the operators have agreed to a wage increase. The strikers are mostly Poles, Slavonians and Italians. Threatened trouble in the two zinc plants and the Peru Plow Works has been avoided.

County Railroad, the latter being a private branch of the Chicago & Northwestern, maintained by the Matthiessen & Hegeler Zinc Company.

Thus we find a community much diversified as to population and industry; an unskilled, hard-working community and one where co-operation of any sort seems to have been impossible up to three years ago. Within the last three years, however, co-operative social undertakings have materialized and it is of these that I have been asked to speak. They are three in number: the Tri-City Health Department, the Tri-City Associated Charity Society, and the Social Center of the La Salle-Peru Township High School, the first two organizations ministering to the tri-cities only, and the Social Center to the entire township. The Associated Charities is supported by the people of the tri-cities and the Social Center by taxation from the township, while in the case of the Health Department work is carried on by funds privately donated by one man, the same gentleman who was instrumental in the foundation of the Associated Charities and the Social Center. This gentleman, however, does not like to be considered in the role of a philanthropist, as he is only giving back to the community a small share of the good things that the community has afforded him in such abundance.

The Health Department, as I have said, is privately endowed, but it is receiving full public support and co-operation, although at the start it was received in some quarters with suspicion. Its activities include those usually found in the Health Departments of the larger cities. It inspects the food and water supply, maintains a strict supervision over the milk supply and, through its infant welfare nurse, handles the problems of infant mortality; it enforces quarantine and handles the sewage and garbage problems; it is responsible for medical inspection of both public and parochial schools, a fact of significance when I add that the parochial schools have a larger attendance than the public; and the Department was collecting vital statistics for the three cities, even before the state law required it. All of this work is being carried on by a staff of experts who, with the co-operation of the local physicians and the two local hospitals, which take all kinds of cases, are handling the health problems of the three cities in a very efficient manner.

The Tri-City Associated Charity Society is supported entirely by public subscription and is supervised by a trained secretary and a staff of competent assistants. Under its present efficient administration the society has enlarged the scope of its activities and is handling the situation with thoroughness and skill.

The Social Center of the La Salle-Peru Township is just beginning its third year. Its activities are supported by taxation and are maintained by the township board of education, under the direct supervision of a staff of six year-round workers. The work was made possible through the gift, of the gentleman above mentioned, of $75,000 for a Recreation Building to be run in connection with the High School and to serve as a community center. The work was to be maintained by the board. The donor also stipulated that the people of the township were to declare by public election their willingness to support the Center. The board took immediate action and the election resulted in the almost unanimous acceptance of the proposition.

The Recreation Building contains a large gymnasium with a running track, a swimming pool, locker rooms, a bowling alley, and four club rooms. The building has been equipped at considerable expense and is fitted for all recreational activities. The main high school building contains, besides the usual class rooms, a large auditorium located on the ground floor. This auditorium seats 600, has a stage and scenery, and is modeled after the Little Theatre of New York. The Manual Arts Building contains well equipped manual training and domestic science departments. While most of the social center activities are carried on in the Recreation Building, yet these other school buildings are being used to an increasing extent. Just adjacent lies the new athletic and play field, the gift of this same gentleman. The field contains tennis courts, a cinder running track, baseball fields and a large outdoor swimming pool. Playground space has been reserved and its apparatus will probably be installed in the near future. A large concrete stadium has also recently been erected, its cost being defrayed by public subscription. From the physical standpoint the Center is most completely equipped.

The Center runs year-round, night and day, seven days a week, and includes in its program the following activities: gymnasium classes for all; indoor and outdoor baseball, basketball, volley ball, wrestling and tennis; the high school athletic and social events; a well organized grade and parochial school athletic league; baseball and basketball leagues for the lodges, factories, mines and churches; game rooms, folk dancing, story-telling, picnics, outings, Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls; literary, dramatic, musical and social clubs; dances; classes in citizenship, concerts, entertainments, lectures, political meetings, musicals, dramatics, and patriotic celebrations. The State Conference of Charities and Correction was held at the Center in 1914, as was the Northern Illinois Teachers Association that same autumn.

The enthusiastic way in which the people as a whole have supported the Center from the very start has only been exceeded by the community's need for decent, supervised recreation. The Social Center has for the first times in the tri-cities provided diversified recreation under healthful, moral environment. One of the worst plague spots, as I have stated earlier, is the region "Between the Bridges," and for this district probably most work has been attempted. This has been rendered the more easy because of the proximity of that section to the Center.

The township has among its population probably 6,000 Poles, a part, living in Peru "Between the Bridges," and the rest in La Salle and Oglesby; Poles who warmly cherish and preserve all the folk traditions brought over by them from the "old country," —a group that can make important contributions to American life, but one that needs some very concrete interpretations of what America really means, if the vitally important process of assimilation is to go forward. With this in mind, the Center has attempted to enlist the aid of the priests of the local Polish churches with the intent of getting their people to use its facilities. Since both St. Hyacinths, La Salle and St. Valentines, Peru, have well equipped parish houses, the need for meeting rooms for various organizations was negative. There was, however, one organization that could not find adequate facilities for its activities, and that was the Polish Falcons or Turners, a military and gymnastic organization. Accordingly the use of the Recreation Building was tendered to them and accepted for one night a week, at which time the Falcons carry on their drill, marching and apparatus work under the supervision and direction of a trained Polish leader. The group also has the use of the club rooms, auditorium and swimming pool. Not only are the members of the Falcons enjoying these privileges, but so also are hundreds of other Poles, —friends and relations—who crowd the gallery and watch the proceedings. On two evenings in June a special musket drill was held under the direction of the head drill-master of the American Association of Falcons, on which occasion the crowd could scarcely be accommodated. A troop of Polish Boy Scouts, having no connection with the national organization, composed of some sixty boys, also uses the Center as headquarters. Recently a young men's club was organized by the young men of St. Valentines.

The celebration of the most important of all Polish National holidays—Constitution Day—was held in the auditorium on Sunday afternoon, May 1, 1915. The affair was observed with all pomp and ceremony. The congregation of St. Valentine's church

marched to the High School, led by their own band and accompanied by the Falcons and Hussars, dressed in full regalia. Some seven hundred people crowded the auditorium to listen to a very excellent program, in both languages, rendered by the children as well as by the priests of the adjacent parishes and prominent Poles from Chicago. The past glory of the unfortunate kingdom was related both in verse and song, by adult choirs and the children, and in ringing speeches by the male speakers, while the future hopes for a united Poland brought forth enthusiastic applause from the audience. A second and probably more significant celebration was held last November when Insurrection Day was commemorated. On this occasion every speech touched upon the civic obligations of the Pole to his new country, a most unique departure for an Insurrection Day affair. Similar community work among the Slovenians and Italians is not yielding such satisfactory results, due in part to the fact that these people have no capable leaders either among their laity or clergy.

The question naturally arises: "What is the significance of all this?" We social workers of the tri-cities feel that the real significance lies not in anything that we personally may have accomplished, but rather in what democracy has accomplished of and for itself, and in the promise the future holds for small communities advantageously located. Certainly no three communities could have been found of more diverse character than the tri-cities. Attempts at co-operation had always met with signal failure and a most intense rivalry, almost akin to hatred, had always existed. Every suggestion was received by the other two cities with profound suspicion and each of the three went along self-satisfied and complacent. To these three larger co-operative social ventures might be added several smaller attempts that are meeting with success. Each of the cities maintains a commercial association that formerly found co-operation impossible. Recently, however, these organizations have learned the "get-together" lesson and are accomplishing things formerly thought impossible. Mention should also be made of the Social Workers' Club, an organization that is doing much to secure sympathetic co-operation in the common social and educational problems of the township. The opening of the Oglesby Social Center is also of interest, for its activities are being planned by and modeled after the High School Social Center.

Thus, by combining their efforts, the tri-cities have been able to employ trained social workers, a thing that never could have

been possible for any of them individually. Certainly the experiment offers possibilities for the future in community work.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in informal discussion: John Melpolder, Richmond, Ind.; Ella Phillips Crandall, New York; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; Bessie McClennahan, Iowa City; Charles F. Weller, Chicago.

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MEDICAL FACTS THAT SOCIAL WORKERS SHOULD KNOW*

Charles P. Emerson, M.D., Dean, Indiana University School of Medicine, Indianapolis, Indiana

Please do not expect this paper to add to your knowledge of diseases, symptoms, cures, etc., although its title might seem to promise this. On the contrary, we believe that medical diagnosis and therapy can not be popularized safely but rather are subjects for the expert. This may, in the light of modern popular education on all subjects, seem an extreme position, but you will at least grant that there are so many now giving medical information to the public that surely you will miss little because of the silence of one. We hope to present this morning certain general features of medicine and shall try to lead you to a different point of view than that generally held by social workers.

Among the causes of poverty and social dependence there is possibly no one quite as important as is illness; and consequently there should be no one subject which demands of the social worker more careful study than does the efficient care of sickness and the prevention of disease.

The first point I would make is that symptoms are not diseases, although sooner or later diseases produce symptoms. It is the symptom alone which brings the patient to the doctor but the latent symptomless disease quite often makes the pauper and the criminal. By "symptoms" I mean the evidences of diseases of which the patient is conscious; the reasons why he knows he is sick. The physician bases his diagnosis on evidence gained by examination, of which the patient may be quite unconscious (as, for example, the results of examination of the blood and the excretions). It is not true that if a person feels sick he is sick, and if he feels well he is well, that if he feels better daily he is getting better, or that if he daily feels worse he is getting worse.

*Section meeting, Saturday, May 13, 9:15 A. M.

There are plenty of persons who harbor, even for months, serious diseases and all they feel is merely "tired out," "overworked;" "all I need is a vacation." Later other evidences of disease will appear, perhaps after the condition has become incurable. Again, there are persons whose symptoms are so severe that they actually "die daily" and yet they haven't a trace of any organic disease. There are some patients who for a short time will feel better as they approach their end, and other persons who during their convalescence will feel worse daily. That is, symptoms are not labeled, they must be interpreted; they can not be taken at their face value, they must be evaluated. A sliver under the fingernail usually hurts much worse than does a cancer. This is not the general belief. Read the advertisements of patent medicines and you will see that the public is invited to make its own diagnoses from symptoms and unfortunately does so frequently to its own injury.

Symptoms are very much like a fire bell. When this bell rings the boys of the town will run to the fire, not to the fire house, nor do the firemen pour all the water on the fire bell. And yet, why not? The noise of the fire bell is frequently the only evidence of fire they have. But no, they interpret the fire bell, they find out where the fire is and go there. So it is frequently in the body; a man complains of stomachache, indigestion, nausea and vomiting; all are stomach symptoms, and yet in many such cases he has a normal stomach which like the fire bell is ringing in the alarm for some other organ, and to treat his stomach alone often is as wise as for a fire brigade to pour the water on the fire bell. The public cannot make its own diagnoses correctly. Diagnosis is the hardest part of medicine. The medical students spend 85 per cent of their four years of work, not learning how to treat diseases, but what diseases are, their nature, causes, diagnosis, etc., and very often the correct diagnosis of a given case itself suggests the proper treatment of that individual patient. Diagnosis is not only the most difficult part of medicine but requires expensive equipment. Our cities do not need, for the efficient care of their poor, an army of doctors, each with his office, nearly as much as they need a few groups of specialists attached to well equipped dispensaries with expensive installation, laboratories, etc.

The practical application for the social worker of this distinction between symptoms and diseases is the importance of latent, that is of symptomless (as the patient believes) disease in the production of these social disorders which it is your office to treat. A great many of our patients with serious hardening of

the arteries, of kidney trouble, of diseases of the central nervous system, heart trouble, etc., have had, for periods of months or even years, as their only symptom easy fatiguability; many persons with pulmonary tuberculosis will for years have no symptom sufficiently marked to attract attention. They are simply run-down; need a rest, are "overworked;" they merely fatigue too easily. Very many cases of chronic tonsilitis have no sore throat; many with infected nasal sinuses only "catch a cold easily"; many with alveolar abcesses have "no toothache," etc., and yet these latent infections and their results, these above mentioned latent diseases, are very important causes of social dependence.

These latent diseases have much the same effect upon a person that over-work has; that is, they are fatiguing agents. These men end their days' work "too tired," and the too-tired man forgets his ideals, loses his ambitions and becomes angry at the system under which he works. He becomes hostile to society, even criminally inclined. He seeks low and lower pleasures, for the more fatigued a man, the more violent must be the stimulus which will give him satisfaction. His brother, not similarly diseased, ends his days' work with mind keen, and ideals as high as before. He does not feel that the world is all against him but believes that he can win in the world. He may climb upward in the industrial scale, and occupy better and better positions; he may even reach a position of independence. The man handicapped by slight latent disease may stay for years at the same job finding it each year harder to keep up with his gang. He will become more and more dependent, and, blaming society for his failure to rise, more and more anti-social.

What he needs is early accurate diagnosis and early treatment. That is one of the best ways to diminish the dependent class, for many of these cases are curable. We of the biological sciences have an increasing respect for protoplasm, that living substance of the body which, as one continuous stream of life from the lower organisms to man, has weathered the storms of we know not how many million years. In the case of the individual it shows a reserve power, a resiliency, which is the basis of optimism in our therapy; those persons whose health is not good, who are feeble, not vigorous, etc., usually are not suffering from an injury of the past but one which is continuing in the present. These chronic conditions are progressive conditions. The reason why the heart, kidney, blood and joint troubles seem so incurable is in a large measure because their cause has been practically continuous. Stop that and there will be some and

often much improvement. It is not the one injury, but the one hundred and one which result in a serious injury to the organs affected. We do not know of as many incurable diseases as we do incurable stages of disease. Nothing promises more for the health of the laboring man than the responsibility of medical examinations which modern laws impose on employes and the medical inspection of school children.

These are the reasons why we now emphasize the adequate treatment of apparently trivial disorders; tonsilitis, bad teeth, chronic nasal infections, slight appendicitis, etc.; troubles which not only themselves fatigue but which also cause a chronic blood poisoning which injures the heart, kidneys, etc., that is also why we urge the careful examination of men who are too lazy or too easily fatigued but who deny they are ill.

The next point I would like to touch briefly is the importance of the mild cases of disease in the production of widespread disease. The man with the mild case of typhoid fever who has merely a little headache and feels that he needs a vacation, has typhoid fever as truly as has the man who is dying from this disease; and the former is capable of much more harm to society than the latter, since the one can not leave his bed while the other spreads his infection broadcast. The public must remember that in any given epidemic the mild cases do not spread mild cases, and the severe, severe. In any given epidemic the severity of the infection in any given case depends more on the resistance of the person contracting the disease than on the severity of the case which infected him.

Scarlet fever, diphtheria and other children's diseases are spread by the mild case. It has been stated that in epidemics of scarlet fever as many as one-third of all the cases had no rash, therefore could not be quarantined, although they could communicate to a susceptible child a malignant form of this disease.

The case of tuberculosis whom we fear is not the "sick consumptive" but the carpenter who had not lost a day's work for sixteen years, and whose sputum daily was full of bacillus tuberculosis; or the patient with chronic tuberculosis who during the years of his disease married four wives, each of whom died soon after the wedding of acute tuberculosis. The reason syphilis is such a terrible disease is because the patient feels ill but for a few days or weeks (and then not often ill enough to stop work) although his disease is contagious even for years. The importance of the carrier, that is, a person who can spread a disease even for months as in diphtheria, or as in typhoid fever for years, after he has recovered, may be mentioned here.

The social worker should understand that dispensaries are of far greater importance in furthering public health than are hospitals, although our interest in the sick individual so far outweighs that in the potential invalid that the hospital receives almost the whole of the attention of the public. When a man is sick enough to enter a hospital his trouble is generally self-evident and usually presents relatively clear even if, in some cases, hopeless problems: the time to give him the most help is when the trouble is just beginning and his symptoms are latent, when he is in the condition spoken of as "tired," "nervous" or "neurasthenic." Then is the time that diagnosis is most difficult and yet when treatment will do the most good. This is, of course, not the belief of the average social worker. They are quite willing to leave to the doctor and the nurse the very sick man, whom their care could not hurt much, but are altogether too ready to advise the ambulatory patient, and their advice sometimes bears large dividends of future injury to him.

One listening to this paper might get the idea that germs are the explanation of all disease. It is true that preventive medicine has won its greatest victories in the realms of the acute infections, and that this fight has been worth while has been well emphasized by Doctor Vaughn and others who have shown that already, largely as a result of this fight, the death rate from tuberculosis has diminished fifty per cent; that of typhoid, fifty-four per cent; of diphtheria, eighty-four per cent; and of scarlet fever, eighty-nine per cent. But other groups of diseases also are important. For example mental diseases present a large problem which you will be willing to attack as soon as the medical profession is well enough trained in this field to lead you.

At this point let me touch on one subject which is indeed difficult to mention. I refer to the relationship between the physician practicing among the poor and the dispensaries, his most serious rivals. I am not a sociologist and, therefore, have no right to discuss this matter from that point of view; but as a doctor I would like to state emphatically that the man who is well enough trained to diagnose and treat the diseases of the poor cannot afford to treat the poor for what the poor can afford to pay him. Therefore, medical charity it must be. We recognize the great good these men certainly have done and are doing, but we also recognize that the advances in medicine of the past quarter century make it the duty of society to provide for the poor expensively equipped dispensaries with laboratories, with staffs of doctors each a specialist, and organized to co-operate in the diagnosis and treatment of the individual case.

In addition to dispensaries, certain other medical movements deserve the cordial support of social workers. One is the modern health officer. Not long ago I read in a journal published by one of our anti-medical denominations this statement: "Some say we do not believe in hygiene, but this is a great mistake; perhaps there is no group of persons who believe more thoroughly in this than do we." What a great, if unconscious, compliment to our profession! If the apple can claim it owes nothing to the tree that bore it; if the rose can declare independence of the plant on which it grew, then can one who practices modern hygiene boast he owes nothing to medical science; for hygiene, that is, preventive medicine is in every sense the finest blossom and fruit of the medical tree, which has its roots in our research laboratories. One may practice the best of hygiene without knowing the why for its rules, but hygiene stands four square on medicine and those who direct our public health movements should be the best trained of medical men. But according to how different criteria are they chosen! Social workers should be very interested in improving this service.

Our school inspection and school nursing, what great opportunities these present for preventive medicine! Many of the school children show diseases in their incipiency. With well trained doctors and specially trained nurses in sufficient numbers, how easy it would be to prevent many diseases of adult life. How many crippling diseases of adult life begin as curable diseases in childhood. How many defects could be remedied, how many habits corrected, which now lead to handicaps of the adult: eyestrain, running ears, infected tonsils, positional deformities, the latent sequelae of scarlet fever, of whooping cough and of other diseases of childhood: these explain no small percentage of chronic diseases of adults. And yet such work cannot be well done by a medical officer chosen for his deserving political history and one nurse for each thousand school children. It demands even better organization than that of the hospital wards, for the medical problems in the former are, if anything, more difficult than in the latter.

In conclusion, allow me to urge upon you that these points are well established and call for action. These are not medical theories and fads. A well established medical position is usually too well understood, or too uninteresting, or its practical application promises too certain a fight to arouse enthusiasm, so you would rather fill a hall to listen to a paper on fads of diet, psychotherapy, birth control, eugenics, mental defects, etc. We

would not for the world deprive you of these pleasures, but please stop speaking of them as "medical" or "scientific," etc. These subjects for the most part belong in the realm of mere speculation, of medical romance. Let the word "scientific" convey the idea of accuracy. For example, we doctors are amazed at some of the statements very positively made in these conferences concerning heredity, and at the suggestion of immediate action, new laws, etc., based on them. Observations on the inheritance of a certain number of hairs on the back of a fly, or of the color of its eyes may be interesting, but we shudder at the present tendency to base on these reports a revision of our legal codes. Good evolutionists though we may be, it is a long jump from the inherited color of the eyes of a family of banana flies to the moral obliquity of the John Doe family. Your discussions based on medical arguments of other subjects, too, might prove more convincing did you practice the same rules you urge be enforced in the school room. The truths concerning alcohol might prove even more convincing arguments for reform than the loose statements of enthusiastic reformers. And, again, why not face the lues problem frankly and be consistent in your actions regarding it? Don't you dare?

My last word is this: Do you really want efficient medical care of the sick? Do you really desire that hygiene and preventive medicine be given a fair chance? Then help medical schools in their efforts to raise their standards and uphold state boards in their efforts to weed out inefficient or vicious men from practice. Now both lack your support.

The successful application of advancing truth in actual practice depends upon the great army of practicing physicians. They are in the final analysis the real teachers of each community in all matters of health; upon them rests the actual success of preventive medicine. Then insist on better medical schools—help us to raise our standards of medical education higher and yet higher. I am a partisan and you must make due allowance for my bias. But if the state is really serious in its desire to cope adequately with physical and mental disease, with mental and moral defectives, with poverty and crime, my advice would be that she take a much keener interest in her medical students, the future doctors and admit only the well trained and high-minded to medical practice. A little more constructive work in this field will, I firmly believe, save hundreds of thousands of dollars later in the care, support or correction of the army of preventable defectives and delinquents growing up unheeded in each community.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKERS

Mrs. William H. Lothrop, Chairman, American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, Boston, Massachusetts

You, medico-social workers, are now celebrating your tenth birthday, and I am permitted to extend to you, from a branch of social work thirty-five years old in this country, hearty and appreciative congratulations on your lusty, phenomenal growth. I am grateful for the opportunity of working with you closely in my own city from your beginnings, and because to this association with you I owe so much, I venture to add to our glad recognition of your achievements a word of your opportunities, nay, responsibilities, in the social program henceforth.

You have not only the iridescent popularity of youth, but the ever present popularity of "health" as well. For this word "health" the public will travel far and listen long. It has been said that no longer does one require of a measure or an action, "Is it right or is it wrong?" but, "Is it sterilized?" Everything relating to health has a tremendous grip on the public mind and fortunately also upon its conscience. You are in the center of this wave, and it brings to you heavy responsibility. You have the public ear; therefore, all you say and do must be wise and well considered. For this reason, is it not of special importance that you have a program,—one as carefully thought out as that of Dr. Strong when he went to Serbia, carrying with him the knowledge of what he would try to do, securing on his way, when he stopped in London and in Paris, the co-operation of those with whom he must work, and arranging details and accepting modifications as the expediency of the local situation demanded?

I do not presume to suggest what your program should be. After a talk, however, with some of the leaders of your movement, I fancy they would like to have us consider what it now includes. The initial program in most cities is naturally to help the patient. In the crowded out-patient department you see the patient who has been advised by the doctor to take a rest, go on a vacation, change diet, change occupation, sleep out of doors, or change his or her life in some way. Often you see this advice is impossible for the patient to follow without help from outside. This I hope will always remain the starting point of your program,—helping the individual patient to health and greater usefulness. From your knowledge of the patient in health, char-

acter and ability you try to help him to greater health and usefulness and in doing so learn the strength and weaknesses of the community in which you live. This always keeps one in a wholesome relation to facts as they are.

A second point in your program, I am told, is to help the doctor to see the social side of the patient's disease. The classical illustration of Dr. Cabot is in our minds,—you remember it,—the young girl who suffered with insomnia, and when visited by the medical social worker in her home, was found to sleep in a bed with three younger brothers and sisters. The cause of insomnia appeared then to the doctor to have a social side and to need social treatment as well as medical. The developments of this point are endlessly varied and revealing as physician after physician comes within the range of your joint endeavor and together you discover connection between occupation and disease, or between disease and mental and moral habit, hitherto unproved or unsuspected.

Perhaps with some of the social service departments the program stops there. With other departments it includes a third point: that of carrying the knowledge of the social side of the medical problem to the superintendent, the managers, the lady managers (a curious survival of name, still existing in some cities), the nurses, and the students connected with the hospital. This is carried on by a free, joint discussion of unsolved medical problems with a social side, or by a special discussion of these problems with different groups. The discussion with the medical students is in some cities most carefully planned and has been recognized by the students as most valuable training.

A fourth point that has found its way into the program of many, I believe, is carrying the doctor's point of view to the social workers in the community. Naturally I am grateful for this. We have often not been able, heretofore, either to pronounce or understand the diagnoses of these learned gentlemen; and even when we would understand, the statements from them have frequently shared the limitation of the report of the mother explaining the absence from school of her young son: "Willie got wet in the a. m. and sick in the p. m." When we have mastered the fact that abbreviatons apply to time and not to locality, we still lack that most important point to the social worker,—the prognosis. How long will he be sick? How long must care be provided? How long before occupation can be resumed? What can we do to help? What can be done to prevent recurrence? You explain to the doctors why we ask these questions and bring us their answers as you have already

explained to us their questions and reasons and carried our answers. Perhaps first of all you have made each of us realize that we had questions to ask. Where this has been well done, we have today a knowledge of each other's aims and methods and interactions that has meant for social work as well as medcal work, real advance.

This is the result of your four-pointed program.

Without attempting to enlarge this program for you, may I suggest other responsibilities for you to consider and adopt or reject, according to your wishes? Four things are in my mind. To begin with, your first contacts with the physician and with the social workers are for consultation on the needs of an individual patient. You are carriers of information about this individual's distress and remedies therefor. But you have as interpreters an even larger responsibility. Formerly whatever contacts between physician and social workers there were, were direct. The few who worked with us closely came to know all our program, the general aims, the community side, the educational propaganda, the relation to social quackery, the economic aspect, and the legislative field. It is not enough that the doctors should comprehend that there is social case work but they must, through you, appreciate that there is a social program, and delegate some of their membership to work with social workers in shaping and carrying it forward. You have supplanted our place as the doctor's helper. It is well you have for you are physically at the elbow of the hospital where all the doctors see you, and we were at the end of a telephone where only few doctors would summon us, and it is your special task to work with him while we had to work with "doctor, lawyer, Indian chief." Yet in order that with so much gain there may be no loss, please remember that you have undertaken to interpret social work to the medical profession and it must be the social atmosphere, principles, and program, not case work alone. Sometimes I hear a physician, who would be disgusted indeed if I should suggest consulting an herb doctor or some epitheted quack, calmly suggest approval or support for a bit of mediaeval or quack social work, and he does it with all the air of a connoisseur. His social case work has not developed into social principles and social thinking. Your knowledge and your sympathy must include all the social agencies you want operative in the community whether you happen to need them in your department or not. I have heard medical social workers so much in love with their own job (which is good) unconsciously and a bit snobbishly decry the methods and aims of most of the other social agencies in the city

(which is bad). Is it *well* for the community that this social agency should exist? If so, then it must enter the horizon of our sympathies and our sense of fairness, although we keep our own shrine for our own special allegiance.

My second point grows out of this. Each of us is doing our special work but with an appreciation of the whole, each of us has our access to the general public which we consider both as our pupil and our master. Each of us then in our audience with the public must explain our own work, but must also bear witness to the whole. You have given me some medical truths, do you not wish me, when I get a chance, to pass them on? In truth I couldn't help it for they have become part of my thinking. In turn, you, who have the great responsibility of popularity, who have a public predisposed to accept what you say (something that never happened to me) must give both your own message and ours. Some audiences never hear but one of us. Of course I do not mean by audience, only those who come and sit in a hall, but anyone we can make listen to us anywhere, anytime.

The third responsibility I would beg you to consider is that of "prevention." From the needs of the patient we have come to the family and to the present public and the generation yet to come. In the field of prevention there must be more of analysis of our present case work, and much more of that scientific method which is a familiar tool to the physician, but which we in the necessary adaption to our work handle but clumsily, very clumsily. The effect of alcohol must be measured socially and industrially as well as physically and mentally, and the truth, whatever it may be, given to the public. This you must help us to do. You have your place in the housing campaign, in that of prevention of child labor and adult over-work or under-pay, just as truly as in those of recreation, education and tuberculosis.

Remember I am not attempting to create for you a program. I am only urging you to discuss these responsibilities of yours as I see them. But whatever your program may or may not include, I do most of all urge that it may emphasize a preaching of individual responsibility—this, my fourth point.

We have been passing through an era of emphasis on social responsibility,—necessary, and it still will be necessary. But unaccompanied by emphasis on individual responsibility it leads inevitably to a mushiness of character and lack of virility. Here is where your popularity inevitably makes you spokesman. If I say to an audience, "This man is recovered. Now he needs work," they say "That tiresome 'A. C.' Always harping on the

economic note." You say, "This man needs a job; it's therapeutics," and they exclaim, "Lo, a prophet has come among us!" and hustle to find that man a job.

I was much impressed recently when a quiet, middle-aged, kind-hearted relative of mine was explaining to me the utterly shocking conduct of her young maid, after it had been explained to her by the modern social point of view. "You see," said she, "they say it is a weakness she has." It is all true, all our heredity explanation, our Binet and other tests, our recognition of "weakness," our understanding and sympathy with mental and moral irresponsibility, and I wouldn't lose a bit of our insistence on our collective responsibility for all the sins of the universe; but nevertheless, unless someone begins soon, and pretty soon, to preach the doctrine of individual responsibility for sin, we shall be helping to create a mean-spirited race.

You understand, as no other group of social workers understands, the real relation between character and health. You, who teach us all to be more patient with the weakness that comes from disease, must stimulate us all to work for the health which comes from character. I would urge every medical-social worker to have among her list of books such an one as Mrs. Shaler's *Masters of Fate,* which emphasizes the lives of people who have worked and created, though weak and ill, and sore beset.

A noted educator, speaking recently on the service given by the study of the humanities in teaching us appreciation of life, has said that it is not the classics, or the romance languages that do this best but the study of economics and sociology. Personally I do not agree. Economics and sociology may, unless taught by a master, instruct only about the abstract man and the relation of abstract men to other abstract men in society. The classics taught life through the appreciation of the deeds and ideals of individuals whom one remembers. The soul-stirring protest of the senators from the Island of Melos to the arrogant and haughty representatives from Athens who reiterated that "might was right," gave a picture for all time; a picture that is in our minds when we see the arrogance of nations to-day or of classes or of individuals. But it is not alone to the classics that we should turn for lessons in the humanities. You are the teachers of true humanities. We are all teachers of reality, in close touch with the struggles, weaknesses and strength of individual human beings. Every clinic, every case conference has its lesson in the humanities.

Together we must carry to our public the need of social responsibility and of individual responsibility. When we, in our

separate lines, see our work in its largest relations, we enter a common atmosphere, the atmosphere of the story told by Professor Royce of the two little boys walking on a sunshiny day. One said, "Tommy, what is the sky?" "Silly, don't you know there ain't no sky?" "But," persisted the little seeker after knowledge, "Tommy, what is it, that ain't?" "And that," says Professor Royce, "is metaphysics."

As we project our ideals into the realm of "ain't," we find that there, true romance begins; we see the ideals of all the other workers. The dictum of the doctor, the decision of the judge, the say so of the social worker, the desire of the well intentioned who won't take time to think, the calm reproval of the economist, the impassioned insistence of the reformer with a single remedy, do not appear as limited as they did; they have common ground and their projectors move together in a goodly company working to create a stronger race.

DISCUSSION: Misses Ida M. Cannon, Boston, and Helen Pendleton, Newark, N. J., took part in the informal discussion which followed.

CORRECTIONS

PROGRAM

Defective Delinquents; Prison Discipline, general session, p. 508.
Farm Colonies, section meeting, p. 529.
Clearing House for Convicted Criminals, section meeting, p. 529.
The Police as a Social Force, section meeting, p. 547.

Introductory Remarks by the Chairman of the Committee*

Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Chairman, Parole Commission of the City of New York

In preparing the program of the Section on Corrections, your committee has tried to select the topics which are the high spots. We have not been able to bring before you for discussion such important problems as the indeterminate sentence and parole, nor have we made any reference to the question of prison labor, which is also a vital topic, but both of these are bound up with the subjects we have had under consideration and will have during the coming week. This morning we discussed state and municipal farm colonies for the care of delinquents. The time has come when not only are we carrying out the farm colony idea for major offenders as in New York at Great Meadow and at Guelph, Ontario, but we also have established farm colonies for misdemeanants,—those minor offenders who have heretofore been sentenced to jails and county penitentiaries. You have here in Indiana the beginning of a great farm colony. In New York state colonies are under way to take the place of the county penitentiaries, and in Occoquan, Virginia, and in other parts of the country great farms have been established for petty offenders usually confined in workhouses. In dealing with this class of offenders we have a different problem from that of the more serious criminals. They are weaker mentally and physically; they come back and back again to the institutions, and heretofore have been sentenced to a few days, a few weeks or months, not long enough to train them for usefulness or to cure them if diseased.

Coupled with the establishment of farm colonies must go the indeterminate sentence and parole. The methods heretofore

*General session, Saturday, May 13, 8:15 P. M.

employed have proved futile; now we realize we must keep these people long enough to cure them, then send them out under kind guidance into working positions and homes. In New York we have succeeded in passing a law granting the indeterminate sentence and parole to prisoners committed to all the municipal penal institutions of New York city. This is a large problem because we have so large a number of prisoners.

Most of us realize that the farm colony is not going to be adaptable to all types of prisoners. We cannot teach all men and women farming. They do not like it and will not pursue it when they leave the institution. For a considerable group we must provide industrial training, so many of us believe the day is coming when we must have a correlated system of state institutions. We believe the trend of things is away from giving jurisdiction to municipalities and counties for all classes of offenders, and toward putting it into the hands of state officials, just as has been done in New York in the case of the insane. When the state takes charge of offenders there will be nothing to prevent our developing a chain of institutions differing in type and each fitted to take care of a particular group of people. We find there are various types of individuals sent to prison. Some are mentally defective. Last year, when the state commission asked the Department of Corrections of New York city to send a list of the mentally defective, and the resident physicians in the various institutions were requested to make an estimate of those who were so mentally defective as to make it improbable that they could earn an honest living outside an institution, it was interesting to see the difference in the reports. The lowest estimate was that 25% of the prisoners would never be able to make good. In one institution the resident physician's list comprised 85% of the population of his institution. The truth lies somewhere between those two extremes. Then we have those who need hospital treatment. There are those who are illiterate. The great bulk of prisoners are industrially unfit. We believe, that before we can successfully solve our problem, even if we get state control and a correlated system of institutions, we will have to have a clearing house, and in many of the states we are working toward the establishment of clearing houses to which prisoners who are convicted of crime but not sentenced may go for a time to be studied socially, physically, mentally—and on the basis of that study sentenced to the institution that is calculated to do them the most good. In New York state, and particularly in New York city, there is a small but growing type of public official who is genuinely interested in these prob-

lems. We do not believe that parole and the indeterminate sentence will succeed if there is antagonism between the officials who have to administer the law and the judges and police of the city. We have a man as commissioner of police who has social ideals, who believes the day is coming when the policeman will not simply walk his beat and arrest offenders against the law, but will be a big brother who will not try to haunt the prisoner when he gets out of prison but who will be his good adviser. It is to secure this that we made the Police Commissioner a member of the Board of Parole.

It is only by getting the co-operation of all the forces interested—the police, the prosecuting attorney, the courts, and the Department of Correction—that we are ever going to go forward in the solution of the vast problem of crime in our cities.

In selecting the subjects and the men to present them tonight, our committee has chosen two phases of this most important question: one has to do with the type of prisoner who is not mentally responsible, and the other has to do with the educational value of the means of discipline chosen in conducting a great penal institution.

The problem of the feeble-minded will be presented by one of the younger judges of New York city who represents the group of forward-looking judges who are willing to give up some of the traditional methods and the traditional powers of the bench for the greater good of society and the individual prisoners.

The other paper will present one of the most modern movements in penology—that of self-government. The principle involved is that of the educational value of democracy. We all recognize that the fundamental thing which a prisoner must learn is self-control and self-direction. Prisoners must recognize that they are a part of a social whole; that they are not individuals whose activities concern themselves alone. Self government is only a means to an end. Its value is in the social training which it affords. We cannot expect that it will produce perfect conditions within prison walls until such time as democracy outside of prisons succeeds in producing a more ideal social environment. We have still a vast amount of experimenting to do before we reach a final solution of our penological problems. The contributions of all thoughtful, earnest workers should receive most careful consideration. No one person will solve the whole problem; but as in physical science so here, each will contribute his part.

THE DEFECTIVE DELINQUENT

Edwin L. Garvin, Justice of the Court of Special Sessions, New York

The last half century has witnessed a greater progress in the development of the human race, in many respects, than any corresponding period of which we have knowledge. This does not apply to advances along artistic or literary lines, but it is unquestionably true with respect to man's inventive activities and with regard to what has been accomplished in the expansion of great and new industries. Never have problems requiring knowledge of economics received such attention nor been so successfully solved. Fortunes undreamed of have risen in a generation, and it would seem that a great part of man's energies have been devoted to a study of how public and private enterprises can be managed so as to secure the most efficient results at the least expense. It is therefore the more remarkable that a subject so important to civilization and one that has so obviously needed attention in many ways and certainly from an economic standpoint, has been, I fear, practically neglected. The subject to which I have reference is—The Prevention of Crime. We have of course our jails, our reformatories, our police, our detective bureaus, our able and efficient prosecuting officials and our conscientious and experienced trial judges, but so had we them fifty years ago. And the melancholy fact remains that in all these fifty years the methods which have been continuously in use, generally speaking, have signally failed to prevent crime, and the State has had to bear the ever increasing expense of prosecuting and imprisoning criminals without in any way lessening delinquency, or even deterring former offenders from again committing crime.

Statistics from Sing Sing prison regarding repeated offenders, for the year ending September 30th, 1915, are:

Total number of prisoners received during the year		1,637
First offense	727	
First time in Sing Sing, have been in other penal institutions	620	
In Sing Sing once before	231	
In Sing Sing twice before	38	
In Sing Sing three times before	11	
In Sing Sing four times before	6	
In Sing Sing five times before	1	
In Sing Sing six times before	3	
		1,637

This percentage indicates that about 60% are "second termers,"

but it must be remembered that a man is classed as a first offender if he has not previously been in a penal institution in New York and without regard to how much time he may have served elsewhere; and it is estimated that at least one in three of so-called "first offenders" has been in one or more penal institutions without the state.

In no respect have we been more archaic than in our treatment of inmates of many of our states' prisons, and the appearance, so far as the latter phase of the subject is concerned, of Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne of New York, has resulted in the attention of the public being directed to this matter to an extent that would have been considered beyond possibility a decade ago. Serious-minded men and women, not faddists, having fundamentally in mind the protection of society, are now engaged in study and in experiment for the purpose of ascertaining why crimes are committed, if that be possible, and how prisoners may best be treated during their periods of incarceration, so as to prevent their return to society physically, mentally and morally incapacitated from earning an honest living.

It is now generally recognized that one of the most serious problems that must receive attention, if conditions are to be substantially improved, is that of the criminal whose mental condition is not normal, but is not such as to have resulted in his having been committed to an asylum for the insane. The question has frequently been put to me, "Why do defectives commit crime;" and I answer the question with another, "What is a defective delinquent?" For if the latter query be put to a score of men they are apt to answer it in as many ways. The type of defective delinquent which I shall consider is represented by the man or woman whose mental deficiency is such as to prevent his or her being self-supporting without resort to crime, which may result either from a criminal tendency by reason of the defective mental condition or because of inability to hold employment from the same cause, with the consequent result of being forced to beg or steal and the choice of the latter.

It is only within the last few years that scientific and exhaustive methods have been employed in institutions to acquire statistics that will furnish a basis for comparison with statistics elsewhere similarly ascertained respecting the mental condition of each inmate. We have had, it is true, much earnest effort to analyze and classify the causative factors in the production of delinquency, resulting in such admirable contributions to literature on criminology as Tarde's *Penal Philosophy* and Healy's *The Individual Delinquent,* but of such institutions as the Laboratory of Social

Hygiene at Bedford Hills, New York, which, maintained through private funds, is making an exhaustive study of the mental condition of each inmate of the Bedford Reformatory for Women, there are few. A gratifying announcement in this connection has recently been made from Sing Sing prison of the proposed establishment there of a laboratory for a rigid physical and mental examination of every inmate. As to how much this is needed in all penal institutions, for the purpose, among other things, of segregating the defectives, who have such a disturbing influence on prison discipline, Wardens and Superintendents know far better than I, but an incident that happened recently in a well known state's prison furnishes food for reflection. A convict whose conduct had shown no indication of mental derangement, unexpectedly struck a keeper over the head with a chair, knocking him unconscious. Of course the prisoner was at once put under heavy guard and steps were taken to have him indicted by the county grand jury for assault so that he might receive an additional term of imprisonment. Before this could be done the keeper, who had partially recovered, asked to see the warden. He was given an interview and to the warden's surprise requested "that the state go a little slow with the indictment." On being directed to give his reasons he said, "Well this man has behaved pretty well, and I've never had any trouble with him. To tell the truth, I think he's a nut (meaning crazy), and I think he ought to be examined." Alienists were called in and as a result the man was found to be out of his mind, and was sent to an institution for the criminal insane. And this man was being treated in all respects as the other convicts!

The police department of the city of New York has recognized the frequency with which delinquents are found to be seriously defective, and has recently established a psycopathic laboratory to which are sent all arrested persons who appear to be mentally deranged. After a careful examination, if found to be insane, they are committed to appropriate institutions, there to be held until recovery.

It likewise frequently appears to the Court that a defendant though not actually insane is so defective as to be a menace to society, and indeed within the past year the Court of Special Sessions of the city of New York through a committee of its judges of which I was a member, conferred with a number of leading psyciatrists and with their aid and advice formulated a plan by which a certain class of men frequently coming before the court for crimes involving indecent exposure or impairing morals of children, indicating some sex abnormality, are now

examined by a competent specialist in the event of conviction and before sentence. After such examination the physician's report is submitted to the court for its assistance in determining upon a penalty suitable to the offender as well as to the crime.

The question of sentence assumes great importance in my own court by reason of the huge volume of cases there tried. During 1914 over 17,000 cases were disposed of, and a like number by the Children's Court, then a part of Special Sessions, 35,000 in all, and of this huge total there were but three reversals by the appellate tribunals, making our court to all intents and purposes a court of last resort: and when it is recalled that the court has over twenty institutions, to which to send its prisoners, besides having the option of a fine, a suspended sentence or placing a defendant on probation, the tremendous importance of the matter of the sentence is realized. If we select the wrong institution, or if we impose a prison sentence, when probation should be employed, and the man or woman thereby becomes an habitual criminal, the responsibility is upon the Court. And at no time does the court feel this burden of responsibility more than in sentencing a convicted defendant who is obviously feeble-minded or otherwise mentally defective. Never shall I forget the woman who was tried before me upon the charge of impairing the morals of her children. After conviction the court directed an examination as to her mental condition, before sentence, and the report came back to the court that although she could not be declared to be insane, her mentality was that of a child of eight. The idea of sending such a helpless creature to a penal institution filled me with horror and she was temporarily sent to the City Prison for a few days so that her case could receive further consideration. There she developed epileptic fits and her state became such that the warden requested her removal. When she was brought before the court her condition was so pitiable that in sending her to the workhouse (there was nowhere else she could go) I felt as though I were the criminal when the commitment was signed. She died within two days after she reached the workhouse.

It is a very common occurrence for the court to place on probation boys sixteen or eighteen years old, who are obviously defective, but whose condition will be aggravated if placed in a penal institution.

The life of a defective delinquent who is committed to a penal institution is divided into three periods, to wit, before, during and after incarceration.

The period before his commitment is of course that during

which the most effective work can be done to prevent his becoming a defective delinquent of the type with which we are concerned, and it is not my purpose to discuss at length the best methods of improving the mental condition of a defective before he is drawn into crime. It is gratifying to note the attention that this subject is receiving from various directions and particularly to observe the readiness with which the medical profession at all times offers its co-operation.

After a defective has become an actual criminal, the problem of his treatment during imprisonment becomes that with which the various wardens and superintendents of institutions are more directly concerned, although all society is profoundly affected by what is accomplished. Almost without exception institutional heads are alive to the importance of this question and in many places are to be found putting into effect various treatments designed to improve the mental condition of the inmates.

However, much scientific methods of prevention may be extended and however effective may become the treatment in penal institutions, we shall always have a very large number of habitual criminals who are defective, and who, because of this, continue in crime, and I shall now proceed to discuss, briefly, the question of whether or not the State is acting wisely, either from a philanthropic or economic standpoint in permitting defectives whose lives lead persistently to crime, to have their liberty after this has been demonstrated. I am told by the authorities of the local penal institutions of New York city that the percentage of defectives is very high and that after discharge they find their way back, having committed some other offence, in an incredibly short time. Many of them in addition to being feeble-minded are without funds. A few days ago I witnessed the discharge of a prisoner from the New York penitentiary. He was tubercular, was unable to speak distinctly and being unable to spell, correctly, had difficulty in making his wants known by the sign language. His entire demeanor indicated a pronounced degree of subnormal mentality; he had nowhere to go, his clothes were worn and had been made for a much larger man, and he was being discharged, with no plans for the future, and with but fifteen cents in money. It seemed to be the general opinion that he would soon be back. A few weeks ago the New York workhouse census showed about 1,500 inmates. Nearly one thousand of these were literally penniless when admitted and of course had nothing when discharged. Only 556 had any money whatever, and of these there were 253, none of whom had so much as

one dollar. The total amount in the possession of the 556 was about $2,100. I cannot escape the conviction that a very considerable number of this workhouse population consisted of defectives, of a very positive type, who would soon be returned there after release upon some new charge. In order to effect this return, however, the services of a number of costly city departments is necessitated, the police, the magistrates courts, the Department of Corrections, very frequently the District Attorney's office and the Court of Special Sessions, while the community is subjected to the annoyance and frequently to the danger of having such persons at large.

Recently the superintendent of one of the best known homes for Magdalens in the east wrote me a pathetic letter stating that about 13 per cent of her charges were definitely feeble-minded, and should not remain there. She says, "Perhaps you will remind me that we may return them to the court for re-commitment. But where will the court send them? They are not subjects for the workhouse and they surely should not be turned back into the streets to be a menace to society and a misery to themselves."

The exhibit on feeble-mindedness prepared by the Public Charities' Association of Pennsylvania which has recently been shown in Philadelphia is commendable in the highest degree, bringing to the attention of the public, as it has, the necessity for establishing suitable institutions for the feeble-minded, as well as for providing appropriate methods by which individuals of this type may be committed to such institutions.

This subject is receiving some attention in New York at the present time, a bill having been introduced at the last session of the legislature providing for the establishment of clearing houses for the feeble-minded with the object of ultimately equipping permanent institutions for their care and if such institutions are appropriate for the feeble-minded, how much more should persons of unsound mind who are likewise offenders against the law be separated from society?

I submit for your consideration therefore the question of whether we may not properly, in the general public interest, which interest includes of course that of defective delinquents, permanently segregate the latter to live out their lives in the custody of the state. Such a plan would necessarily involve the establishment of great institutions, industrial farms, perhaps, with a psyciatrist connected with the management of each, and with the inmates required to live regular lives, as much in the open as possible, contributing by their labor, each accord-

ing to his capacity, toward the support of the place in which he is detained, thus making him a partial asset, to a greater or less extent to society, instead of the actual liability that he remains at the present time.

And I have but a word in conclusion. I have endeavored to point out that the plan proposed is sound economically and will result in a substantial benefit to the state; that it is likewise to the interest of the defective that he be cared for in this way if consistently and persistently delinquent. But there is something more than economy or hygiene, or the preservation of order involved. There comes a time in the solving of the great problems of the world when every consideration becomes insignificant beside that of duty, and I ask you and each of you to consider whether we who have been blessed with normal intellects are not charged with the solemn obligation of taking from the world and of caring for our unfortunate brothers and sisters whose lives are doomed to never-ending periods of incarceration in penal institutions as criminals, yet who are not criminals but who lack the God-given brain without which no man can hope to contribute anything of real value to the age in which he lives.

PRISON DISCIPLINE AND CHARACTER BUILDING*

Thomas Mott Osborne, Warden of Sing Sing, Ossining, New York

During my week of confinement in Auburn Prison, being treated in every respect as an ordinary inmate, I managed to get a very vivid and comprehensive impression of the prison discipline and something of its effect upon the men who undergo it. As a result, I came out blazing with wrath against every smug and respectable member of society, whose ignorance and indifference were responsible for the brutal and imbecile system I had found in operation; and not the least of the tortures I endured during the night spent in the dark cell of the "cooler," was the feeling that I should be haunted the rest of my life by a sense of shame and guilt for my own share of responsibility.

It was not that the prison was badly managed; on the contrary, the management of Auburn Prison has been traditionally efficient. My quarrel was and is with the whole vicious theory underlying the system, and with those who tolerate it. I can appreciate

*A more extended treatment of this subject will be found in the author's *Society and Prisons*, this consisting of the Dodge Lectures for 1916.

perfectly how men with a grievance, who do not stop to analyze and understand the situation fully, come out of prison determined to "get even" with society for all the wrongs, humiliations and brutalities they have been made to suffer. And it is not always what society has actively done that forms the grievance; it is sometimes what society has passively failed to do. The extreme bitterness with which prisoners speak of their experiences as young men in the reformatories is only to be explained by their belief that in those institutions they had failed to receive any training which had proved to be of lasting value.

The main counts in the indictment I should draw on behalf of the prisoner against the state of New York,—(and however the prisons in other states may differ in superficial details, all of them, so far as I can learn, rest upon practically the same unsound foundations), would be these:

First: The constant confinement for many hours of the day, and sometimes for even whole days at a time, in small, unhealthy cells,—utterly unfit for human habitation; where physical degeneration is inevitable—and mental and moral degeneration as well. Most of the cells in Auburn measure 7½ feet by 3½, and 7 feet high;—mere holes in a stone wall. At Sing Sing the cells are 6 inches lower, 6 inches shorter, and 3 inches narrower! In both prisons,—but especially Sing Sing, the dampness is so great that on many days you can scrape the moisture off the walls into the hollow of your hand. Rheumatism and tuberculosis are rife.

Into these dens men have been locked, frequently two in a cell, for fourteen—fifteen—sixteen hours out of the twenty-four; all day Sunday, except a few moments to empty buckets and eat breakfast, and an hour or so for chapel service; and all day long on holidays. When a Sunday and a holiday come together, the prisoners call it a "double-header." It is significant that most fights in prison occur on Monday mornings.

Second: The vice which naturally results from the constant confinement. Under the best possible prison conditions there is bound to be immorality. Wherever there is a community consisting only of men, as in prison (or in the navy, for that matter), certain unnatural immoral acts are bound to arise, because of the essentially unnatural social conditions. It is inevitable. The only thing the head of such an institution as a prison can do, is to use his utmost endeavor to foster conditions which will reduce such immorality to a minimum; to expect to eradicate the evil altogether is to expect the impossible.

But in addition to the immorality which springs from the very nature of the institution, there is the additional vice which comes

from long or constant confinement, from a life of drear monotony, from overwrought nerves. When a man is locked alone or with one other man in a small cell, and is denied all exercise,—has nothing to think of but himself and his grievances—what can be expected?

But unnatural vice is not the only evil that has flourished under the old system. Shut in all day Sunday, the cells close and miserably cold in winter, close and stifling hot in summer, with the stench from hundreds of buckets poisoning the atmosphere, men so craved relief from the intolerable conditions that they turned to the use of drugs.

My first acquaintance with Sing Sing prison began some fifteen or more years ago, when I became interested in the case of a young boy sentenced to prison for twenty years at the age of thirteen. He had been four years in Sing Sing when I secured a commutation of his sentence; and, placed in the George Junior Republic, he was soon found to be a "dope-fiend." No wonder a convict friend of his had implored me to obtain his release. "Get that boy out, if you can," he had said to me; "he will be ruined, body and soul, if he stays here."

The administration of some of our prisons has been a succession of scandals, the worst of which have failed to arouse public attention simply because decent people do not talk nor wish to hear of such things. But it is time that decent people woke up to the truth and realized that they are vitally concerned in the matter.

> The vilest deeds like poison weeds
> Bloom well in prison-air:
> It is only what is good in Man
> That wastes and withers there:
> Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
> And the Warder is Despair.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Each narrow cell in which we dwell
> Is a foul and dark latrine,
> And the fetid breath of living Death
> Chokes up each grated screen,
> And all, but Lust, is turned to dust
> In Humanity's machine.

In Sing Sing prison, for five years—from 1910-1914 inclusive, there were but two punishments inflicted for immorality; sure proof that it ran riot. Not only has vice reigned, practically unchecked, but many of the guards, themselves, have been concerned in the drug and liquor traffic which has been a perfectly well-recognized part of the game. How was it possible for such things to exist under the strictness of the old régime? That was

one of the absurdities of the situation. Take a warden and a handful of officials and guards, poorly paid and the more important of them selected not for their skill in dealing with the prison problem but for political purposes; place them in charge of the cleverest and most daring crooks and sharpers of the underworld; and what will naturally result? Even where the utmost strictness prevailed, the cleverness of the prisoners would win out. In Auburn Prison two years ago, shortly after the formation of the Mutual Welfare League, ten prisoners were rearranging the store-room. They were watched by four keepers; and under the very eyes of these careful guardians the prisoners made off with three cases of condensed milk—120 cans. A search was made through the prison; and in one cell, where 37 cans were lying hidden, the search revealed nothing. Then the League was called in; and soon the convict Sergeant-at-Arms had restored to the prison authorities over 80 cans; the remainder had passed "down the yard" and the contents so promptly consumed that they were irrecoverable. No trace of the missing tins was ever found.

Third: The ill-organized and inefficient system of labor, which lacks any incentive to honest, steady work. Men are assigned to jobs entirely regardless of preference or capacity; they are kept at their unattractive tasks by fear of punishment; they receive no return for their labor (the cent and a half a day, graciously allowed by the state of New York, being a joke). Such labor is mere slavery; and slave labor has always been inefficient and always will be. It is hopeless to expect men to do good work unless they can see some advantage to themselves what Kipling calls "a morbid passion for work"; and human in doing it. Men outside prison are not, as a rule, afflicted with nature prevails inside the prison in this respect, if in no other.

Fourth: The enforcement of silence. Even if there were suitable industrial reward for good work, prison labor would still be miserably inefficient under such a restraint. How students of penology could argue themselves into ignoring the fact that speech is the one thing that lifts man above the level of the brute; how they could imagine that human beings can be healthy in body, mind or soul, except by natural relations through the power of speech with their fellow human beings, passes understanding. Presumably put in force to prevent the corruption of the less dangerous criminals by the more dangerous, the rule of silence acts with precisely the contrary effect; for men, if they cannot talk to their friends will talk to their enemies — rather than keep perpetually silent. The denial of the right of speech does not prevent communication, it only

renders it more difficult. It does not hinder conspiracy and wickedness — those get by; it is the pleasant word of hope and encouragement, that is stopped,—the cheery "good-morning," the kindly greeting of friendship. It is exactly as if an engineer were forbidden to put oil on his machinery for fear that he might be tempted to throw in sand.

Another comic element in the situation is the incredible foolishness which accompanies the efforts made to enforce such impossible rules. For instance, in Auburn Prison there are eight cells in the "cooler"; each one with a grated door opening out into the vaulted room. Any man talking from his cell can be heard distinctly in all the other cells. Half the punishments on the books of the prison were for talking or whispering; and for these offenses a man was sent to the one place in prison where he could talk all he pleased with perfect impunity!

Fifth: Added to the terrible silence, the no less terrible monotony. In prison so few things ever happen. Day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, the same grinding, dreary, deadly monotony. Cell-block, buckets, breakfast, work; dinner, work, buckets, cell-block. Once a week, bath; on Sunday, religious services. (Religious services! And the rest of the Lord's day locked in a cell 7 feet by 39 inches!)

Sixth: The constant espionage which the system makes necessary. If men are forbidden to talk or act naturally, of course they must be watched to see that they do not transgress the stupid rules. A strict and constant observation of every inmate becomes necessary, day and night. As it is obviously impossible to carry this out completely without a guard for every man, the prisoners find frequent pleasure in violating the rules. But no one who has not endured it can realize the nervous strain of constant subjection to the prying eyes of the keepers. From morning until night, and again from night until morning, the eye of the guard is upon you — on the gallery, on the march, at meals, at work, in your cell; no right to a moment's privacy, night or day. The result is a state of unstable nervous equilibrium that the slightest jar may destroy. A guard must be constantly prepared to meet a murderous assault upon himself, or by one inmate upon another, caused by grudges arising from the most trifling causes. "Many a time, as I have stood here," said one of the Sing Sing officers to me last winter, "have I seen two men working side by side; one would accidentally jog the other with his elbow and quick as a flash a knife would be grabbed from somewhere or other and stuck in the fellow's back. Such things were of every-day occurrence under the old method."

Seventh: The method of "stool-pigeons," which the dangerous condition of constant nervous unrest brings about. The authorities feel it necessary to know what is going on among their charges; and rightly so. The only way to do this is to employ spies and informers; so the prison community is honeycombed with suspicion. Lying and deceit—baseness of all kinds, even vice in its most loathsome form, becomes a part of the prison system. In every shop or company is a "runner" or "trusty,"—the officer's errand-boy, boot-black, valet and general factotum. He has access at all times to his master and can whisper in his ear any accusations he pleases against any inmate for whom he gets a dislike. This convict favorite often becomes a peculiarly despicable species of tyrant.

A prisoner friend of mine once offended the runner of his company; and the next thing he knew he was suddenly called before the captain and charged with having a knife in his locker. He indignantly denied it; but upon the locker being examined, a knife was found—presumably put there by the trusty who had reported. My friend narrowly escaped severe punishment and was thereafter regarded with doubt and dislike.

Suspicion, fear and hatred are the inevitable accompaniments of the system of espionage. The air is always filled with charges against one man or another. Tale-bearing is encouraged; privileges and rewards go to the successful purveyors of gossip and scandal. Side by side with wonderful loyalty and fine heroism are the most despicable treachery and double-dealing. In one case a young boy of twelve in a juvenile institution committed murder. He had been persuaded to join a plan of escape; and then his companion had turned traitor and gained credit and privileges thereby. The killing of the "rat" followed as a natural result.

It is bad enough in prison to be subject to the whims and moods of an officer; but to be subject to the officer's stool-pigeon is often unendurable.

Eighth: The brutality which is a perfectly natural consequence of the system. The nervous condition of the men, caused by the silence, the monotony and the espionage, carries with it an equally nervous condition of the guards. "We stand on a volcano," said one of the officers of Dartmoor prison to a writer from the *London Times*. "If our convicts here had opportunity to combine and could trust one another, the place would be wrecked in an hour." This nervousness of the guard makes him irritable and severe. He is afraid; and his fear engenders brutality; and brutality breeds revenge; the feeling of revenge and

hatred for the prison authorities brings about more nervousness and greater fear; and so the vicious circle is complete.

Every generation or so there is a revelation of prison tortures; and a scandalized community forces the legislature to pass a law forbidding some special form of punishment that the diabolical ingenuity of man has invented; only to have some new cruelty devised to take its place.

Ninth: Underlying all the rest of the prison system—all the brutality and imbecility—is the denial of initiative—of any responsibility on the part of a man either for his own acts or the acts of others.

The theory would seem to be this: that these prisoners, having shown by their conduct in the outside world that they cannot be trusted to act rightly, will be made righteous by closing all avenues to wrong action. The authorities, being presumably exceedingly wise and good men, shall lay down rules of conduct; and the criminal will tread the straight and narrow path—because all possibilities of straying will be walled up. Thus shall wicked men become good by mere force of inertia.

Of course a system based on any such theory could be nothing else than an utter failure; a hopeless, futile absurdity. It is not possible to close all avenues of wickedness; nor if it were possible, would it bring about the desired result. No men can be made good through force of inertia, any more than they can be made good by giving them nothing to think about, in the hope that they will thereby learn to think straight. If a man is sound at heart,—if he feels right, he will both think right and act right; but the process does not work backwards. There is no such thing as morality without righteousness—a state of being obtained only when the conscience is in good working order. Like the mental and physical machinery of man, the spiritual machinery has to be kept in constant exercise. If it is called upon only in the hour of stress, it is bound to fail. These and similar statements are not offered as moral sentiments deduced from philosophic contemplation of the problems of the nature of man; they are truisms the truth of which has been forced upon me by a study of the prison system, by close examination of its workings and by endeavor to account for its failure.

Many years before I spent my week in Auburn prison I had become convinced that some form of self-government was the true solution of the prison problem. In 1896 I first became acquainted with the Junior Republic, at Freeville, New York, with which I was subsequently connected for more than fifteen years as president of its board of trustees. When William R.

George, the founder and superintendent, first suggested that the same principles which were working so successfully with young boys and girls might work with equal success in a prison, the idea seemed preposterous; but subsequent reflection made me think that he was right. I became so convinced of it that in 1904, when I was asked to speak at the annual meeting of the National Prison Association, held that year in the city of Albany, I made an address on "The True Foundation of Prison Reform," in which occur the following passages:

> Mr. Gladstone once wrote in relation to Ireland's demand for home rule, and the idea that it must be kept back until the Irish had developed farther and were ready for self-government: "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." A golden sentence which contains the very essence of democracy. If it is true of nations, it is equally true of individuals; and just here is the fallacy at the bottom of our present prison theories.
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> The prison system endeavors to make men industrious by driving them to work; to make them virtuous by removing temptation; to make them respect the law by forcing them to obey the edicts of an autocrat; to make them far-sighted by allowing them no chance to exercise foresight; to give them individual initiative by treating them in large groups; in short, to prepare them again for society by placing them in conditions as unlike real society as they could well be made.
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> What, then, is the proper basis for a prison system? "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." Instead of confinement and repression in our prison we must have the largest possible measure of individual freedom.
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> Outside the walls a man must choose between work and idleness,—between honesty and crime. Why not let him teach himself these lessons before he comes out? Such things are best learned by experience. Some can acquire their lesson in life by the experience of others; but most men in prison under the present system cannot do that. They are in prison for the very reason that they cannot do that. But every one who is not an absolute fool can learn by experience, and the bulk of men in prison certainly are not fools.
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> So inside your walls you must have courts, and laws to protect those who are working from the idle thief. And we may rest assured that the laws would be made and the laws would be enforced.
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> . . . . . .
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> The prison must be an institution where every inmate must have the largest practicable amount of individual freedom, because "it is liberty alone that fits men for liberty."

The standards of the old system—the standards of soft jobs for "rats" and "stool-pigeons," but bread and water in the dark-cells for faithful fellows who would not "snitch on their pals,"—such standards were not those of the right-minded men who must be the backbone of the [Mutual Welfare] League. It was the first

point of division; and unhesitatingly the men turned to the path of sincerity and straightforward dealing. If they were to have a league, it must be one which represented their own ideals, not the ideal of the bad old system.

Unanimously the point was carried—the membership of the League must be thrown open to all; and forfeited for bad conduct, according to standards which it would be for the League to determine.

Then we came to the second question: What should the League do? As quickly as they had gone to the root of the first question, it was seen that this question need not be debated. What the League would be allowed to do rested entirely with the authorities. I suggested that the best method of procedure would probably be to take up one desired privilege at a time; ask for it, and get it if we could. For instance, the privilege of the chapel for meetings on Sunday afternoons was obviously the first thing to bring about.

The third question was: How should the machinery of the League be formulated? A sub-committee of twelve, with the chairman a member, ex officio, was voted; and with some difficulty, owing to my limited prison acquaintance, I selected the necessary members.

This sub-committee proved to be one of the most satisfactory bodies of the kind I ever worked with. Businesslike, fertile in suggestion, keen in argument, good-tempered in decision. There was a general sense of the lasting importance of our discussions—of the movement we were starting. Three or four meetings of the sub-committee sufficed to formulate the by-laws, and after full discussion by the committee of forty-nine, they were reported to the whole body of the prisoners on January 11th, 1914, and unanimously adopted.

The scheme of government thus prepared was the simplest and most democratic imaginable. Every prisoner was eligible for membership in the Mutual Welfare League, which was the name adopted after much discussion. It was declared that "the object of the League shall be to promote in every way the true interests and welfare of the men confined in prison." The motto was concise and explicit: "Do Good—Make Good." The colors, green and white,—emblematic of Hope and Truth.

Adopting the same constituencies that had elected the committee on organization, the governing body of the League was a board of delegates of forty-nine, elected every six months. The delegates were to select an executive board of nine from among their number, to which was entrusted the administration of the

League. The executive board appointed a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, who was empowered to add as many assistant sergeants-at-arms as necessary, the delegates acting also in that capacity. The board of delegates was also divided into eight grievance committees of five each, which should hear and determine all complaints against members of the League.

With this simple framework of organization the new prison system began. At the first election, on January 15th, many of those who had been on the committee of forty-nine were returned as members of the board of delegates. It was a thrilling sight when on Sunday, January 18, 1914, after the population of the prison in excited expectation was seated in the chapel, the newly elected representatives of their fellow-prisoners marched in two by two—each with a bow of green and white ribbon pinned to his gray coat, to the thunderous applause of their constituents. Raising their right hands they took the oath of office, read to them by the Warden, as follows:

> You solemnly promise that you will do all in your power to promote the true welfare of the man confined in Auburn Prison; that you will cheerfully obey and endeavor to have others obey the rules and regulations of the duly constituted prison authorities, and that you will endeavor in every way to bring about friendly feeling, good conduct and fair dealing among both officers and men to the end that each man, after serving the briefest possible term of imprisonment, may go forth with renewed strength and courage to face the world again. All this you promise faithfully to endeavor. So help you God.

Many of the prisoners showed deep emotion; and one man said to me afterwards: "When those delegates marched in, I just wanted to get up and shout. I never was so excited but once before; and that was when I was a soldier in Cuba and saw our fellows making their charge up San Juan Hill."

On February 4th occurred the first meeting of a grievance committee. There had been a fight on one of the galleries and two men were accused. The question arose as to the kind of hearing that should be held by the committee; should it be a trial or an invesigation? One of the guilty parties claimed the right to be represented by counsel; but it was quickly seen that this meant attorneys and cross-examinations and objections and all the rigmarole of a court. Many of the League members had already suffered from a surplus of legal procedure and they willingly listened to a suggestion that we start by throwing aside the whole simulacrum of a court. So counsel was refused and the two accused men were examined as witnesses—and both lied like the traditional trooper, exactly as they had been accustomed

to lie under the old system. But when other witnesses were brought in one by one, some of them, understanding the changed conditions of things, told the truth. The case ended in both guilty parties making a clean breast of the whole matter, one of them being dismissed from the office of delegate, and both being suspended from the first general meeting of the League, which was scheduled for February 12th. The last punishment was afterwards remitted in view of the truthful attitude of the two men.

On February 11th a brief gathering of the delegates was held, so that the sergeant-at-arms could give his instructions for the conduct of the first general meeting of the League on the next day. Remember that for the first time the whole prison population was to come together without guards! It is impossible for one who did not pass through those thrilling experiences to realize the excitement—the exhilarating effect of passing safely one after another of the milestones on the road to a genuine system of prison discipline. The delegates were filled with an enthusiasm which bore an almost religious character. They were pioneers of prison democracy. The meeting broke up with an earnest appeal from the secretary reminding the men "that it was up to them to show that they could behave themselves and act like gentlemen."

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I have spoken of the lights dying down on the evening of February 12th. The next month we had a somewhat similar incident, but under much more exciting conditions. A distinguished English pianist had agreed to stop over on his way to New York from Chicago and fill one of the regular Sunday afternoon chapel meetings with a piano recital. As luck would have it his telegram was so late in delivery that there was no time to get a suitable piano. He arrived and was much disappointed, as were the men. He suggested to me that he give the concert the next evening. I gasped. "In the evening! Why, the men have never been out of their cells at night since the prison was built a hundred years ago. But I will put it up to the Warden."

I did so and his action was characteristic. "It's never been done," he said; "but that's no reason why it shouldn't be. I'll take the chance, if you will." As the official responsibility was entirely his, I consented at once; and arrangements were duly made. Many of these men had not spent an evening out of their cells for years—five, ten, fifteen, some of them for twenty years. The excitement can hardly be imagined.

The evening came. The procession of fourteen hundred men started for the chapel. Between three and four hundred men were seated there; the long line stretched out through the chapel, through the halls, down the stairs and along the corridors. The galleries were filled with marching men. Suddenly something happened to the dynamo and every light in the prison went out!

The lines halted. Some few men started whispering, but were promptly hushed by the delegates. In perfect order and silence, minute after minute, they waited for the lights to return. Up in the chapel, meantime, the same good discipline reigned. The sergeant-at-arms, describing his experience to me the next day, said: "At first I didn't know what to do. Then I told Billy O'D— (the pianist), to play something. Then I saw the light of a lantern coming along the hall and I thought it was Johnny, the P. K.'s runner; and I yelled, 'Hurry up there with that lantern.' And when he came nearer, who do you think it was? — the Warden. I said: 'Excuse me, Warden, I thought it was one of the boys.' And what do you think he said? He said. 'So I am, or I wouldn't be here.' Think of the Warden coming into this place in the dark alone with us fellows! Gee, that took nerve!"

After nearly fifteen minutes of darkness and perfect quiet the lights came back and the march was resumed. When my friend, the pianist, and I arrived shortly afterwards, there seemed to be nothing unusual, except that I noticed the Warden looked a little pale, and tense about the corners of his mouth.

The next day one of the men said to me: "I guess that was done on purpose, just to try us out; wasn't it?" And I, adopting the vernacular, responded briefly but forcibly: "Not on your life!"

Perhaps the most striking single episode in the history of the Auburn branch of the League has been the Honor Camp. Twenty men were selected by the authorities of the League to form this road-building camp;—most of them with long terms, most of them with bad official records, most of them men of sterling character according to the prisoners' standards. For three months they were in camp, working hard every day at road-making, gaining health and strength, fighting each his own temptations and gaining the mastery of them; winning here and losing there, but all the time building up manhood and capacity to fight the battles of the world outside.

I have gone thus much into detail in telling of the beginning of the Mutual Welfare League because I esteem it of the greatest importance that the nature and plan of this organization should be fully understood; not only by its by-laws and methods of pro-

cedure, but the spirit underneath,—for there is danger of the form being copied without an understanding of the far more important underlying principles.

For over two years now the Mutual Welfare League has been in operation in Auburn prison. Mistakes have been made;—mistakes by the men and mistakes by the prison officials. Where is there a community which has not made its mistakes? The League has had its ups and downs; some of the prisoners have lost faith—usually because their own personal purposes have not been served. But in spite of its shortcomings, there has never been a day since it started when those who have been in closest touch with its workings have doubted that we were on the right path—that we had found the right solution of the prison problem.

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FARM COLONIES

At a section meeting, held Saturday, May 13, at 9:15 A. M., devoted to this subject the following named speakers participated: Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Mrs. F. J. Waddell, Huntington, W. Va.; C. E. Rightor, Dayton; George W. Welch, Grand Rapids; Katharine B. Davis, New York; Thomas H. Johnson, Winnipeg; C. L. Stonaker, Newark, N. J.; Catherine M. Ritter, Kansas City; Rev. A. J. D. Haupt, St. Paul; Mrs. L. Doehler, Kansas City; Lamar T. Beman, Cleveland; C. E. Talkington, Greencastle, Ind.; Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Los Angeles; W. H. Thomas, Cleveland. A stereopticon address describing the activities at The District of Columbia Workhouse, at Occoquan, Virginia, was given by W. E. Edgin, assistant superintendent of that institution.

PSYCHOPATHIC DELINQUENTS*†

E. E. Southard, Director, Psychopathic Department, Boston State Hospital

Miss Katharine Bement Davis, Chairman of our Committee on Corrections, has asked me to speak on the general topic of *The Clearing House Plan for the Disposition of Convicted Criminals*, and has conceded to me the privilege of speaking in a general way upon potential delinquents from the general psychopathic point of view. If I understand the general idea of the clearing house plan as applied to criminals and alleged criminals, it is that there might be developed a plan by which, after the facts

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†Section meeting, Tuesday, May 16, 9:15 A. M.

concerning a given anti-social event had been established (that is, the sort of evidence which would ordinarily "convict" a person who is really a "criminal"), said facts should be reviewed medically, psychologically, and in other ways, for the purpose of securing a basis for proper sentence, probation, or other disposition of the case. Of course, it is clear that the social technique of such a plan is in the hands of the jurists. There is no doubt that the jurists will sooner or later put into execution whatever plan we can logically bring forward and support. As for me, however, I do not feel competent to tell either what a criminal is, or what special form of justice should be meted out to a criminal, either for his own good or for that of others. Where the psychiatrist enters is in the determination of mental disease or defect in certain cases which are, as it were, automatically removed from the criminal group when the diagnosis of mental disease or defect is established. Here one has a pretty strong conviction that much remains to be said.

It seems clear that, not a majority, but a large minority of prison inmates are insane in some sense. Personally, in common with the leaders in my specialty, I prefer to restrict the term *insanity* to those persons who are legally committable to institutions, and to consider that outside of the range of these legally committable persons, there is a large number of other persons afflicted with mental disease that are psychopathic but not, in the committable sense, insane. Now, the question often arises, and has often arisen, whether an insane person should be removed from a prison and placed in an asylum, and many states have developed special institutions for insane criminals. Of the existence of this group of insane criminals, there seems to be no doubt, since huge buildings exist for their reception; but there is a good deal of logical doubt as to just what we may really mean by the term *insane criminal,* or the term *criminal insane.* Without going into this matter now, it is safe to say that a large minority of prison inmates are, if not insane, then psychopathic in some sense. A number of them turn out to be feeble-minded, and a number epileptic. That there is a psychopathic fraction among so-called convicted criminals may be regarded as almost *prima facie* true. The exact percentage is not here in question, and doubtless cannot be established for many years to come.

But suppose we discover that a legally convicted criminal is insane or psychopathic, feeble-minded or epileptic, what is the proper disposition of this case? Or, if, as my colleagues, Dr. A. W. Stearns and Mr. C. S. Rossi, have recently found in certain Massachusetts prisons, there are a considerable number of these

psychopathic cases, the question arises whether these cases shall be transferred to institutions for the insane. Now, this question is more than a mere practical question for the administrators of our laws, for that group of social uplifters known as the newspaper men take exceeding interest in this topic. The public has been taught to feel that a good many of our prisons contain persons who should not be in these prisons because they are insane. Wholesale transfers of comparatively large groups among our prison population should accordingly be made, is the contention of these persons, to hospitals for the mentally sick.

As for my own reaction to this problem, I should wonder whether Mahommed might not go to the mountain,—in short, whether it would not be wisest to place medical men and psychologists in full and intimate charge of prisons. The more advanced penologists are willing enough to concede certain powers to physicians and even to psychologists. What I would rather like to see is a situation in which the wardens themselves should be physicians. It is not that the majority of the prison population can be proved to be psychopathic or victims of insanity in a committable sense, but over and above the psychopathic fraction and the feeble-minded fraction, and the epileptic fraction, is a great group of persons who are sick,—perhaps with syphilis or other disease unknown to the authorities. A prison is a medical problem; a prison head should be a physician. This is the conclusion of a number of advanced thinkers with whom I have talked. Twenty-five years from now, one may freely predict numerous prisons will have medical wardens.

Let us, then, dismiss as a pious wish the idea of the medical wardens of the future and the transformation of prisons into hospitals. It is clear that in that day the most gigantic advances will be made into the psychiatric and psychological study of the criminal. What, however, can be done today? This is the question which Miss Davis has brought up. It has been proposed that the individual criminal should be somehow studied medically, psychiatrically, psychologically, and in every important known way after conviction and before sentence, with a view to making the best possible disposition of the criminal. Miss Davis asked me to say something concerning the aid that "should be given by physicians and psychologists in helping to determine the treatment to be followed." By the phrase "conviction," I suppose we really mean here more exactly a determination of the facts of the crime or alleged crime. Not being versed in the law, I should be loath to draw medical conclusions about the legal concept of conviction. Naturally, as a physician, if I determined that a con-

victed criminal, whether or no he had undergone sentence, is to some important degree feeble-minded, then, as a physician, I can only view the "conviction" as logically and perhaps legally erroneous, since responsibility did not lie in the alleged criminal. Let us, however, humbly dismiss the technical juristic aspect of this question and treat the matter more on a logical basis. What we as physicians, and especially as psychiatrists, almost daily see is that the establishment of facts, including the taking of evidence, especially from the alleged criminal himself, is, in our view, in itself a psychiatric problem. The alleged criminal, in fine, who happens to be a psychopath is even less likely to throw clear truth or obvious falsehood into the arena of evidence than a normal person. I do not here allude to malingering alone, important though malingering is; nor merely to that sort of anti-malingering which leads the patient to admit acts and motives that are wholly *post facto* or subjective. I am thinking more of those delusional situations in which the patient alleged to be a criminal genuinely views some of his false beliefs as true and proceeds logically thereupon. When the whole drama is enacted with perfect lucidity and with the acme of controversial skill on the part of the alleged criminal, then the ability of the jury, the police, the probation officers, and the court itself to assign proper values to evidence is entirely deficient.

Here is the value of the program of Dr. William Healy's *Individual Delinquent.* This important recent work has called attention to the importance of treating delinquents as individuals, and not as members of pre-conceived groups; at all events, groups pre-conceived by the jurists. Just where the individualizing can begin in the present state of jurisprudence, I have no means of determining and hardly an opinion. Let it begin as early as possible, I should be inclined to say, along with many of our colleagues. Let the courts use their powers of associating impartial experts with them far more frequently than they now do. Probably this step would meet the approval of jurists rather than the wholesale adoption of the principle of replacing the juridical courts with medical courts. to be known as commissions. The association of a supposedly impartial psychiatric expert with the court, the fees to be paid by the state, county, or other governmental unit, would not interfere in the slightest with the securing of any number of experts in bitterly contested cases by the counsel for the prisoner. In many instances, however, the hiring of such experts in addition to those chosen by the court would prove unprofitable.

Accordingly, without taking a definite attitude as to the ques-

tion of medical commissions whose word is practically judicial, or the plan of association with the court of medical experts who shall act virtually as private sources of authority for the court itself, we must all agree that some such process would help in the individual case, and that in the course of a very few years the consistent adoption of some such new juristic habit on the part of the courts would tend to develop criminology very fast.

I need not say that in fairly numerous cases, observation within psychiatric wards, psychopathic hospitals, or insane hospitals, may prove necessary. In particular, the widespread insidious factor of syphilis requires determination. We do not yet know exactly what syphilis does to the human character, but if syphilis be present as indicated by the blood Wassermann test, then the question of the existence of brain and nerve syphilis in addition to blood syphilis becomes important. I have known of at least one case of an executed murderer in which the question of brain syphilis was brought up in concrete form by the autopsy. Yet experts employed upon the case had not taken the precaution to make even a blood examination for the detection of syphilis. I am inclined to feel that any one who looks into the matter will discover that the syphilis question is far from an academic or minor question in criminology.

Aside from syphilis, more or less protracted examinations within hospital walls will often detect other signs of mental or nervous disease, and it may even be hoped that the analysis of character itself may in future be aided by studies of the reaction of the patient to hospital conditions: what my colleague, Dr. Adler, terms, "the measured or standardized environment" which the hospital regime supplies. Until our prisons become effectively hospitals, in accordance with the pious wish above expressed, we may employ the nearest psychopathic hospital, psychiatric clinic, or even an insane hospital for committed cases.

Pray do not carry away the impression that the psychiatrist subscribes to a doctrine that all crime is disease. Many such universal formulae fail. Not only is crime not proved to be the result of disease, but it is a question whether it is in all cases sin; some crimes appear to be not even unbeautiful, and some crimes appear in the eyes of other people to be not unsportsmanlike. It would not do to say that crime is feeble-mindedness or, with Lombroso, that crime is epilepsy; and it clearly would not do to define crime as insanity (in the sense of cases suitable for asylum), or as psychopathy (in the sense of cases that could not ordinarily be committed). It is clear that medicine, psychopa-

thology, and epileptology, on the one hand, and ethics, aesthetics, and whatever science it is which has to do with the square deal and with what is sportsmanlike, have a good deal to say about the nature of crime, but it is clear that criminology is neither one nor all of these sciences. In particular, we should look in vain in modern works on ethics for important leads in criminology. At all events, the psychiatrist, looking at recent ethical work, finds that ethics of the group (social ethics) has now definitively gotten the upper hand of the ethics of the individual. Psychiatry, and all medicine, being grounded, as one might say, upon the concept of the individual, rather looks askance at the notions of group ethics which are now propounded by economists and moralists, largely on the basis of statistical and less exact determinations of what is supposed to be the norm of the human race or important sub-groups thereof. Books on group ethics often exclude the infant, the imbecile, and the insane person from their consideration. We feel, whether as psychiatrists or as laymen, that these economists and moralists have somehow forgotten the instincts, emotions, and sentiments of individual men in their endeavor to lay down the instincts, emotions, and sentiments of mankind at large.

In short, if a book like Healy's, above mentioned, lays bare juristic faults of over-formulation (out-worn schemata by which punishment fits crime and the like), it cannot be said that these faults are juristic only. The juristic formulae have kept time with the development of economics and ethics on a statistical basis and on the basis of group norms. We shall not need to reform jurisprudence, only to secure for the individual criminal his right to be punished for his own sake instead of for his crime. We shall need to inject into economics and ethics something more of the psychology of the individual. We see the psychology of the individual entering politics, as for example in the works of Graham Wallas. We see in the work of McDougal, in the older work of Shand, and in the still older work of William James, some of the Anglo-Saxon sources of this new individualizing tendency. Do not, therefore, in your haste to apply the individualizing principle of Healy's work to our courts, regard jurisprudence as itself fundamentally at fault. The fault, perhaps, lies in that great achievement of the nineteenth century known as statistics. Ever since Quetelet, with his *Physique Sociale*, we have been ever attempting to establish norms for men, at times forgetting the individual men within their skins.

I have indicated a few of the potentialities in delinquency, both medical and non-medical. You will wonder what the

medical potentialities are, particularly from the Psychopathic Hospital point of view. Above, I hinted at the importance of a determination of syphilis in almost the first instance. Naturally, the immediate and remote effects of alcoholism and morphinism and other drug intoxications have an even greater importance as to frequency. There are a few phenomena of dotage,—tendencies of the senescent and senile person,—that need consideration and compassion. All these factors of age and other factors looking in the direction of physical disease are of lesser consequence, statistically and fundamentally. A great question lodges in the so-called psychogenic group. As you know, the prisons exhibit certain psychoses possibly due to confinement, and now and again a patient who properly has confessed an objective crime, eventually becomes mentally diseased to the extent of a genuine belief in his innocence and perhaps even in the fact of his being pardoned. These cases should, of course, be subjected to careful psychiatric scrutiny, as indeed they have been examined in sundry cases.

But aside from the syphilitic, alcoholic, senile, somatic, and psychogenic groups among psychopathic delinquents, we perhaps need to consider more especially the degenerative group, on the one hand, and what might be termed the functional group, on the other. This degenerative group may be considered loosely to include the feeble-minded, the epileptic, and the victims of dementia præcox. The functional group contains the so-called manic depressive group of Kraepelin, the hysterias, the psychopathies, and the like. It is here that the psychiatrist is, perhaps, most needed, since in the degenerative group the falsification of data by lack of judgment, by impairment of memory, and by delusions, is prominent, not to say startling; and since in what I have termed the functional group, the psychopaths, hysterics, and manic depressives lie exceedingly near to what we conceive as the normal. Accordingly, in the degenerative group, the data of evidence get poisoned at their source, and in the functional group,—if I may so name it,—the patients do not get the credit of that degree of psychopathy to which they are subject, since their acts and motives run pretty much on normal lines and suggest almost full responsibility for the criminal acts in question. To be sure, modern mental tests are accomplishing a great deal in the proof of suggestibility and the lack of insight on the part of the feeble-minded, and character studies in the epileptics are teaching us something more about the peculiar egoism of these patients (Pierce Clark). But the analysis of delusions on a scientific basis has not proceeded far beyond the obvious in recent

years. The whole problem of the functional psychoses is almost as dark as the depths of criminology itself.

I have adverted in my talk before the section on Public and Private Charities on the importance of distinguishing the medical, public, social, and individual aspects of psychopathological cases. I there pointed out the importance of distinguishing the public and the social factors in a case, reserving, with Dean Pound, the term *public* for the more governmental aspects, and the term *social* for other group aspects of a case. I believe that in criminology, too, we shall need to ask the same sort of questions. Our first duty in the case of an alleged criminal, after the objective facts are as far as possible determined, is to consider whether or not the alleged criminal is psychopathic in some sense; whether he was in a relatively temporary psychopathic phase (as in functional cases), or in a more permanent state of degeneration (as in feeble-mindedness, many epilepsies, and most cases of dementia præcox); whether he is syphilitic or alcoholic, and the like. These medical determinations will to a certain extent afford the ground of punishment or, better, indicate the line of treatment.

But if the case be not medical (and doubtless the majority of criminals are not medical or psychopathic cases), then there remains to determine the individual psychology of the alleged criminal. For it may well be that character anomaly or faulty education shall have left him in an anti-social frame as viewed in the light of the standard set up by the ethics of the social group in which he happens to get born or to dwell. I would not say that individualistic psychology like that of McDougal *(Social Psychology)*, Shand *(Foundations of Character)*, or William James *(Principles of Psychology: Varieties of Religious Experience*, etc.) will not go far to solve some of these difficulties. At least the data of these works should be applied in the attempt to solve the questions which arise; but it is clear that the methods of psychopathology are also important in the determination of anomalies of character. It is also clear that the standards of the individual and the standards of group ethics may, for one reason or other, deviate from adopted governmental standards; that is the governmental or public points of view may differ as to a given crime. The physician and the psychiatrist may want to give the delinquent treatment; the social worker may want to reform him; the fundamental social instincts may seek revenge, on the one hand, or pardon, on the other, for public crimes; and the unenlightened publicist may regard deterrence as the solitary but insufficient beacon light for his decisions. In any event, it would not do to omit the medical and psychological aspects of

delinquents either "after conviction," "before sentence," or "after sentence"; and when we shall have medically and psychiatrically determined the psychopathic phases of an important minority of alleged criminals, we shall have accomplished yet more than a medical task; for, in my opinion, psychopathology will help us in the determination of character anomalies as well.

We must remember that the jurist is a specialist in the same sense as the physician and the psychologist, and that neither the jurist, nor the physician, nor the psychologist is exceedingly far removed from the viewpoints of the laity as to crime. I sometimes like to define the social worker as an intensive form of layman, as a sort of super layman, simply because these intensive or super laymen have the task of cementing together the data of the physician, the psychologist, and other laymen endeavoring to influence the jurist's decision. We must not think of them as the "be all and end all" in this problem of delinquents, alleged delinquents, and potential delinquents. The psychologist may have a little over-confidence in his mental tests; the physician may pin too much faith on the standardized environment of institutions; and the jurist may hold in too high esteem the formulae of outworn eras; but the social worker, in his capacity as intensive layman, must not make the mistake of over-formulation on his own part. He may smile at some of the early conclusions erroneously drawn from Binet tests; he may view with suspicion the program of sterilization for defectives, or their segregation; and may wreak his displeasure on the courts for handing down slot-machine decisions. He must remember, however, that the formulae of the social ethics of the day and of some of the social service courses are founded rather upon the ethics of the group than the ethics of the individual.

The so-called clearing house plan, then, for delinquents, is by no means a panacea, and especially not if the clearing house is merely a laboratory for day-boarders, as it were, merely a laboratory with form boards and puzzle pictures, or merely a place where examinations for venereal disease are made. The problem requires the best medical judgment, both for the bird's-eye view and for intensive work in a minority of cases; it requires the best social judgment, with not too much emphasis on the aspect of social norms; it requires enlightened juridical review and presumably control. But above all, the so-called clearing house, as the name indeed implies, is only a parcel in the whole problem, and the burden of modern work in criminology seems to lodge in a study, not merely of delinquents, but of potential delinquents. Hence, I would put in a special word for those modern psycho-

pathic out-patient departments and extra-mural agencies which gather in the laggards, terrors, exceptionals, ungraded, and study all manner of other special phases in which beginnings of delinquency so often lurk.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF PSYCHOLOGY TO THE PROBLEMS OF A CLEARING HOUSE

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I do not intend today to enter into a discussion as to the relative importance of psychological study as compared with other lines of investigation in the study of women convicted of crime. I am assuming that there is general agreement as to the importance of sociological investigation, medical examination of a general sort and, more particularly, careful psychiatric study, with bio-chemical investigation when possible; and that a discussion of distinctly psychological problems implies no neglect of these others quite equal in importance. To indicate the part that psychology may play I have chosen to present certain results of the study of women committed to the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills during the past year. The work represents the joint plan and the data gathered is the result of the joint effort of Dr. Mary H. S. Hayes and myself. It is only this particular formulation of it for which I assume individual responsibility. It should be understood further that the present discussion concerns itself entirely with adult women between the ages of 16 and 30 inclusive, with the exception of two women over 30 years of age.

Pleasant as it would be if we could claim that psychology were ready with adequate instruments for the solutions of the problems of a clearing house, we must admit that no such claim can fairly be made, now at least. The methodology of this type of investigation is still in process of construction and must therefore remain an object of careful scientific scrutiny for some years to come. That this fact is now forced to the front by the very disagreements among psychologists as to the methods which yield the largest returns is one of the most promising aspects of the present situation.

One result of this situation is the fact that the actual problems before any institution of the type of a clearing house shift

from year to year. Diagnosis and practical advice on the individuals brought before it for examination represent of course the prime aim and constant function of such an institution. But in order that this function be performed with increasing satisfaction and reliability, it is essential that data be so collected and utilized that from them further evidence of the value or the uselessness of particular methods may be obtained. *A priori* reasoning alone will not hold in this any more than in any other field where facts are in question. Our most cherished theories as to what a normal person will do and what a moron will fail to do must be subjected to the most rigid experimental proof and those tests which seem eminently reasonable but fail to pass this test themselves must be cast aside. This rigid experimental trying-out of tests constitutes then the shifting and variable phase of the work of a clearing house. For we do reach, one by one, experimental answers to our problems, and may then apply ourselves to other questions which have merely been waiting in the background for their turn to come.

One of the most pressing of the problems incidental to the work of a clearing house now calling for solution is that of general diagnostic tests for distinguishing between the feeble-minded and the normal and for further determining the degrees of feeble-mindedness, what tests are to be used and how these are to be evaluated and interpreted. For this purpose the Binet-Simon Scale deserves first consideration in virtue of its character as a pioneer method, in virtue of the extensiveness of its use and in virtue of the number of variants upon it which have been worked out.

In no phase of the situation regarding the use of mental tests has a more interesting development occurred than in that concerned with the question of the usefulness of this series of tests. First we had the enthusiastic hailing of the Scale as an instrument of marvelous exactness so skillfully adjusted that it would give trustworthy results even in the most untrained hands, and the "Binet" testers, prepared to diagnose the mentality of any individual on a ten or fifteen minute examination, began to flood the country. The reaction from this was inevitable and in many quarters extreme. The tests were cast aside by many as not even worthy of scientific consideration. Especially was this true of any attempts to use the method with adults. A third stage in the history of these tests seems now happily under way, namely, the stage of actual scientific examination to determine what value, if any, they do possess, alterations more or less extensive in accordance with the results of such examination and interpreta-

tion of results in the light of careful standardization with unselected groups.

To be concrete I may mention the two important modifications of this scale, which are sufficiently radical to constitute essentially new scales and sufficiently well grounded in scientific fact so that they deserve recognition: The Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale and the Stanford Revision formulated by Dr. Lewis Terman and his associates. The former is well enough known by this time so that a detailed description of it would be superfluous. Suffice it to say that it consists essentially of 19 of the Binet tests and one other—the analogies; that its chief point of distinction lies in the methods of crediting individual tests and of formulating the total results, though only second in importance to these changes is the fact that definite and detailed instructions are provided for the giving and the evaluation of each test which make possible the comparison of results of different investigators with more assurance that they actually represent the same methods than was ever possible with the original Binet series.

In the Stanford Revision likewise we have the advantage of definite, specific instructions for each test. The series as a whole is organized like the original Binet as an age scale and differs from it chiefly in the actual tests used. Old tests have been modified and rearranged, some have been dropped, and many new tests have been added, especially in the upper years of the scale. As at present formulated there are tests for every year up to 10 and beyond that for 12, 14, 16 and 18 years, 16 years being considered "average adult."

With the Bedford group now under consideration, we have applied a combination Binet method which has enabled us to check up the results for each girl as though she were being examined by the simple Binet scale in its original (1911) form, or by the Goddard 1911 Revision, or by the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale or by the Stanford Revision. The results of these have seemed interesting and instructive when we consider them in the light of the standards formulated by the sponsors of each of these forms.

Proposed Standards for Application of Tests of the Binet Type to the Problem of Sub-normality in Adults

Three proposed standards for interpretation of the scale in either its original form or that of the Goddard revision call for consideration. The first of these we may pass over lightly as having only historical interest now, at least so far as scientific backing is concerned, namely, that which classes all who fail to

attain a rank of twelve years as feeble-minded. This has been so universally discarded at the present time that it is unnecessary to point out its weaknesses. The fact that it failed to justify itself when applied to groups of unquestionably normal adults was the conclusive argument against it. With Dr. Goddard's discarding of the 15-year and adult tests as unsatisfactory it became especially apparent that it was absurd to apply this standard, involving as it did, ranking any adult as feeble-minded who failed on any one of the Binet tests.

A second and more conservative standard is that offered by Dr. Samuel Kohs as the result of his investigations in the Chicago House of Correction. He proposes to designate as feeble-minded all adults who fall below 10⅘ years mentally and as normal all who rank above 11⅖ years, considering the mental ages from 10⅘ to 11⅖ years, inclusive, a border-line range for which further tests are necessary to determine whether the given subject is feeble-minded or normal.

Still more conservative is the standard proposed by Dr. Wallin, which in fact many of us have been tentatively using for some time, in so far as we have used these tests with adults at all, pending a more satisfactory solution of the problem of appropriate standards for adults. By this standard only those who rank below ten years mentally are to be called feeble-minded.

For the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale no standards of normality have been definitely laid down. Two tentative suggestions have been furnished which invite our attention, however. The first of these is embodied in the following statement made by Dr. Yerkes:[1]

> All of the data presented thus far, and the special measurements which have been discussed, indicate that the adult, or more exactly, the individual sixteen years or more in age, who attains a score of less than 75 points is so far below the average for his group as to be seriously handicapped by his intellectual characteristics. We should expect of the normal adult a score ranging between 75 and 100 points, and in the event of a record of less than 85 points, it is important to consider the possible significance of language difficulties, timidity, bad physical condition, and so on.

Dr. Haines, of the Bureau of Juvenile Research of Columbus, has recently offered another standard for adults based on what Yerkes has called the "coefficient of mental ability," rather than on the actual number of points, the coefficient of mental ability being the ratio between the actual number of points gained and the norm as represented by the average score obtained from

[1] *A Point Scale for Measuring Mental Ability*, Yerkes, Bridges and Hardwick, pp. 93 and 94.

persons of the given age. Accepting as tentative norms, indicated though not conclusively proved by Dr. Yerkes' figures, 84 points for 16 years, 86 for 17 and 88 for 18 years or over he requires, therefore, for 16-year-olds a score of over 63 points; for 17-year-olds over 64½; and for all over 17 a score of over 66 points; or, in other words, for all a coefficient of mental ability of over 0.75. His contention is that any individual whose actual score is more than 25% below the average of his age group probably represents sufficient deviation from the normal to be fairly considered feeble-minded.

For the Stanford Revision the only suggested norm with which I am familiar is that of the mental quotient of .75 or over, a standard similar in principle to that offered by Dr. Haines for the Point Scale. The mental quotient represents the ratio between the actual record made by the individual with this scale and the record which he should have made—in this case the mental age corresponding with his physical age. For adults the age of 16 years is taken as the physical age to be considered in determining this quotient. We may, therefore, state this norm for adults as equivalent to a requirement that one attain at least a mental age of 12 years by the scale to avoid being classified as feeble-minded.

I have given thus detailed a statement of the standards which seem fairly open to consideration for the treatment of results obtained with the Binet group of tests in order that there may be no misunderstanding of the figures from our cases. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the proportion of cases that we should call feeble-minded if we employ one or another of the above mentioned standards. It will be seen that these range from 34% to 100%, or, if we drop entirely from consideration the classical 12-year-old Binet standard, even so from 34% to 65%. If the same investigators working with the same girls can obtain so wide a range of figures according to the standards applied, it is not surprising that such startling variations exist in the answers to the question regarding percentages of feeble-minded from different individuals working with different groups.

TABLE I.

PERCENTAGE OF FEEBLE-MINDED AMONG 100 BEDFORD INMATES ACCORDING TO THE VARIOUS STANDARDS RECOMMENDED BY DIFFFERENT AUTHORITIES.

[1] *Below 12 years*, by the Binet-Simon Scale, 1911 form.....88%
(15 year and adult tests used.)

Below 12 years, by Goddard revision of Binet-Simon Scale, 1911 form..100%
(15 year and adult tests not used.)

[1] Cited as having historical interest only.

Below 10½ years, by Goddard revision of Binet-Simon Scale, 1911 form 65%
(15 year and adult tests not used.) Approximately standard suggested by Kohs.

Below 10 years, by the Binet-Simon Scale, 1911 form..... 41%
(15 year and adult tests used.)

Below 10 years, by Goddard revision of the Binet-Simon Scale, 1911 form 34%
(15 year and adult tests not used.)

[2] *Below 75 points*, by Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale.....65%

Having a co-efficient of mental ability of 0.75 or less, by the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale. 38%
Standard suggested by Dr. Haines.

Having a mental quotient of less than 0.75, or a mental age of less than 12 years, by the Stanford revision..... 65%
Standard used by Dr. Terman.

I said at the beginning of this paper that the variation among workers was itself a promising feature of the present situation. This point I still maintain even in the face of such discrepancy as appears here. Even if this variation serves only to call a halt on our dogmatism, to render us a little less glib in our assertions and to bring home to us the still unsettled problems in this field, it has at least performed one useful function. There is, however, a further point to note regarding the nature of this discrepancy. It is no longer an indefinite disagreement which can be resolved no further than to the point of difference in personal opinion, which itself is based on factors largely intangible and incapable of estimation. Even if we are not yet ready to answer the question as to where we shall draw the upper line of feeble-mindedness and so to decide what percentages to give as defective, it is a distinct advance to be able to say that a given percentage are feeble-minded *according to the standards of any given authority*. We can by this means at least compare our different groups with some measure of accuracy, whereas before it was the investigators as much as the groups which constituted the variable elements.

In this connection, I would call attention to one further point of interest in Table I. When methods as disparate as the original Binet Scale, the Point Scale and the Stanford Revision are used it is desirable to discover whether we can in any way make connections between our various results. The superficial similarity in age norms used is wholly misleading. A mental age of 10 years does not mean the same thing by the Binet Scale in its simple form as does this same age obtained by the Stanford Revision. The fact that the median mental age of our group by the Stanford Revision is 11 years 2½ months, whereas

[2] Tentative suggestion only of Dr. Yerkes.

by the Binet-Simon Scale for the same individuals it is 10.2 years, is illustrative of this fact. Another basis of comparison must therefore be sought, if any comparison of the results of these different tests is to be attempted. As a tentative basis for such a comparison, I would suggest similarity in the percentages attaining any given rank. From Table I it is clear that a similar degree of rigidity is represented by setting up as a standard of normality 10.8 years [1] as determined by the Goddard form of the Binet-Simon Scale, 75 points obtained by the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale, or a mental quotient of .75 by the Stanford Revision. These, in fact, all yield the result of 65% of the total group. (The identity here should not be stressed since that is a chance outcome, and a *similarity* rather than an *identity* is to be looked for.) The conclusion is therefore clear that we may consider any figures based on one of these three standards closely comparable with those based on any other of these. As an indication that one of these, and probably therefore all three, are oversevere in character, it is desirable to consider Mrs. Woolley's data on 50 working girls of 18 years who were examined by the Cincinnati Vocational Bureau. Of these 26% fell below the standard of 75 points. According to recent figures on 100 cases which she has kindly furnished me, a still larger number, or 33%, fail to measure up to this requirement. This last-mentioned group of 100 is somewhat over-balanced toward the lower end since 58 were below the median of the total group of working children as measured by other tests, and only 42 were above. Even so, a proportion of 33% of these working children cannot be described as feeble-minded without necessitating an extensive revision of the meaning of this term. Even when we turn to the more conservative standard of Dr. Haines, we find 16% of Mrs. Woolley's 100 girls failing to measure up to it. Whether this is an exorbitant estimate or not can only be answered satisfactorily when fuller information is at hand regarding these who drop below the normal, information which will tell us how successfully they are earning their livings, and whether they are managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence, or on the other hand how much supervision and oversight has been required to keep them up on their own responsibility.

Without passing judgment, therefore, as between these various standards, it seems clear that in the face of these disagreements

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[1] It should be noted that this is not exactly Kohs' standard, since he includes a certain number of those ranking from 10.8 to 11.2 years, inclusive, in his group of feeble-minded.

and in the absence of full knowledge of the higher grades of mental defect, we shall do well to hold to one of the more conservative grounds of judgment. We can do this without lessening the usefulness of our plea for more adequate provision in the way of further custodial institutions. Even if we reduce our estimate somewhat below the 38% indicated by the standards which Dr. Haines suggests, we have an appalling situation when we realize that we are doing nothing, or next to nothing, to prevent these clear defectives from going back from our institutions to the easy life of the streets, with its lack of demand on intellectual powers, which seems to offer them their only future. We do not weaken the argument to my mind when we reduce its application to those cases regarding which there can be no dispute. When we have reached even an approximate solution of this problem, we can undertake to determine what disposition we can best make of the large group of questionable and borderline cases, and it is to be hoped that we shall then have more knowledge of these cases to bring to bear on their problems.

The further points of this paper are presented in connection with graphs of our results which could not be published with this report. I shall therefore merely state in dogmatic form the main points which were brought out in connection with the figures there presented.

1. Any comparison of our group as a whole with an approximately normal group serves to show conclusively that ours is an inferior group mentally. We have fewer individuals of superior ability and more of distinctly inferior capacity than we find in any more nearly unselected group.

2. In spite of this difference in range of ability, and the overweighting of our group in the direction of poorer performance, the further fact appears that there is a large amount of overlapping of our group with any such assemblage of normal cases. The fact of this over-lapping must be carefully considered before we accept any basis of diagnosis for such a special class as the delinquents which would, by all the force of scientific exactness, designate as feeble-minded large numbers of the working class who may perhaps be concerned primarily with drudgery and monotonous tasks rather than with the brilliant types of performance, but who nevertheless are succeeding in making a decent living and managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence and without an undue amount of supervision from without.

3. Additional tests for diagnostic purposes should be worked out with the most careful standardization possible, in order that we may have recourse to more than one instrument of measurement, no matter how perfect that instrument may eventually become. Only thus can we pretend to guard against the factors of communication from one person to another and habituation to the tests through a long succession of Binet experiences.

In selecting such tests there are certain things which we must require. First of these is standardization with normal or unselected groups. Second, the test must show a clear, though not necessarily an absolute, distinction between the results of the unquestionably feeble-minded and the unquestionably normal. A test in which the feeble-minded make approximately as good records as the normal may be worth while as indicating what possibilities the feeble-minded have, but it is clearly lacking in diagnostic value. Third, for the widest usefulness a test should have large enough possibilities of gradation so that it is possible for the superior individuals to exhibit a performance above the average and for the lowest grade to deviate below this. By having our tests too easy or too hard, we may eliminate one or the other of these distinctions. Finally, it is important that the selection of such a group of tests be partly determined by the range of abilities which they cover. Thus it is important that certain tests definitely utilize the language element, but equally important that these be supplemented by others, so-called performance tests, in which the language factor is eliminated or reduced to a minimum. There should be some tests involving memory, others based on ability to follow instructions, others requiring ingenuity in the meeting of new situations, capacity to reason concerning concrete or abstract problems, etc.

4. In addition to these tests valued primarily for their diagnostic services we should likewise be developing tests which may furnish information regarding the specific capacities of the individuals whom we are studying. These may fail to make sharp distinctions, between feeble-minded and normal, and yet add in many important ways to our understanding of the individual. Real development in these directions would of course carry us into the field of tests for vocational fitness.

DISCUSSION: The informal discussion was participated in by the following named delegates: Katharine B. Davis, Maude E. Miner, David I. Kelly, New York; Rev. Frederick Siedenberg, Chicago; Miss E. J. Easton, White Bear, Minn.

THE POLICEWOMEN MOVEMENT, PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE NEEDS*

Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Policewoman, Los Angeles, California
President International Association of Policewomen

Last year it was my privilege to present a progress of this Conference on the need for policewomen and a general outline of their work. This year I am to present briefly, The Policewomen Movement, Present Status and Future Needs. It is now recognized by nearly all reasonable people that there is a type of police work which cannot and should not be done by men, and there is scarcely an city which has put policewomen a new amount of preventive police work in the interest of women and children.

Let us understand from the onset the meaning of the word policewoman. It is a distinct, definite term, just as the term policeman is a definite understood term, both are municipal police officers. Night watchmen and private guards may be called special officers, but they are not called policemen. Neither should every woman who happens to be given police power for any reason whatever be called a policewoman. Yet, because the title will have active power there is where women, Quite a proportion of the time where I devote to the general work is spent in investigating and verifying, if possible, the reports of women appointed. Often these erroneous reports are accompanied by interesting explanations which sound plausible. For instance about three years ago there appeared a detailed statement regarding the appointment of thirty policewomen in Berlin, Germany, which went on to tell, with gentle humor, how secure the men felt, irrespective of their prowess, because all the men had to do was to keep in front of the women instead of behind them in case the women attempted to shoot. But a letter from the head of the Royal Prussian Police System, Dresden, assures me that Berlin has no policewomen, and gives late details as to the work of the two women social workers upon whom the Berlin police department depend for assistance.

Any matter of policewomen given by me either here or elsewhere refers, unless otherwise designated, to regular policewomen who are on the pay of the police department and give all their time to it.

During the now nearly six years since Los Angeles appointed the first regular policewoman, twenty years have come into the

*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

As this is a total unexpected by many people, I will call the list of states rather than cities, as heretofore: Maryland, California, Colorado, Texas, Pennsylvania, Washington, New York, Arizona, Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Alabama, Indiana, North Dakota, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Louisiana, New Jersey, Missouri, Minnesota, Montana.

Several states which would be in this column if hard work could have accomplished it, were ruled out because the lack of suffrage for women was construed as prohibiting the giving of police power to women. But the lack of the vote or other prohibitive clauses did not deter in all states, for during these years seven states have passed special legislation to make possible the appointment of policewomen.

This ought to convince the most skeptical that policewomen have come and have come to stay. The exact scope and nature of their work is yet to be fully determined, partly because in any line of work the possibilities and limitations can only be arrived at through a long process of experience over wide and varied fields; and because police work itself is facing a thoroughgoing change in its spirit and application, and the work of women in the department is most closely related to the preventive side of police work, where the greatest development will take place.

The work of policewomen began conservatively. It began with woman's desire to care for the children and the young people amid modern conditions, just as she has always done for them since the world began. Thus policewomen began by concerning themselves with the places of amusements where the young gather—the dance halls, the skating rinks, the picture shows, the parks and the streets—through the curfew and other minor laws, and will continue to do so. Also from the beginning women have come to them for help. The power of the policewomen to counsel and protect fills a real need in the lives of many troubled women.

As appreciation for the work grows, so that the number of women in each city is increased, it will be found that women can be used helpfully in many additional ways. I will not attempt to enumerate these, but will give one striking instance among the many which will illustrate an intolerable condition, yet one unthought of by the public, and to be remedied only by the use of policewomen.

I refer to the occasions when men officers, especially detectives and plain clothes men, must, in their round of duty, go to the homes of women and compel them to accompany them at once to the station. Sometimes this may be proper; but often

it may occur at any hour of the day or night, when they would find women totally unprepared for men visitors. Yet the officers' duty is such that no matter what state of dress or undress the woman may be in, they must keep her under personal observation. If they trusted her to prepare for the street she might succeed in making her escape; she might attempt self-destruction; she might destroy evidence; she might signal confederates, or do any one of a dozen things to defeat the law. The women have sometimes escaped when officers have been considerate enough to withdraw. The loss of a prisoner means a serious neglect of duty and the officer cannot take the chance.

To be sure, many women who have committed minor offenses through unfortunate association and have come under the ban, would not resort to desperate means. But the officer cannot safely discriminate, and in modern life such experience might come to almost any one.

This experience is unjust and unnecessary humiliation for both the officers and the women. It is a demoralizing custom, shocking to those who are modest and self-respecting, and one which pushes still lower those who are inclined that way. It shows at a glance the unreasonable position in which the officers are placed. This is a net loss to society which can be remedied only by supplying enough women police in every department to help to deal with all situations, and by having it just as clearly understood, as it now is, that men shall not search women's apartments alone or question young girls about moral indiscretions.

To summarize, police work will be viewed from many new angles when men and women together work out ways through which the police department will take in the community its rightful place.

As to the second half of my subject, "Its Future Needs," I can express the greatest of these in four words: women trained for work. The time has passed in which any large and important work can be carried on satisfactorily unless a large proportion of those upon whom it must depend have been especially selected and fitted for the work.

When we realize that police work is unlike other work previously done by women, we at once realize that there is no ready-made body from which to draw. When we see that every city and town in the world large enough to have an organized police department should include women, even the blind can see how enormous is the task of finding and equipping women to fill the rapidly growing demand, if the work is to be done upon a high plane of sympathy and of constructive service.

Any system of training schools built up to equip women for police work must be extremely practical, especially in the initial stage. I want to emphasize this because it is a factor not realized by the laity, that there is no set of workers in any important branch of public or private service which esteems book learning so little as a preparation for its work as do police officers. You can understand somewhat their point of view when you remember that through all the long past they have had no other way to learn except by the slow process of contact, by practical experience every step of the way from the first day on the beat to the highest position of trust within the department.

Any policewoman who makes good must have the confidence and co-operation of the men in the department. Without this her work would be superficial and hampered. Therefore, from this standpoint as well as from every other, she should be able to get with her scholarship practical experience. This is true especially if she is to apply for work outside her own city.

Municipalities at present adjust themselves to the lack of training by placing women in the department under civil service, to learn their work after appointment, just as men have always done. Small cities have not even this advantage, as they have neither a wide range of field work, nor always suitable women as candidates. But at its best this method is archaic. Police work is quite as honorable inherently as is law or medicine. But it stands today, in point of training facilities, where they stood a century ago. Until very recently our universities and other educational institutions were strangely oblivious to the fact that they could serve the public interests by helping train policemen, just as they are equipping doctors, lawyers, ministers and civil engineers. The next twenty-five years will see as great a change in police work as the past century has brought to the professions named.

The beginning is evident in the very excellent New York and Chicago police schools; the growing desire of universities to meet this need, as evidenced in the offers of Northwestern University and of Minnesota State University, and the classes already carried on by the University of California, and also the interest of the schools of civics and philanthropy, whose purpose it is to better equip all civic and social workers. But the policewomen represent an acute and imperative need. The call for their service is widespread and they are not hampered by inertia and the tradition which impedes men's advancement. Beginning later in police history, women start at an advantage.

I have calls from small cities saying, "If we can get the

appropriation for policewomen, can you find us a trained woman for the place?" I have letters from young women asking for places, but I cannot recommend one, except in rare occasions when an experienced policewoman, for any reason, wishes to make a change. No matter how well fitted temperamentally or in general experience an applicant may be, cities do not wish to hire her, knowing she must acquire all her training at their expense after arrival.

The larger centers, such as Los Angeles, Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago, Baltimore and other cities which now have well established departments of policewomen, must be willing to act as training centers for those both within and without the city who wish to fit themselves for this work. Provision should also be made in such training courses for sociological students, volunteer workers and others who wish to seriously study crime problems. Women who complete the course will constitute an eligible list for the city or for other municipalities.

The schools of civics and philanthropy have a work to do here as elsewhere. There is a place for those, whether men or women, who will study police work in all its social relations. They are needed in the constructive task of readjusting police work to the changing order. But comparatively few can take complete courses in schools of civics and philanthropy, and not all who would make excellent police officers could meet the advanced educational requirements for entrance as regular students. Under the present circumstances it is as impracticable to look to graduates from schools of civics and other training courses to supply the need for policewomen, as it would be for the public school system to try to recruit its entire teaching force from post-graduates of colleges and universities.

Let me repeat that the main dependence must be placed upon the practical training which can be given in the departments of policewomen now existing in numerous cities. Every well-trained policewoman should have some studies in sociology as part of her training. Fortunately every city progressive enough to have policewomen and to train them has also some educational institution which can or will direct their studies.

One final suggestion which I feel to be very pertinent to a plan for training is that of correspondent courses. Police work is as nearly reducible to an exact science as are a dozen other kinds of important work, including the professions earlier named. Many worth-while people would undertake the work if they could continue their regular occupations while acquiring all but the

actual field service. Women already started who are trying to work out their problems alone in isolated fields need help. I know such a correspondence course would be in demand, for I already have requests for help of that kind.

The important question remaining is, through what medium can this work of correlation be accomplished? Various agencies will contribute to it. The International Association of Policewomen came into existence for the exact purpose of helping to establish and maintain a high standard both of work and of workers, and to advance as members of the police department its general service to the community. It was organized at a conference of policewomen, held one year ago, during the Baltimore session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction and has made a commendable growth during the year, despite the very wide area over which policewomen are scattered. In connection with this present session of the National Conference our International Association of Policewomen had just concluded its second annual conference, which was a marked success. Policewomen from 14 states assembled—9 of them from cities which thought the conference important enough to send them as delegates representing the city, all expenses paid. Our total membership represents 22 states and Canada. For an organization a few days less than one year old we feel it to be a showing of which we may well be proud. During the coming year we will endeavor to develop training facilities, help find and place women, furnish acredited information, and in other ways help the work of policewomen achieve a worthy place among the many forces working for the common good.

THE POLICEWOMAN: DISCUSSION*

Mrs. Charles Carroll Brown, Indianapolis

We need education and the development of public opinion to the point where our community not only will support, but will prevent the interruption of, such humanitarian work as was done in our City Court between 1910 and 1914 by Judge James A, Collins, a work which was true civic service and which would be of incalculable value in improving social conditions could it be carried on all the time. The public has not yet realized what was done nor the need the court had for opportunity to carry

*Discussion reported only in part.

out its ideals, the lack of proper and sufficient detention homes for girls and women, sufficient probation officers, paid or volunteer, to extend the work, or even share the burden of what was done.

I shall confine myself to that phase of the work which directly affected women. Judge Collins appointed Mrs. Eva Payne Hopkins, recently deceased, Court Matron, which made her Chief Probation Officer for Women and gave her police powers. She was a rare woman for the position, fitted by life experience, which she had transmuted into character, and social experience under "Golden-Rule Jones" in Toledo, and in other places, to blaze the path in our city. She wore no uniform, she carried her badge in her pocket, never to be shown unless there was absolute need for the authority of the law behind her. The necessity seldom arose, for she had the power to make people feel her friendly and helpful attitude, and was able to investigate cases successfully because she united judgment with sympathy, and was able to take an impartial view of the situation she was called upon to consider.

The law under which Mrs. Hopkins served was passed in 1911. It reads in part as follows:

> She shall, under the direction of the judge of the city court, investigate and report to such judge upon the past histories, conditions of living, character, morals and habits of all women and girls awaiting trial in such city court and shall have supervision of such women and girls while not in actual custody until final disposition of the charges against them.

Under Judge Collins, and Mrs. Hopkins as Court Matron and head probation officer for women, great things were done for that stream of childish, ignorant, weak men and women which flows through a city court. The tribunal became in reality though not formally, a court of domestic relations where families were readjusted, men signed the pledge, worked for their families, paid fines assessed against them, increased their sense of responsibility and self-respect, instead of decreasing it, as under the old system. A day was set apart for women's cases.

Mrs. Hopkins had investigated 586 cases involving girls and young women. Of this number, 62 were committed to institutions, and 28 were given nominal fines. Three hundred and thirty-six were released under the supervision of this officer and the balance were allowed to go without any record being made against them. Through her efforts 72 girls were returned to their homes. Employment was secured for 61. Twenty-three girls gave up their lives of shame.

In the meeting of the Policewomen's Section of this Conference, and in the experience of the Indianapolis court it is clearly shown, that under whatever title they may serve, women, as part of the city government, have done and are doing a great work. While the work of the policewomen may not be standardized now, if any effort is made toward such an end, let it be in the direction of educating women toward efficiency in social service, and do not let it crystallize into a "system" which will rob their work of individual initiative and spontaneity.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in informal discussion: Graham Romeyn Taylor, David I. Kelly, New York; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; C. H. Patterson, New Orleans; F. Emory Lyon, Chicago; Judge James A. Collins and Mrs. Bennet, Indianapolis.

CHILDREN

PROGRAM

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Introductory Statement by the Chairman*

Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Public Education and Social Service is the general subject of the Children's Committee program for this year. It was assigned by the Committee on Organization of last year and was not suggested by our committee, although we are glad to have it.

The foundation tenet of our program is that the American public school is the greatest expedient for making democracy prevail which our country has invented. It is an expedient still in the making, but already universally applicable if not universally effective. All our children, boys and girls, may go together to the schools to learn together from the teachers, from each other, by work and by play, with absolutely equal rights and opportunities inside the school.

The speakers this evening will, I know, magnify the power and the future of the public school: Dr. Finley, from his great position as head of the public education system of the state of New York, and Mrs. Kelley, as a wise and prophetic observer of the relation of education to life and labor in our country.

The problem which your committee wishes to present in its six section meetings is this: Does social service understand and support the public school?

The programs will be devoted to various aspects of the subject, in every case showing some encouraging form of actual or possible co-operation between the school and social activities.

*General session, Thursday, May 11, 8:15 P. M.

Most of us are in some way occupied with families or individuals who are not keeping up with the procession. We are trying in each case to help an advance to normal family life. Are we trying to establish standards of family life and income which render it possible for children to go to school equipped to learn, or are we increasingly shouldering off upon the schools the work of social welfare?

Are we content to burden them with the care of all those ills which may be indicated by adenoids and poor teeth instead of freeing the schools in every possible way to work out great teaching problems? Consider the baffling difficulties of vocational training and guidance. Consider the need of finer and more appealing approaches in teaching individual control of behavior, in other words, in fitting for social life.

We asked Mr. Joseph Lee to speak for this committee. He could not come, but he wrote that he hoped we would say something about school children's teeth, and I quote a paragraph from his letter:

> Everybody knows that at least 80% of the children have trouble with their teeth, probably nearer 99%, so that there is absolutely no use in finding this out again. No more inspections of children's teeth should be made unless as a way of telling the public or the parents the facts once again so as to stir them up. The Fosyth Infirmary in Boston and other good dispensaries make no inspection but start right in to fill the teeth when a child is sent. When they get the teeth cleaned up, that does as well as an inspection for statistics, and much better for the child.

I think he proposes a sound method to the school and the social worker alike. If I may interpret his statement it points to a scientific foundation—Forsyth—doing for school children a piece of work of great social importance, which relieves the school of a heavy burden. The Forsyth is in this connection cooperating with the school, of course, but as a social agency helping the school by sending the children better fitted to learn the school lessons.

Of course, unless children are sent to school clean, wholesome, equipped to receive instruction, the school must stop and put them in order.

Is it possible that the work of the schools is lagging partly because now the school is compelled to slow down its teaching in order to patch up its children?

The foregoing remarks of the chairman were followed by an address upon "How Can Social Agencies Promote the Effectiveness of the Public Schools?" by Dr. John H. Finley, President of the University of the State of New York and State Commissioner of Education.

HOW CAN SOCIAL AGENCIES PROMOTE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, New York

It is difficult indeed to speak after a poet when one can only speak in the most concrete terms of experience.

How does it happen that we social workers are forever trying to change our schools? We are forever adding something here and there. We add luncheons, we add studies, we add new kinds of classes for special children, we urge that the dull, and the sick, and the troublesome shall all be in the schools. But we have never, I think, as a body proposed the need of more democracy in the whole of education. We come, each with our little addition.

I wish to beg tonight that this great national body will consider certain possible immediate national tasks—very concrete ones—in regard to the schools.

The Federal Child Labor Bill

We have striven for years to get the children from the factories into the schools, and that effort seems now about to be crowned with success. For the first time the national child labor bill appears about to pass the Senate. Unless by some hideous misfortune the nation should be so preoccupied with war, or preparation for war, that the children should again be crowded out, as they were by the last Congress and the Congress before without even that gruesome excuse, it appears now as though, in the next few weeks, the federal child labor bill must become the law of the land. And every one in this hall, by taking action now, can help towards that end.

Federal Aid to Education

When it is achieved there will confront us the necessity of providing schools for all the children who are now at work, all below the age of fourteen years, and all in dangerous trades between fourteen and sixteen. This is an immediate and concrete way of enhancing the efficiency of our schools,—that we get the children into them.

We have, as a national body, year after year, not done what we could to promote the provision of adequate schools for children who are not in industry but are yet bereft of school life

because we allow the federal government to shirk its duty, because we have not insisted that every Negro child in Mississippi, every poor white child in the mountain regions, every child on a lonely farm out on the plains, has as good a claim—if we are really a democracy and all children are equal—to the best the nation can offer as the little ones who come out of the steerage to our shores, for whom the law provides so lavishly. Never, I believe, anywhere in history has a nation neglected its own native-born children as we neglect hundreds of thousands of our own rural children, and provided so generously as we do for the newest comers.

It is not true that the need of the newest comer is greater than the need of our own children. We shirk when we let our richest communities provide for their children so generously and let the poorest communities leave theirs to grow up citizens of the second and the third classes of intelligence.

There is another great task. When the Smith-Lever bill was passed by Congress last year, our democracy took one more step in the direction of federal aid to education, but only for those who already have some education. We are not anywhere stimulating the activity of the states by helping where help is most needed, where illiteracy and ignorance are darkest.

Make Teaching a Liberal Profession

The third national task immediately appropriate to this body is that we ask ourselves why we allow the most important of all the professions in the Republic,—teaching,—to be *not* one of the liberal professions? Nothing is so important as enlightened care of little children; yet they are in the care chiefly of people who are citizens of the second class, members of a profession which is not one of the liberal professions. No profession can be a liberal one which is chiefly composed of citizens of the second class. Yet it is only in one quarter of the States that the majority of the teachers are citizens of the first class. In the other three-fourths only a minority of them are citizens of the first class. And they tend to leave the profession because it is not a liberal one, not made up of citizens of the first class. This year we have an opportunity, as never before, of making all our citizens of the second class politically equal with the others.

We have an opportunity, as never before, to insist that the federal government shall do its part to make this a true democracy* by making all the teachers and all the mothers full citizens

*By referring to the state legislatures for ratification the pending amendment to the federal constitution enfranchising women.

of the Republic. When that is done we social workers shall not need to spend so much time, and so much emotion, upon the faults of the schools, because the people who are most concerned with them, the mothers and the teachers, will have the power to do themselves, whatever the children need to have done.

THE GARY PLAN AND ITS SOCIAL BEARINGS*

Howard W. Nudd, Director of the Public Education Association of the City of New York

I suppose there never will be,—at least there has not yet been, and most of us do not expect to see,—a panacea, or a single remedy, for all our social ills. But all of us do hope, I am sure, that better instruments will be devised to enable us, not only to deal more effectively with existing evils, but, also, as in the field of medicine, to prevent further evils from arising, through the exercise of intelligent foresight.

It is in the direction of preventive rather than mere corrective work in the field of social economy that I believe the school can contribute most toward the solution of the problem of social maladjustment. Education will not, of course, be able to prevent all maladjustment, but to the extent that children can be trained to become self-reliant and capable adults, to that extent the problem will be minimized. It would seem highly desirable, therefore, that our public school system should afford the opportunities which will make such training possible. It is because of the belief that the so-called Gary plan will enable us to do this better than the traditional school program that many of us have urged the city of New York to reorganize its public school system upon this basis, making, of course, such adaptations as may be necessary to fit it to the needs of the local situation.

The fundamental aim of the Gary plan is to create a "child world" in which children learn to live by living, through enjoying not only the usual opportunities for study which are afforded in the traditional school but, also, such additional opportunities for work and play as will develop initiative and the ability to meet those practical life situations which require self-reliance and adaptability.

Through wholesome work, aptitudes are discovered and developed as they can only be developed when people express them-

*Section meeting, Thursday, May 11, 11:00 A. M.

selves in terms of activity and co-operate with each other in the performance of common and useful tasks. In most of our school systems where opportunities for work now exist, such opportunities are largely confined to the seventh and eighth grades and are intended, primarily, for children who have become so dissatisfied with the purely academic work of the first six years that they threaten to leave school and are thus willing to accept any change as a relief, or else for those who are compelled, because of financal stress or other urgent reasons, to leave school early to go to work. The opportunity for work thus offered is practically vocational or "prevocational" in character and, therefore, tends to be narrowing in its influence. There are many who believe, however, that the purpose of work for children in the elementary schools should be entirely different, that every child, no matter whether he expects to leave school early or not, should have, from his earliest years, such opportunity to work in concrete situations as will not only develop his skill in handwork, but afford the discipline which comes from accomplishing something that will function in a definite life situation. From this point of view work should develop, through wholesome activity, those mental, physical and moral traits which are essential in adult life to the maintenance of an efficient social organization, and should be a liberalizing influence which would furnish a broader realization of life's problems, rather than a narrowing training along some specific vocational line into which one might be forced by the pressure of economic or other causes.

Through play one not only becomes healthy by exercising in the open air, but one develops initiative and ability to get along with one's fellows,—the most essential qualifications for efficient citizenshp in a democracy. In my own teaching experience I felt that I got "nearer" to my boys on the playground than anywhere else. There I saw them expressing themselves in ways which interested them most and I came to understand them better, and I believe they understood me better. Through the opportunities afforded by team work they got an appreciation of the importance of working conscientiously with all of those upon whose joint efforts the success of the enterprise depended. A natural premium was placed upon ability to work efficiently and in harmony with one's fellows in performing a particular task, because an error in so doing affected not only one's own success but the success of the entire group. There was here created a social consciousness in the real sense of the term.

From the point of view of educational purpose, therefore, the essential feature of the Gary plan is the insistence upon a well-

balanced program which provides for every child a richer school life through offering an adequate opportunity for work and study and play—a "child world" as it has frequently been called in which the child learns not only to think but to live, by living thoughtfully from day to day in the midst of practical activities.

There is nothing radically new in this idea. It has been emphasized many times in the history of education. Great stress was put upon play and games in the educational programs of ancient times, and in more modern times, inspired largely by Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel, the same tendency is evident. I have dwelt upon it simply to show that Mr. Wirt's aim has been identical with that of leading educators and experienced social workers. The contribution which Mr. Wirt has made has not been so much in the field of educational theory as in the field of educational engineering. He has simply made it possible to carry out in a practical situation the ideas which educators have always regarded as desirable but which they have been forced to regard as unlikely of wide application because of financial limitations.

How he has done this can best be illustrated by comparing the way in which one would seek to offer such opportunities under the traditional type of school organization with the way in which Mr. Wirt would provide them under his so-called duplicate school organization. In large city school systems like those of New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, where traditional academic work is emphasized and a seat for every child is insisted upon, the following procedure would take place. If the number of children to be accommodated were 2,000, the first thing provided would be 2,000 school seats. Only after this had been done would sufficient accommodations be provided for the other activities which one might desire over and above the activities possible in rooms furnished with school seats. Such opportunities would doubtless comprise sewing, shopwork, drawing, music, play, swimming, auditorium, etc. In a school building so equipped the school seats would be unused whenever the children to whom they were assigned were in the shop, the gymnasium, or any of the other activities provided over and above the regular academic work, and, conversely, when all the children were in the school seats the other activities would be idle. It is for this reason, that in many of our cities there is a great deal of valuable playground space which is idle the greater part of the day when the children are in school seats and overcrowded after school hours or during recess periods when the school seats are entirely unoccupied.

In working out his program, on the other hand, Mr. Wirt approached the problem in the following manner: He said, practically, if I have a school seat for every child and it is continuously occupied by that child during the entire school day and all my other facilities are consequently idle, or vice versa, if these other facilities are kept in continuous operation and the school seats are left idle, there is an unnecessary economic waste. Under such a plan, furthermore, it is impossible to keep all the teachers continuously busy, for, if the children are in the classroom, it is obvious that the playground teachers, shop teachers and other special teachers will have no children to teach. This makes it impossible to get the best kind of a special teacher; for, as in academic work, to get a highly trained teacher, one must make it possible for her to have a full day's work in her special field. He therefore sought to make a program which would keep everything continuously in operation and thus meet not only the economic but the administrative difficulties involved. He accordingly divided the 2,000 children into two groups of approximately 1,000 each. During the first half of the morning, while 1,000 children were in the classrooms the other 1,000 children were out of the classroom doing the special things which he, as superintendent of schools, thought the children ought to have in addition to what is possible in a classroom equipped for academic pursuits. At the end of that period the children changed their occupations. Those children who were in the classroom went to the special activities, and those who had been enjoying the special activities went into the classroom.

The following results were thus secured: first, the classrooms were continuously occupied by the children; secondly: every other activity had pupils all the time and thus could be kept going at all hours. In this way it was not only possible to keep all the teachers occupied, but a very interesting economic result was secured:—only 1,000 instead of 2,000 school seats were needed. This does not mean, however, that the cost of school equipment could be cut in half, but that the money saved on school seats could be devoted to other educational purposes. There must be provided, under such a program, things educationally valuable for the children to do while they are not using the school seats. The chief item of cost in school accommodation, however, is the school seat. In New York city, the per capita cost for this item, including, naturally, the room and equipment necessary, is $250. The saving of 1,000 school seats would thus release $250,000 for the other things necessary to educate properly the 2,000 children in the school. Think what

could be secured for that! You could not only equip shops better but you could increase the size of the playground and the number of other special activities of educational value. That, in brief, is the Gary plan. It enables a community to spend a given sum in getting a greater variety of educational opportunities than has heretofore been deemed possible. It secures, furthermore, not only the duplicate use of the school faclities—many part time plans have done that more or less—but the *continuous* duplicate use of those facilities by so alternating the classroom and out-of-classroom activities as to use everything to its maximum capacity and to afford the variety and flexibility which makes an enriched school life economically and administratively possible for every child.

Besides using the school itself to its maximum capacity, Mr. Wirt has sought to use everything in the community which has anything to contribute to the educational experience of the child. He would use as far as possible all public playgrounds, all opportunities in settlements or in other private institutions in the neighborhood, the public baths, the libraries—everything that can possibly contribute in the immediate neighborhood of the school to the educational welfare of the children. The school would thus act, in a way, as a clearing house for all community resources of educational value to children.

I should like at this point to distinguish between what I call the Gary plan and the Gary schools, because it is the failure to recognize this difference which has led to much of the opposition to its introduction into other communities. The Gary plan is simply the duplicate use of all parts of the school plant in such a way as to make economically and administratively possible the continuous use of all school and community resources. It is simply a program under which a community can get the most out of all its available resources. The Gary schools, on the other hand, are the particular schools which Mr. Wirt has created in the city of Gary under this program to furnish the things which he believes children should have in a modern school. It is therefore perfectly possible for a given community to adopt the Gary plan of organization without adopting the educational features which Mr. Wirt is offering in his own schools in Gary.

I should like before closing to describe briefly one of the things which Mr. Wirt has carried out in Gary, which is not essential to the plan as such, as other activities could be substituted for it, but which has great promise, to my mind, from a

social point of view. I refer to the auditorium, where several classes are brought together every day for one period. This is considered by some educators as a dreadful thing—it has been stigmatized as "mass instruction." But let us see how the time for it is secured and just what it makes possible. Under the Gary plan the school day is lengthened for the child so that he has not only the five hours heretofore afforded under the traditional program, but, in addition, one or two hours more of time which he would otherwise spend upon the streets, frequently under the evil influences with which every social worker is acquainted. It is out of this additional time, and the time heretofore spent for opening exercises and for recess, that the auditorium and play periods are secured under the Gary plan. As the playground and the auditorium like every other facility are kept continuously in operation, approximately one-sixth of the school uses them at every period of the day. The work that can be done in these auditorium periods is thus substituted for the influences of the street rather than for the regular classroom work. Its value should therefore be judged, primarily, by what it supplants and on its merits as an educational experience which is supplementary to rather than a substitute for regular classroom instruction. What are some of the things possible in this period? Choral singing, for one. Everyone will admit, I believe, that group singing for boys and girls, taught by a competent music teacher, is valuable, not for the sake of the music alone but also for the tone and spirit which it gives to the entire school.

Then there is the opportunity for dramatic work. We educators have been talking for generations of the value of self-expression, of having children carry out in dramatic action the things they think and talk about in the school. Self-expression of a real dramatic nature is not possible in the traditional classroom. In the auditorium, however, it is possible because certain essential elements are provided. The necessary properties are at hand. There is also an audience, which is as essential as the actors themselves to create a real dramatic situation. And, what is more, it is an appreciative audience, too,—a child audience in a child world, so to speak, where children not only express to their contemporaries what they themselves know and can do but also learn to appreciate what their fellows can do. I know of few better opportunities than this for developing such essential social qualities as self-reliance, co-operation and the appreciation of what others can contribute to the common good.

Then there are moving pictures, the possibilities of which we have hardly realized in education. The head of one of the largest

moving picture concerns in the world, in speaking to me sometime ago of his desire to organize for teaching purposes the wonderful sets of scientific and other films showing habits and customs of people which his firm had gathered, more or less haphazardly, for the "weeklies," pointed out the difficulty not only of making them commercially feasible but of overcoming the objections of teachers based on the inconvenience arising from such things as handling the machine itself and getting the children into a room where the best results could be secured with the standard size films without disrupting the routine of the school program. I asked him whether he thought a program which would make it possible to get children together regularly in the auditorium without interfering with other classroom work would in any way meet such objections. He said he thought it would, because it would not only make it unnecessary to disrupt the regular work of the school but, at the same time, would provide the necessary perspective for using the standard films and, since the machine would be operated very frequently in the same place, make it possible to secure the services of someone trained to get the best out of it most economically.

I should like to take up in a similar way other phases of the school program developed by Mr. Wirt which, although still in an experimental stage, are extremely suggestive for vitalizing the social factors of the school, but my time has expired. I wish to state in closing, however, that it seems to me just as possible to secure a flexible and enriched program through the continuous use of the school plant in New York city or in any other community as it is in Gary. When I visited Gary with Commissioner Martin of the New York City Board of Education over a year ago, everyone was saying that the plan might work in a small city like Gary but it could not work in a great city like New York. After observing the schools and calling Mr. Martin's attention to the frame dwellings and the apparent dearth of community resources, I remarked, "this town does not seem to have a super-abundance of wealth. There are not many community facilities outside of the schools calculated to make people healthier or better socially. If, in the midst of a town like this, apparently barren in community resources, such a constructive educational program can be carried out, what could we not do in New York city with all our wonderful social resources? If this plan is impossible in New York, how in the world can it exist in a town like Gary?" As a matter of fact, the bigger the city and the more community resources available, the more feasible it would seem to be to carry out successfully a program of

this sort. Indeed, I should not be surprised to find school-men in the future contending, as I have just suggested, that the plan can be made to work far better elsewhere than in the city of Gary. Its operation is not dependent on geographical location. It is essentially a matter of school administration, and the question of what shall be the elements in the enriched school life which will be afforded will depend upon the idealism which the community mixes in. Without such idealism the plan could be made a mere mechanical grind, in which children would be rotated from one academic exercise to another. With such idealism, however, it could be made a means whereby the traditional academic work of the school could be infinitely supplemented through the lengthening of the school day and the introduction of additional educational and socializing experiences which would enable children to grow in ability to live in an adult world through having learned how to live in a real child world. The plan is, therefore, not a panacea; it is simply an opportunity, and, like all opportunities, it can be either used or abused, according to the ability of those who direct it.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in the informal discussion: Julia C. Lathrop, Washington; Elsa Ueland, and Mrs. H. Alschuer, Gary; Mrs. G. H. Westing and Mrs. L. J. Blaker, Indianapolis; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; D. F. Shirk, Topeka; H. P. Richardson, Philadelphia; John J. Sonsteby, Chicago; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge; Henry W. Thurston, New York.

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CHILD PLACING SOCIETIES AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS*

Rev. Chas. L. Chalfant, D. D., State Superintendent, Children's Home Finding and Aid Society of Idaho, Boise

Of the peculiar problems that puzzle our home finding societies, perhaps the most perplexing are the products of the caste system. We talk of the castes of India, but we do not need to go to India to find evidences of caste. We have it most manifest in the social world, of course, but it is persistently present in the business world, in the professional world, and, notwithstanding our triumphant proclamation of the democracy of childhood, we occasionally have the peculiar phenomenon of caste manifesting itself in *ostracism* among the little people of our public and parochial schools. Some of the greatest problems that present themselves for our solution are incident to this.

*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 9:15 A. M.

When the home finding agency has acted, then the case is altogether different. The childless home then has its child; the homeless child has its home; and if the aforesaid childless home has a bit of patience and love, and the aforesaid child has a bit of grit and love, the above class of problems have been solved, and we leave them.

Another class of problems is the product of "repeaters." What is a repeater? In the political world, we know him as the fellow who votes again. *He is a civic disturber.* In the ecclesiastical assemblies, he is the fellow who wants to speak again, and many a convention and conference has been spoiled by him. *He is a parliamentary disturber.* In the technical language of the children's home societies, he is the child who *comes again.* We place him in the city, and he comes back to the home. We place him in the country, and he comes back to the home. We try him, and try, try again, in rich home and poor home, particular home and patient home; no use—no use; he is a repeater. We feel like calling the glue factory to our aid to make him literally steadfast, i. e., fast to his place. From his very disposition, *he is educationally a disturber.* How shall we care for him?

In the experience of many home finding societies, the school within the receiving home itself has been the solution, but this kind of an arrangement is at variance with the creed of these societies, according to which the homeless child must have the advantages of an entirely normal environment. However, it is better to abandon temporarily our pet principle than to demoralize whole classes in the public schools by the presence of our peripatetic pupils. Of course, this suggestion does not apply to cities where so-called "block-head" classes for the sub-normal and retarded children have been established.

We ask of the school authorities a fair chance for our children whether they be in the receiving home or already placed in their foster homes, and it is to the credit of the noble band of public educators that our request is granted almost before it is made. I have many letters from teachers throughout our own state showing an intelligent individual attention to our backward and sub-normal children that is commendable, and our superintendents may well join in commendation of the self-sacrificing, devoted, versatile teachers in the city ward and county district whose presence, patience, persistence, and even punishment makes bright the prosy portals of "the little red school house" upon the hilltop or in the valley.

GIVE THE BACKWARD BOY A CHANCE.

In the school house by the road side
There's a task to be performed,
For the healthy, bright and active,
For the crippled and deformed.

In his seat beside the window
Sits a backward, orphan boy
He is not your brightest pupil,
He is not his mother's joy.

For his father was a drunkard,
And his mother worse than that,
His real name maybe Jamie,
But she called him "little brat."

Teacher, can you spare a moment
From the studies and the rules?
There are girls and boys much brighter,
And you've little use for fools;

But the word, the line, the minute,
The smile, the kindly look,
Will help that youngster yonder,
More than what's in any book.

That's a part of education,
That's your duty, don't you see,
For your word, your smile, your sunshine
Makes life bright for such as he.

THE SCHOOLS OF CHILDREN'S SOCIETIES AS EXPERIMENT STATIONS

Matthew P. Adams, Superintendent of Schools, Children's Aid Society, New York City

The schools of children's societies are worthy of the most careful consideration of every social worker. There are two general types. The first is that in an institution where children live. Such a school may be a part of the public school system or under the direct and exclusive supervision of the institution itself. The second type is that of a children's society, city or settlement school. In this latter case, the pupils live at home and simply attend the school, which in some cases have grade, and regular academic and vocational work, supplementing—not paralleling—that of the public schools.

In the case of both these types of schools, if it is not possible for the institution to give academic and vocational instruction which is superior to that which the children would receive in

the public schools, or if such a school cannot make valuable educational and social experiments, it would be far better for the public schools to take over the children.

The schools of all children's societies should have a varied course of study carefully adapted, after experimentation, to the well-known fact, that the wards of the society will in all probability work to a greater degree with their hands, than with their heads, and should therefore have a specialized type of education. The children in such schools must make their own way in the world, and this, at an early age. The top, however, should always be left open, so that the child may go on to a higher education, if he should show special aptitude.

It must be remembered that the children in the schools of children's societies are apt to be below grade, due to—

Poor school attendance before entering the institution,
Parental neglect and poverty,
Want of medical or surgical care,
Previous environmental and hereditary handicaps.

It must be admitted, however, that with the many fine things that can be done in the private schools of children's societies, such schools are usually rather small and as a result the children usually do not see as high a type of scholarship as that in the public schools. Moreover, the views of the public school children on life, dress, etc., are different from institutional children and it is often a most valuable training for the institutional child to come in contact with this other point of view.

Persons engaged in educational work have constantly experimented from the time when Rousseau (while his own children languished in an orphan asylum), worked out his ideal of a proper education for Emile, and since Pestalozzi and Froebel, inspired by Rousseau, planned out the details of class-room practice, the former for the grades and the latter for the kindergarten.

Let us consider a few of the educational experiments that are being carried out in children's societies. I shall not discuss the question of whether the expense of the schools of children's societies should be borne at all or in part by the state; nor whether dependent children should be in institutions on the cottage plan rather than placed out. The fact is that at the present time there are delinquent, dependent, and mentally deficient children in the schools of children's societies. These children have to be educated. What experiments are these schools carrying out which will improve their work and be of use to the public schools? In whatever is done, great care must be

taken to see that the children are in no way harmed by such experiments, which should be limited to the kind which if not improving either the methods of teaching or the education of the child, will at least not make them poorer than they would otherwise be.

Experimentation has not been limited to the public schools, for the schools of children's societies have been used increasingly for this purpose. In some ways a private school is in a much more advantageous position for this pioneer work, inasmuch as freedom of action on the part of teachers and principal is more possible. It is also true, that such schools have the advantage of contact with the child for many years, and a continuous contact for the whole of twenty-four hours.

1. There are great possibilities for experimentation on the academic side of school work. The everyday experience and interest of the children can be correlated with the class-room work. The institution teacher knows the intimate daily life of the children and by using these experiences in the class-room, is enabled to make more thorough use of the "apperceptive process," which, you will remember, is what teachers call the process of using what the child already knows to interpret what he is learning. The quantitative relations involved in carrying on the work of an institution should be used in much of the arithmetic work. A record of daily happenings and experiences could form much of its English course.

Dr. R. R. Reeder, of the Orphan Asylum Society at Hastings, New York, has done considerable and most valuable experimentation along this line. When the school children at Dr. Reeder's institution

> talk about eggs in their arithmetic class, the term is not a mere name, but a definite, concrete idea; not picture eggs, but eggs laid by hens raised on the place, *which* the children feed and take care of every day. When they speak of bushels of apples, rods of land, tons of coal, etc., they are speaking of objects within the scope of their daily experience. When in the drawing class they make pictures of the rooster, it is the bird they hear every morning in the various cottage poultry yards of the orphanage; when at Thanksgiving season, they draw in color the gobbler, it is the large bronze-feathered bird which they have excited to repeat his jerky and discordant challenge a thousand times by whistling or screaming at him. Pictures of beets and radishes are drawn from the real vegetables raised in their own gardens. The child plants the radish, cultivates the radish, pulls it, brings it to school, paints its picture and then eats it. The donkey which they sketch from life has taken them many a ride. The pansies and marigolds they paint were raised in their own flower beds. The bees, whose life history they study, are working while the children work, and in the *same* schoolroom.

2. Experimental work in regard to the number of years necessary to complete the elementary and high school course of study is being made by Dr. L. B. Bernstein, of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, at Pleasantville, New York. Instead of using twelve years with twenty-four terms for a complete course in elementary and high school subjects, he believes that it can be accomplished within a period of only nine years with twenty-seven terms. In other words, he divides the academic year into three school terms and allows one extra year for mental digestion. This arrangement calls for a much shorter summer vacation; but he claims that ample experience with children in institutions has conclusively demonstrated the practicability of extending the period of active educational work.

3. Private resources have, from the very beginning, had a very great effect in the development of school work along the vocational line. In fact, there were five distinct types of vocational schools before the modern public vocational school was started.

The first of these groups was what might be called the *endowed school* and is represented by the Williamson School, New York Trade School, Rankin School, and others.

The second type were the *Charity Industrial Schools* which sought to take the boys off the street. Play not fulfilling the needs of these children, industrial work was given.

The third great enterprise was the *Young Men's Christian Association,* which was originally the result of a religious movement, which, when economic features became so important, experimented with industrial education.

The fourth great movement was by the *Correspondence Schools.* This was the first entrance of commerce into the educational field.

The fifth form was the *private vocational school.* This is exemplified in the "business colleges," "electrical schools," etc.

The sixth and last step has been the *public vocational schools.*

The whole history of the vocational education movement shows that private endowments and children's societies lead the way.

Experiments on the industrial or vocational side of school work have been very common in the schools of children's societies. The North Bennett Industrial School, of Boston, which is a school of the children's society city or settlement type, has made a distinct contribution in its experiments with pre-vocational work. In this, it was sought to modify the upper gram-

mar school course and meet the needs of those pupils who, at an early age, leave school in such large numbers, to enter industrial pursuits. It aims in its pre-vocational work to present a self-discovery and vocational guiding course, which will give the child a better basis for selecting the vocation in which he is then to specialize.

To illustrate: This school was the first one in Massachusetts to demonstrate the true educational value of pottery making. It is now the center of pottery instruction in New England. As a result of what has been accomplished there, pottery making has been placed in twelve elementary schools in Boston, and also in sanitariums and hospitals, by teachers who have received their instruction in special Saturday morning courses at this school.

The Young Men's Christian Association has conducted classes in almost every conceivable branch of industrial work. The regular school people have many lessons to learn from its efforts. This association places special emphasis on pioneer service, and its aid and stimulation to other vocational efforts, all making it a most practical form of social endeavor.

It has often been said that to get the best education in the country one must be a negro, an Indian or a delinquent. Great social and educational results have been achieved by the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute of Virginia, the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, and the Carlisle Indian School. Leaders in educational work still visit these institutions which are frankly experiments—but most valuable ones.

The boys at the institution school of the Children's Village, of the New York Juvenile Asylum, are encouraged by Mr. Guy Morgan, the superintendent, to do all the work they can on the new cottages. The installation of the plumbing, the heating system, the electrical wiring and fittings, the painting and carpentry work, is performed almost entirely by the classes in vocational work. Mr. Morgan finds that it is not only a good educational policy to use the boys this way, but the saving to the school is at least one-third the cost of the completed building, if erected by contract.

This, in itself, is admirable vocational training, and if the right kind of shop work is added, would seem to be most adequate.

Great care should be taken, in all such schools, that the vocational work is vocational, i. e., work at which the boys and girls can support themselves when they go out in the world to earn

their living. Too many schools of children's institutions have but few real vocational classes. Often, so-called vocational instruction is of the type of bent iron work, jig-saw work, chair caning, broom making, weaving, etc. In none of these can a child find work after leaving the institution. Such work has been rightly called "institution industry."

4. Private schools are more flexible than the public and so can introduce new activities, which, if successful, may be taken over by the latter. Such pioneer work has been done by the city or settlement schools of the Children's Aid Society of New York city. I shall give a few examples of these:

In 1864—fifty-two years ago—this Society established what was probably the first industrial school in the country. In it were classes in carpentry and box-making. Quoting from a recent report of the Public Education Association of New York city: "The Children's Aid Society was the first (1898—eighteen years ago) to open schools for crippled children. Special committees were formed to look after the providing of extra nourishment and special orthoepedic apparatus." At the present time the Children's Aid Society in co-operation with a coterie of ladies, known as the "Brearley League," is supporting a school for cripples. Almost 150 cripple children are brought each morning in buses to this, the Rhinelander School. The younger boys and girls have grade work. The older ones, who have gone through academic preparation and have had preparatory vocational work, are in the trade classes. The boys have a three-year course in jewelry making and the girls in embroidery. Both of these shops are productive in the sense that the jewelry and embroidery are sold. The learners are paid a wage.

At the Italian School of the Children's Aid Society another important educational experiment is being worked out. At the present time, in most public schools where pre-vocational work is offered, it is placed in the seventh and eighth grades. The New York state law allows a pupil who is fourteen, and who has completed the sixth grade, to get his working papers. Unfortunately, the pupils who are retarded and who may be subject to the greatest financial pressure, are thus unable to get the pre-vocational work that they so much need, prevents their leaving school. With this in view, the course of study at the Italian School of the Children's Aid Society has been somewhat modified and half of the six-hour day is devoted to pre-vocational work. This school, with its special curriculum and its many other social activities, supplements rather than parallels the public schools.

One of the most recent experiments which the Children's Aid Society has inaugurated is "home teaching" work. For many years this Society has had special school visitors devoting all their time to the work. During the last few months, the duties of these teachers have been changed from that bordering on the work of a truant officer, to more truly and constructive social service with the mothers and for the immediate and ultimate benefit of the children.

For years, people have tried to assimilate foreigners by Americanizing the children and teaching the father to speak and read English, so that he might secure work and perhaps become a citizen. Nobody has thought much about the foreign mother. She appears to have been neglected. The Americanizing of the children in the school has been greatly retarded and the children often harmed by the fact that they have grown away and too often have become ashamed of their mothers.

A very important duty of the "home teacher" in the Children's Aid Society schools, is the Americanization of these mothers. The "home teacher" visits the families in the morning and is in her office (the school apartment or model flat) in the afternoon, where she teaches the mothers English, the cooking of American dishes, house-cleaning, washing, plain sewing, simple American history, civics, and personal hygiene. Not the least important part of her work is the constant effort to get the mothers to discard the shawl as a head covering and to adopt the hat. What a help and inspiration to the child to see that the mother, herself, is "getting like teacher."

The Children's Aid Society schools, since their foundation in 1852 (64 years ago) have been an Educational Laboratory, trying out and proving the educational and social values of the kindergarten, cripple classes, social clubs, noon lunches, the school visitor, etc. At the present time, considerable emphasis is being given to dental clinic work, children's libraries, open air classes, cripple classes, day nurseries, model flat work, "after school" clubs, and experiments in pre-vocational work. Once innovations many of these have now been incorporated into the public school system and are being adopted by other cities throughout the country.

At the present time, there is a very great need for some children's society to develop its school work with mentally deficient children. The normal child gets his training in his home and school. As his instincts come to the surface one by one, they are moulded by his environment. In the case of the mentally

deficient, there is not an orderly development of the child's instincts. At the present time there is a great division of opinion as to how we should care for a mentally deficient child.

Some think he should be put in a class made up entirely of mentally deficient children. Such a class being in a school for normal children. This is the most common practice at present.

Others feel that he should be put in a special class but that these special mentally deficient classes should be collected in one building, where there are no normal classes. New York University has been experimenting with such a "whole school" for mentally deficient children, in one of the Children's Aid Society buildings.

Perhaps the most advanced social workers believe that mentally deficient children should be committed to cottage institutions where there is a more suitable, yet homelike, environment. The new environment should be as much like the old as possible, with all the harmful factors left out. Many people believe that within a few years the only use for institutions will be for mentally and morally defective children. The delinquent mentally defective child should be segregated from the simply mentally deficient one.

The only solution to this, one of the most perplexing questions for social workers engaged in children's work, is through experimentation. This is a real problem, demanding immediate solution.

Among other experiments that might be tried out by children's societies in their school work, which would be of educational and social benefit, are the following:

Reorganization of education for young people from 12 to 14. (This is one of the most important contemporary movements in the field of general education.)

Modification of the course of study.

Flexibility of curriculum.

The six-six plan.

The junior high school.

Sex hygiene.

Teaching manners and social training.

Size of classes as a factor in school efficiency.

The honor system.

Promotion by subjects.

Moral training.

Cultural appreciation.

The main object of a children's society school, however, is not experimentation. The chief aim is the educational welfare

of the child. Under no circumstances should the immediate good of the child be sacrificed for anticipated benefits to him or others. The types of experimentation discussed in this paper are such that the children receive immediate benefit from an improved course of study or more efficient instruction.

The case worker is continually testing and experimenting. She has to do this to secure the best results. Those in charge of the educational and vocational work of children, should do likewise. The more the child and his environment are examined, the more need there is felt for testing and experimentation, and the greater the constructive social service resulting.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates participated in informal discussion: George L. Sehon, Louisville; R. L. Neill, Henry W. Thurston, Mrs. Anna M. Spallen, New York; G. C. Knobel, Chicago; F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; Bessie Buckley, Milwaukee; J. Bruce Byall, Philadelphia, Rebecca Goble, Fresno, Cal.

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THE JUVENILE COURT IN ITS RELATION TO PUBLIC EDUCATION*

Hon. J. Wilmer Latimer, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Washington, D. C.

Let us think this morning of the juvenile court of the future in its relation to public education of the future, rather than of the present juvenile court in its relation to public education of to-day.

Public education is not, of course, in any sense public philanthropy. The vast sum of money expended by the public in education is primarily in its own interest, for it is evident that the more enlightened the individual the more enlightened and stronger the state. The benefit to the individual is but an incident. The concern of the state is not, however, with the mental development of its coming citizens alone. While it has been slow to realize its responsibility for development along other lines, yet now we are agreed (at least most of us are) that education in hygiene and in morals should go hand in hand with the intellectual training of the child; and those whose particular interest or special business it is to forward this branch of governmental activity, are alert to discover and put into effect the methods

*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 11:00 A. M.

which offer the greatest opportunity and encouragement for education in its fullest sense.

Unless the intellectual development of the child by the state be accompanied by moral and physical training, he may become a menace rather than an asset; and the greater his mental development the more dangerous he may become. Obviously an educated person without moral training is potentially more dangerous than one who has had little or no intellectual instruction.

Education by the state in morals and in hygiene should come as early in the child's life as the opportunity to provide it comes to the state, and ordinarily this will be when the child enters school. Because the school is a state agency, because it comes in contact with the child at such an early age, and because it is strictly educational, it seems beyond question the public agency best suited to the development of the child in all those respects which tend to make him a better and more useful citizen.

Courts ought to have no part in the training of a child except as a last resort. So long as the parent and the school, with the help of the church, are able to make satisfactory progress, the matter should be left entirely in their hands. It is time enough to invoke the aid of the law when either or both have lost, or are in danger of losing, control over the child. And the danger should be very real before a child is taken from the normal atmosphere of the home and school to the abnormal atmosphere of the court. If the fault is with the parent and it can be corrected through the efforts of the school, or if the fault be with the school and it is possible for the parent to have it remedied, the case ought not to go to court. When intelligent and good parents are doing their part in the home and in co-operation with a properly organized and administered school system, the instances should be few indeed when resort to the court would be necessary. But many children are so unfortunate as to have parents who are neither intelligent nor good, or who lack in one or the other of these particulars. With such children, and with those who have lost one or both parents, the school cannot always expect to secure satisfactory results. Serious problems are presented when children are so circumstanced, and in the solution of these problems the school often finds itself at the end of its resources. Its disciplinary powers cannot reach the parent, if there be one; and even with the child it cannot go far. Hence the necessity of a tribunal with authority to compel observance, by both parent and child, of the rules of conduct which, for the child's welfare, it may become necessary to prescribe, or which may have been fixed by law.

It has been suggested that the school be invested with the same disciplinary power possessed by the courts with respect to children; and in the evolution of the schools and children's courts something of this sort may eventually develop, but few are ready to favor such a radical departure at this time.

When the court assumes jurisdiction of a child, its every act should be prompted by the same motives which govern the school; that is, the aim of the court should be the proper education and training of the child, to the end that he may be fitted to best serve the state.

With respect to the development of the schools to meet the needs of the child in the particulars referred to, I have had no experience to qualify me to offer suggestions. Those who are charged with that branch of community effort are giving earnest and intelligent consideration to these matters, and as time goes on more and more thought will doubtless be devoted to them. But from an experience of several years in a juvenile court, with the study of the problems which has been a necessary incident of the work, perhaps I may be permitted to suggest how, as it seems to me, the children's courts can best serve the real purpose of their creation.

We understand that separate courts for hearing of children's cases were created as additional government agencies for the care and training of children. If the only purpose had been to remove the child from contact with adult offenders, it would not have been necessary to create a new court. This could have been accomplished through separate sessions of the established courts. If the purpose was simply to avoid some of the formality of the criminal trial, the established courts could have regulated their procedure to accomplish this. If, then, the inquiry in these cases was to be limited to the question of the guilt or innocence of the child, and to entering a judgment and sentence, there was no possible justification for incurring the expense of a separate court. But most people nowadays believe that children are rarely, if ever, criminals,—and that in holding that those between seven and seventeen years of age may form a *criminal* intent and commit a *criminal* act, the law has done them an injustice for centuries. But, beyond this, these laws have reacted with terrific force upon the public which made them and suffered them so long to stand; for in thus stamping children as criminals they have in many instances made criminals of them. It is not necessary for me, in addressing an audience of this character, to dwell upon the cost of one criminal life, and of how tremendously this cost multiplies with each succeeding generation.

If children are not to be held responsible as criminals for their infractions of the law, there can be no reason for the proceeding being in any sense criminal. There ought to be no charge of crime. The trial should not be according to criminal procedure, nor should a criminal judgment be entered. The proceeding should be instituted by a petition setting forth the facts which in the petitioner's opinion make it necessary to invoke the court's aid in the child's care, education, and training. That is, the proceeding should follow the practice in chancery courts rather than in criminal courts, and consist of an inquiry into all the circumstances that may shed light upon the cause of the child's appearance in court. There ought to be no distinction in the procedure between the so-called dependent and delinquent classes.

It is quite impossible in most cases of alleged delinquency to determine whether the child should be so classed, or whether he should be regarded as a dependent. Take, by way of example, the case of two brothers, twelve and fourteen years of age, whose father is a drunkard and whose mother is a woman of the street. Clearly it is the duty of the state to intervene and remove these children from such an environment. Should the nature of the proceedings depend upon whether these boys may or may not have taken a bottle of milk from a neighbor's doorstep some morning when they were without food at home? If so, then if one were caught in such an act, would it be fair to have him charged and convicted of crime, with the disabilities which follow such a conviction, while the other is proceeded against by a simple petition setting forth improper guardianship? Or, do you not think that to make any distinction at all between them is wholly unjustifiable.

The important fact is not that one of these boys has violated the law by stealing something, but that both of them are in need of care, education, and protection at the hands of the state. Let us convert these courts from criminal courts to courts with no suggestion of criminality about them,—either in the nature of the charge, the character of the hearing, or the form of the judgment. This does not mean that punishment would be dispensed with in children's courts. No one would favor that. So long as human nature remains the same, children (and grown folks as well) will sometimes need punishment to bring about the necessary discipline. But punishment of a child should never be inflicted except for the purpose of correction, and experience has demonstrated to every parent that it is not always the most effective

means of accomplishing that result. Indeed, it is seldom that evil tendencies are corrected through punitive measures alone.

The most effective thing is to remove the basic cause. And after all, is not this the true function of the juvenile court? Of course the cause must be discovered before it can be remedied, and usually before it can be discovered, the court must have a thorough acquaintance with the child, which means that it must know his home conditions, his physical and mental state, who his companions are, how he spends his time, and every other fact that may throw light upon the problem. You are familiar with the comparison of the judge of these courts to the physician. The physician takes the patient into his private office, examines him thoroughly, testing this, that and the other organ, and only pronounces a diagnosis after obtaining the fullest knowledge of his physical condition. He does not prescribe the treatment until after he has made a careful study of the case, and determined the cause of the trouble. He does not pronounce his judgment that the patient is doomed before making this investigation, and the case is rare indeed when he does not make some effort to effect a cure before pronouncing such a judgment. Even when satisfied that a cure is impossible, he at least endeavors to ameliorate the suffering and to improve the health of the patient so far as possible. In the case of a so-called delinquent child, we ought not to commence the treatment by adjudging him a criminal any more than a physician should commence by pronouncing the patient incurable, for in both instances the result is apt to be to render the cure difficult, if not impossible.

Before a juvenile court can be conducted in the manner suggested, changes in the law will have to be secured. But it is easy to interest people and their representatives in any practical suggestion for the more humane and effective handling of the problems of childhood, and therefore such changes will not be difficult to secure.

In addition to its jurisdiction in children's cases, it is most desirable that the juvenile court have the power to deal with a certain class of adults, namely, those whose conduct may prejudicially affect the welfare of the child. Included among these are adults who have aided, abetted, or in any way contributed to the cause which brought the child into court; charges of non-support of children; and prosecutions for violation of the child labor law.

Unless the court may punish the adult who teaches the child to steal, or who deserts him, or who neglects his moral or physical welfare, or who fails to provide him with sufficient food and

clothing, or who encourages him to work in violation of law, it will find itself greatly handicapped in its work. Where such conditions are found, the judge of the juvenile court ought not to have to send the case to some other court and await the delays and uncertainties of a trial there. His power should be large enough to enable him to handle the entire problem and to make the conditions surrounding the child what they should be—so far as that may be humanly possible. Juvenile courts with jurisdiction in these adult cases have sometimes been able to get splendid results where those which have lacked such powers have wholly failed.

The court's jurisdiction might also be extended to include bastardy and adoption proceedings, and thus be complete in all cases involving the welfare of children, except where the question may be incidental to the determination of a case in a court of general jurisdiction, as in divorce proceedings. The objection sometimes made to including adult cases in a juvenile court, that the child should be separated altogether from the older offenders, is easily met by setting aside certain days for the hearing of children's cases only.

Thus far I have spoken mainly of jurisdiction and procedure. Along with ample jurisdiction and a simple form of civil rather than criminal procedure, the court must be clothed with a broad discretion to enable it to take or direct whatever action it concludes, after full hearing and thorough study, will be for the best interest of the child. And its power over the child when once it assumes jurisdiction must continue till in its opinion no further supervision by the court is necessary. To be more specific, the court should have the power to continue the case and return the child to his home, either with or without probationary supervision; to take him from his parents and place him with a suitable relative, if such a one is available and willing to take the child into his home; to place him in a private, church, or public home, as may seem best for the particular child; to place him under a private or public child-placing organization; or to commit him to the public industrial or training school.

All sorts of children are passing through these courts, and their needs are almost as varied as the conditions in which they are found, and unless the court has, in addition to the duty of studying the problem in each case, the power to do for that particular child the thing which seems to give the greatest promise of success, its usefulness is impaired and sometimes altogether defeated.

It is sometimes said that strict limitations are necessary, otherwise the judge may abuse his power. But the answer to this is that, in conferring authority upon a public official, we are not accustomed to withholding the power that is necessary to enable him to perform efficiently the duties of his office for fear it may be abused. On the contrary, we clothe him with the requisite authority, then endeavor to select a suitable person to fill the office and hold him accountable for the manner in which he exercises the powers conferred upon him.

The authority of the court to change its order from time to time as the welfare of the child may require, and to retain the case for this purpose, ought to be put beyond all question. What seems best for the child to-day may not be best to-morrow, next week, next month, in a year or two years; and whenever it appears at the hearing of a child's case that a condition may later arise to make a different disposition desirable, the court should be able to retain the case for this purpose, and not be required to enter a final and irrevocable order. It is not necessary for one to have had the responsibility of a juvenile court judge to make him see that an irrevocable order or judgment can seldom be entered in a child's case with assurance that no occasion for a different order will ever arise. And if we are agreed that in some cases the interest of the child may require a change in the order, then I presume we are also agreed that the court should have authority to make the change.

This would not, of course, prevent a child from being given in adoption or permanently placed by a placing board or society, but would simply require that the matter be presented to the court and an order obtained before such a step was taken.

The fact that the courts have for so many hundreds of years, when placing children under guardianship, retained the power to revoke or change the order, is a sufficient reason to many of us for its continuance. Certainly we ought, all of us, to be convinced beyond peradventure that this settled principle of the law of guardianship is wrong before approving its repeal. And if this principle is to be departed from in the juvenile courts in the cases of the poor child with whom that court has to deal, ought we not, to be consistent, to apply the same rule in the court of chancery in the cases of the more fortunate children of whom that court has from time immemorial assumed jurisdiction and given protection?

A court with the powers above suggested, and following the simple procedure mentioned, would, it is believed, be able to

supplement very adequately the work of the schools, and the danger of injury to the child from contact with a court of law would be reduced to the minimum.

To thoroughly understand and to be able to correct the conditions which have brought the child into court, the school and the court must constantly work together. The details of their co-operation would necessarily depend somewhat upon local conditions, but with the principles established that public education implies development and discipline of both the intellectual and moral faculties, as well as a due regard for the physical training of the child; that the court should intervene only when necessary to enforce the rules to these ends prescribed by law; and that when it does take jurisdiction, its service can best be rendered by leaving the child in the school under the court's probationary supervision, the details of administration and of co-operation will not be difficult.

The closer the relations between the school and the court the greater will be the likelihood of each performing efficiently its governmental function of aiding the child to become morally, physically and intellectually trained to assume the duties and responsibilities of husband, father and citizen.

HOW CAN THE PROBATION OFFICER BEST HELP THE TEACHER?

John J. Gascoyne, Chief Probation Officer, Newark, New Jersey

In order to properly discuss this subject it seems necessary that we first consider the relation of the parent to the teacher. No teacher can hope to properly instill into the mind of a pupil those things which make for the best sort of citizenship, who does not have the intelligent co-operation and support of the parent. All that has been done toward training the child physically and mentally during the period of the day when he is at school is more than counteracted through the effect of poor home environment and careless or shiftless parents.

In the case of a child who has been so unfortunate as to stray far enough away from the right path as to compel his being brought before a juvenile or other court it is doubly certain that other influences besides the teacher alone must be brought

to bear before he can be straightened out and his steps directed in the better way.

In a majority of the states the probation officer is really in loco parentis of every child who is placed under his care by the courts, and just here is where he should be of the most service to the teacher in guiding the child during the hours when he is not in school. The teacher has the pupil under her control on an average of twenty-five hours each week. During all the remainder of the week the child must of necessity be either under the influence of his parents or some other agency which is provided for him by law.

To be sure, we all agree that the home is the place where a child learns most during his childhood. Where such home education serves to check evil tendencies and shows him the great good which may be attained by diligence in his school work and the advantages to be gained by living an upright, honest life, both in school and elsewhere, no other influence is necessary save that of the teacher and of the parents. But where the teaching received by the child at home tends either through indifference, carelessness, or even in some cases the viciousness of those about him toward corrupting his mind, additional social forces must be brought to bear to re-enforce the efforts of the teacher. Many, or I might say most, of the cases which are brought before the juvenile court are of children whose home environment is of the latter type and the need is great for the probation officer to step in and work with all the power that is in him to augment the efforts of the teacher in counteracting such influences.

When a child is placed on probation the first step, it seems to me, should be a conference between the teacher and the probation officer. The teacher as a rule knows the temperament of the child and can in no small way point out to the probation officer the influences which must be overcome in order to cause the child to realize the difference between what is best and what is worst for him. After such a conference the probation officer is better fitted to act in consonance with both the school and the child. A visit to the home of the probationer should follow this conference and the fact impressed upon the parents that they are to be held strictly accountable for the future actions of the child both while at home and at school. It should also be made very plain to the child by the probation officer that he is to be judged in great part by his actions in the school and toward his teacher. Arrangements should be made whereby the probation officer can be kept in constant touch with the

school and reports should be frequently made to him as to the boy's progress, both in his studies and in his behavior.

It is the duty of the probation officer to direct the child in the use of his leisure time, i. e., the time when school is not in session. This is most effectively accomplished by ascertaining the trend of the child's mind and also his physical condition. If the child is found to be undeveloped physically or that he is fond of athletics and organized play, his thoughts should be directed to the public playgrounds, where such playgrounds are established, and he should be encouraged to spend most of his leisure there, where his play may be intelligently directed. Here again a close co-operation between the playground director and the probation officer should be established. Any efficient play director is ready at all times to consult with the probation officer and at his request to give special attention to a juvenile probationer. Should the child be inclined toward reading, his choice of books should be carefully supervised and the probation officer can do a great deal to assist the teacher in directing such reading by impressing upon the child the value of following the advice of the teacher as to what books would be most profitably read.

It is a truism that all teachers, like all probation officers, are not alike and it will sometimes be found that the natural disposition of the child and that of his teacher are so diametrically opposed as to unconsciously clash and thereby cause continual friction. This condition of affairs almost invariably tends to make both teacher and pupil irritable and sometimes leads the pupil to actual viciousness. Where such a state of affairs exists a wise probation officer will soon be able to ascertain it and it is his duty to quietly confer with the teacher and with the educational authorities who will be usually found ready to transfer the pupil to a class where he will be able to make better progress. Thus the teacher will be relieved of a pupil who strikes a discordant note in the class and the pupil will be helped by placing him in a different atmosphere. The number of ways in which a probation officer may help the teacher seems to be almost infinite as he stands in the relationship of parent to the child and has even more authority to enforce his demands, thus he should use his influence to cause the child to carry out the directions of the teacher as to cleanliness, neatness of dress, punctuality and regularity in attendance, diligence in his school work, proper care of his person and above all in the forming of his habits and the upbuilding of his character.

STREET TRADES REGULATION

Edward N. Clopper, Ph. D., Northern Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York.

In the past decade and a half there has been a gradual but quite noticeable improvement in street trading in respect of the number of children engaged. This has been due partly to the agitation carried on against this phase of child labor and also largely to the fact that street trading has been going through a process of organization which has resulted in the taking over of the children's activities by older persons. For example, the itinerant bootblack is seldom seen to-day, whereas years ago he was almost omnipresent, for the possibilities of bootblacking as a regular business were seen and developed through the establishment of stands, or "shine parlors," where youths and often full-grown men are employed to do the work.

The elimination of the young newsboy is not by any means a wild fancy of the social worker's imagination; indeed, in New York city, for example, the number of small boys selling newspapers is very much smaller to-day than ten or fifteen years ago. The tendency in this, the most extensive form of street trading, has been also toward the organization of the business in the hands of adults who have established stands on the street corners where they serve the public much more economically and systematically than the boys were able to do. In fact, the stands in many public places are now controlled by corporations conducting the business on a large scale.

So this tendency toward organization and the consequent displacement of the child is most encouraging and a very welcome supplement to the restrictive legislation advocated for some years past.

The steadily increasing attention given to this subject in the past decade, resulting in the adoption of provisions for control by many of the states, reflects the growing conviction that street trading as an occupation is undesirable for children. The laws, however, still distinguish between street occupations pursued for wages and those pursued for profits, bringing the former under the general child labor restrictions, while the latter, if covered at all, are mentioned separately and made subject to much less stringent regulations. Errand running, delivery work and messenger service require children to be in the streets a

large part of the time, but have the advantage of oversight and direction by adult employers; nevertheless these occupations have long been classed with work in factories and mills, presumably because they all rest on a wage basis, and the same age limit for employment (fourteen years in most of the states) has been applied. Newspaper selling, bootblacking and other forms of street trading, on the other hand, have the serious disadvantages of lack of discipline, unsuitable environment and improper associations. Yet they are either wholly ignored or only feebly regulated by state laws, evidently because the children who engage in them are seeking profits and should enjoy full freedom of action in such praiseworthy endeavor. So persistent is this economic distinction between wages and profits that it is insisted upon even when, as in the case of a child labor law, it denies to one group of workers the protection it throws about others.

Under these circumstances, and as the street trading laws now in force are of comparatively recent enactment and more or less primitive, one is necessarily impressed in studying the present situation, by the confusion of thought on the subject as revealed by the wording of the different types of regulation so far adopted. In twenty-eight states of the Union there is no law governing street trading by children. In the twenty other states the provisions are of great variety, although some of the states have followed the usual custom of blindly copying the law of some other commonwealth, without much thought as to whether or not its provisions were adequate.

In Colorado the only restriction applies to girls under ten years of age, who are prohibited from engaging in any business or occupation in street or alley, there being no interference whatever with the sacred right of boys to exploit themselves in the city streets.

In Utah the age limit for selling newspapers is twelve years for boys and sixteen years for girls, but for some unaccountable reason, bootblacking is tacitly approved as an occupation for little girls by a reduction of the limit for them to twelve years, thereby opening up a new field of usefulness if they feel inclined to follow this dainty and essentially feminine profession of shining shoes at the gutter's edge.

New Hampshire's law shows another curious inconsistency in that girls under sixteen must not sell newspapers nor merchandise, but girls of ten may work as bootblacks.

Delaware prohibits boys under twelve and girls under fourteen from selling newspapers in cities, but fixes no age limit whatever for either sex so far as other kinds of street work are concerned.

Florida is similarly careless, for she attempts to regulate only newspaper selling with an age limit of ten years for boys and sixteen for girls.

New Jersey provides regulations for street trading for children between ten and sixteen, but fails to fix any minimum age limit. Consequently children under ten are legally not even subject to the regulations that apply to the older ones.

New York contributes her full quota to the confusion, for in that state an itinerant bootblack who goes about the streets with his own kit slung over his shoulder, may legally work any number of hours daily from infancy up, while a bootblack, who works in a "shine parlor" must be at least fourteen years of age. The age limit for newspaper selling is twelve years, and for peddling is sixteen years. It would be difficult to devise a more inconsistent set of regulations.

Oklahoma declares that girls under sixteen shall not sell newspapers, but says nothing about other street trades, nor anything at all about boys.

In Virginia boys under ten and girls under sixteen must not sell newspapers, but at fourteen years of age girls may peddle any kind of goods in the streets to their hearts' content.

Child labor laws are not unlike some other creations in being fearfully and wonderfully made. The age limit for employment in factories is nearly everywhere the same for both boys and girls, while for street trading, particularly newspaper selling, the limit for boys is lower than the factory limit, but for girls it is higher. There are good and sufficient reasons for the extra restrictions applying to girls, and this being true, why should there be such a discrepancy between the factory and street trading limits for boys, especially as the difference between them is just the reverse of that relating to girls?

This difference in the age limit for employment of children in street trading and in factory work is probably due to the fact that street trading has generally been looked upon as objectionable, chiefly from the moral viewpoint, and hence, by a singular application of the double standard, the employment of girls in this kind of work has been discouraged more than that of boys; while on the other hand, child labor in factories has been decried largely because of its physical effect, and this

being commonly regarded as the same upon both sexes, the same age limit has been adopted in almost all the states for girls as for boys.

The state of Kentucky has established the best and most logical standard in this country for both boys and girls in this work, the age limit for boys being fourteen and for girls eighteen years, for all kinds of street trading in cities, including newspaper selling. This seems logical because it is the general standard for boys in other common forms of employment, and for girls the propriety of the higher age limt of eighteen years will hardly be questioned by anyone. Boys under sixteen years of age are not permitted to work at night, which also corresponds to the restrictions of the ordinary child labor law.

The British Departmental Committee of 1910 in its report on the employment of children act declared that street trading by boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen years should be absolutely prohibited.

In 1911 the London County Council put in force a set of by-laws which prohibit boys under fourteen and girls under sixteen years from engaging in street trading of any kind, while boys under sixteen years must not trade before six in the morning nor after nine in the evening. The adoption of these provisions was the result of long experience in dealing with the problem, and as they are strikingly similar to our own state factory laws, it would be well for us not to disregard their significance, inasmuch as we long ago applied the same restrictions to delivery and messenger service, which are really street occupations, and yet have so far not considered it necessary to adopt the same standard for the other forms of street work.

We should be the more inclined to view the matter in this light, because of the report of our federal government on the conditon of woman and child wage-earners, which in referring to juvenile delinquency and its relation to employment, shows that the largest number of delinquent boys is found in those occupations in which the nature of the employment does not permit of supervision, namely: newspaper selling, errand running, delivery service and messenger service. Boys engaged in these occupations, together with bootblacks and peddlers, all work under conditions, says the report, which bring them into continual temptations to dishonesty and other offenses.

The demand for a fourteen-year age limit for boys and a higher limit for girls in street trading is increasing as the people become more familiar with the results of leaving this kind of

children labor free from restraint or subject only to inadequate regulation. The Missouri department of factory inspection strongly recommends such a standard, as does also the New Hampshire school department.

Mr. Philip Davis, who was formerly the supervisor of licensed minors in Boston, says in *Street-Land,* a book recently written by him: "Ultimately every American city will entirely abolish street trading by school children. Until that time comes, every city can check many of its abuses by a license system and plan of supervision with self-government as its central feature." He recommends the age limits of fourteen years for boys and sixteen years for girls in all kinds of street work.

In a recent convention of the Newspaper Managers' Association the representative of a large city newspaper said that better results would be secured from the use of recognized news stands on the principal corners of a city, than in relying upon newsboys, and that to-day many circulation managers were in favor of the elimination of the shouting newsie. Indeed one of the signs of the times is the fun that is poked at some periodicals that try to extend their circulation through the use of boys. One of the New York newspapers recently published a burlesque of an appeal to parents which has been widely distributed by a leading periodical in an effort to induce their children to sell it.

For years there was maintained in New York city an organization known as the Newsboy's Home Club, for the benefit of newsboys. Last year the directors of the club announced a campaign to raise half a million dollars, with which they intended to build a substantial club house. This plan provoked many protests from persons who were of the opinon that the money would be spent simply to perpetuate a form of child labor now commonly recognized as undesirable, and which is indeed gradually passing away in New York city. They urged, on the other hand, that this spirit of helpfulness shown by the directors be put to better use through the establishment of a general boys' club, which would benefit all the boys of a community and at the same time be free from any attempt to glorify newspaper selling as an occupation for young boys. This suggestion was finally adopted by the board of directors and the campaign was launched, but the funds raised amounted to only $100,000, and this money is to be used for the erection of an annex to the Boys' Club, a successful organization which has been operating for many years in the same section of the city where the old

Newsboys' Home Club was located. The former superintendent of the Newsboys' Home Club has been made an assistant superintendent of the Boys' Club, and five of the directors of the old organization have become members of the board of trustees of the Boys' Club, and hence their helpful interest has been extended to boys in general.

The actual number of newsboys in New York city is decreasing, as shown by the records of this Boys' Club, out of whose 3,000 members there are now only about twenty-five who sell papers regularly. This does not mean that there are no small boys engaged in newspaper selling in New York city. It does mean however, that there are fewer today than ten or fifteen years ago, for the great majority of readers are today buying their newspapers at stands, presided over by older persons—often cripples and others incapacitated for earning their livelihood in more active work. So the present tendency is doubly beneficial—the young children are being excluded and the work is being turned over to older persons who really need it.

Unfortunately, the enforcement of street trading regulations is a matter of more or less indifference to many communities, and methods vary widely. The assignment of the task to a supervisor and his assistants who devote their entire time to it, preferably under the direction of the school authorities, has secured better results than any other plan so far tried. When the enforcement is attained through the organization of the traders into a self-governing body, as in Boston and Milwaukee, it is of positive benefit to them. But the success of any such undertaking depends in the last analysis upon the personality of the man in charge. It is his spirit of enthusiasm and influence over the boys that induces and encourages their respect and obedience, and when he withdraws and another takes his place, if the successor is not equally well qualified, a failure is almost certain to follow.

The system of licensing children is necessary as an aid to enforcement, and we can perhaps not hope to do away with this necessity, at least for a long time to come. A recent British report on street trading declares: "Our general impression, gathered in towns in which by-laws had been made, was that, though in exceptional cases much good had resulted from their adoption, on the whole this method of dealing with what we have come to consider an unquestionable evil has not proved adequate or satisfactory. In many instances it has been pointed out to us that a system of licensing and badging is but a method of legal-

izing what is indisputably an evil, and that a set of by-laws, however rigorously enforced, can at best only modify the difficulties of the position." In making this statement the British Committee was arguing for prohibition of street trading by all boys under seventeen years. But in this country, inasmuch as the age limits are much below this standard, the system of licensing must be continued, and should be in the hands of the school authorities, just as the licensing for other kinds of common work is today in most of our states.

The happy-go-lucky practice of entrusting the enforcement of such laws indiscriminately to police, truant, probation and factory inspection officers is a great mistake, not only because these officers are charged with sufficient duties without this added burden, but because when different groups are held responsible, each one looks to the others to do the work. The best system is to place the whole matter in each city in the hands of a man of strong character and winning personality, with no other duties to perform, and employed for full time under the direction of the local superintendent of schools.

DISCUSSION: In the informal discussion the following named delegates participated: Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis; Judge Edward F. Waite, Minneapolis; Judge George S. Addams, Cleveland; Mrs. Ray Van Baalen, Pittsburgh; Joseph Moss and Mrs. O. T. Bright, Chicago; John J. Gascoyne, Newark; A. W. Abbott, Orange, N. J.; Mrs. Alice M. Montgomery, Manchester, N. H.; Judge Frank J. Lahr, Indianapolis.

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VISITING TEACHERS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES*

Jane F. Culbert, of the Public Education Association of New York

The work of the visiting teacher was undertaken in the belief that for the true education of the child the home and the school must work together. It is based on the principle that, in order to co-operate, the home must understand what the school is attempting to do, and that the school must understand the home surroundings and interests in order to have a knowledge of the child's needs.

This type of work is really not new; like many things in our national life, it began in the little red school house. But, with the evolution of the country school into the large city school, the function of the visiting teacher has been overlooked. Whatever the disadvantages of the old district school, it had this

*Section meeting, Saturday, May 13, 9:15 A. M.

advantage—that the teacher (who lived in the community, frequently being boarded around in the homes of the pupils) knew the background, the immediate problem, and the probable future of every child. With the development of the city school with its large classes, congestion, heterogeneous population and with a corps of teachers living in other parts of the city, frequently unacquainted with conditions under which the children live and study, and often unfamiliar with the customs, ideals and ambitions of the parents, there has arisen a situation in which the teacher fails to *know* the children whom she is trying to teach and develop. In other words, the average teacher finds herself in the position of teaching a nine-to-three-o'clock boy instead of the real twenty-four-hour-a-day boy. One of the results of this situation is that there is a large class of children who fail to get the best out of school because but half-seen and half-understood. Quite naturally, then, there has come about a revival, in new form, of that old function of the district school master, namely, to see and train the whole child—the child of the home and the school. This extension of the school is a natural outgrowth of the new idea of the school as a child welfare agency, adaptable to the social needs of the child. It is not the class teacher, however, who has assumed this revived function, but the visiting teacher.

But why not the class teacher? In answer, let me suggest some of the requirements of the work: knowledge of social conditions and fitness for social work, time for follow-up work and for visits at night or during school hours to see parents alone.

It is hardly necessary to point out that failure to realize conditions under which children are working often leads to injustice and hardship. There is Susie, for instance, who keeps house for father and three brothers, and who wishes to leave school because she hasn't the time to "make the lessons as good as the other girls." There is Harry, who works from 3 to 11 P. M., and whose family "nag him to death" for being so stupid that he cannot get his working papers.

The work of the visiting teacher was started about ten years ago in New York and Boston. In New York the movement began in two settlements, and after a short time was incorporated into and developed by the Public Education Association. Three years ago, the Department of Education introduced the visiting teacher as a part of the system, beginning with two and having now a staff numbering seven. The Public Education Association still maintains a staff of nine, each working in one school.

In Boston, there are now fifteen home and school visitors

and ten volunteers, several of whom are connected with settlements. Philadelphia has six home and school visitors; Baltimore, Columbus, O., Hartford, Conn., Springfield and Newton, Mass., and Chicago all have one or more doing this work in connection with parents' associations, psychological clinics or other organizations interested in school children.

The departments of education in the following cities have visiting teachers or visitors doing similar work: Red Bank and Montclair, N. J.; Worcester, Mass.; Rochester, N. Y. In general, this work is closely connected with the schools, the visiting teacher frequently having an office in the school. Her hours correspond in length but not necessarily in time to the hours of teachers. A questionnaire sent to these cities reveals considerable uniformity in organization, type of work and methods. I feel, therefore that in describing the work of one city, I may give a general presentation of all.

With whom does the visiting teacher work? To her are referred by principals, teachers, parents, neighbors, those children who have fallen below standard in scholarship, but who are not sub-normal; those who are below standard in conduct, but not necessarily delinquent; adolescents who are discouraged, irritable, self-assertive, or who present various other phases of adolescence; those who are over-worked at home or inadequately guided and guarded; "the over-age" and restless to whom "going to work" makes a stronger appeal than the academic curriculum with its present limitations; those who, obliged to go to work, need advice or special provision to make possible their remaining in school. Records show complaints like the following:

> Louis, eight years, vicious with other children, attends movies twice daily, has too much money, parents have no influence.
>
> Joseph, fifteen, poor work in all subjects. No effort. Parents urge him to leave school.
>
> Dominick, thirteen, unusual talent in drawing, needs special training.
>
> Frank, twelve, does not live with mother, sleeps in school, backward in all subjects.
>
> Ben, ten, work uneven. Very nervous, violent temper, associates with a gang of young thieves.

It is not necessary to describe to social workers the conditions which the visiting teacher finds. You know all too well the homes, the over-crowding, the late hours, the tea and coffee drinking, the peddling, the home industries, the home where both the parents go out to work or the mother to play bridge, the lack of proper discipline—or all—the movies, the gang, the desire for excitement and the lack of wholesome recreation in poor and prosperous neighborhoods alike.

These being the conditions, what is the visiting teacher's task? In general, she has one aim, the adjustment of those difficulties in the lives of individual children, that retard the child's development and school progress. This resolves itself into two phases of work. The first is interpreting to the school the child's out-of-school life; supplementing the teachers' knowledge of the child and his needs by giving information about his home, his environment, his occupations, his interests, tastes, aptitudes, so that she may be able to teach the whole child, and may better know how to meet his needs; assisting the school to know the life of a neighborhood, in order that it may train the children for the life to which they look forward.

Secondly, the visiting teacher interprets to the parents the demands of the school and explains the peculiar difficulties and needs of the child. Sometimes parents fail to realize either the school's demands or child's need and so give neither the encouragement nor the help which they are capable of giving. For instance, a little Italian girl whose apparent stupidity and lack of response caused the class teacher in despair to refer her to the visiting teacher, was found to be both nervous and stupid, because arithmetic was for her unusually difficult, and the worry, strain, and humiliation caused by daily failures in this subject affected her progress in all. When the visiting teacher, after establishing friendly relations with the child and gaining the confidence of the suspecting mother, explained in a very simple way what the central difficulty was, the mother replied, "Me see. She sama lika her fader. He no canna make change, and he a smarta man too." A new sympathy was awakened in the mother and a new courage in the little girl, when they realized that heredity and not personal fault must assume responsibility (although neither would have understood that term) and, thereafter, the mother daily helped the child with adding and making change which was a good, concrete method of teaching. This, with suggestions about diet and regular hours for sleep and plenty of out-door play soon made the child a happier, more responsive and teachable pupil. Some day, concrete methods will be offered by the school for the object-minded child.

On the other hand, the wide divergence between the school's opinion of a child and the real facts can be illustrated over and over. The following are typical cases. A girl reported "as making no effort; work constantly poor," was found by the visiting teacher to be "exceedingly conscientious and thoroughly discouraged, easily embarrassed and sensitive, masking failures by an attitude of indifference." A boy blamed for frequent late-

ness, for laziness and indifference was found to have energy enough to rise at 5 A. M. to deliver milk for three hours before school and that, too, on a diet consisting largely of black coffee and dry bread.

The visiting teacher has no fixed method. The nature of each situation determines her procedure. In general, to establish friendly relations is the visiting teacher's first object. Then follow naturally through visits to home and class the finding out of the child's home conditions, the attitude of his parents toward him and toward the school, his special difficulties, his point of view, his mental furnishing, his bias, his special grievance, his habits, his associates; in short, the discovery of the cause of the trouble, a tentative plan of correction or adjustment, and a point of contact, from which to work out a new interest. For instance, there is John, dogged and sullen in class, interested in nothing. Conversations in school yield nothing but the shortest, most grudging "yes" and "no," while in the more friendly atmosphere of informal home visits, the visiting teacher discovers that the boy had been left back—unjustly, he thinks—that he hates all his lessons (or thinks he does), but that he likes music, whistles well, that his sister sings, that he is learning to play the violin in order to accompany her. This information is passed on to the class teacher, who gives school work a musical setting, so to speak, arranges for the boy to whistle or play at an assembly, counts on his good musical ear to aid her in chorus singing. Moreover, his family is kept informed of his school progress and the discrepancy between his school standard and his musical standard emphasized. An uncle is induced to help with homework. Constant interchange of information between home and school and encouragement from both result in changed attitude on the part of the boy toward himself and his school work and in consequent improvement.

All cases cannot be adjusted within the home and the school. It is easy for social workers to imagine the use which the visiting teacher makes of outside agencies—how for that "bad boy" there is the settlement club, the gymnasium or playground, the director of which must be appealed to "for special interest," the carpentry class, or the art club. For the case where the cause of the trouble is obscure, there is the psychological clinic and neurologist and, for the backward child or the child who needs stimulating and help, the special tutor or study room, the library or story hour; for the child who is over-burdened or to whom school makes no appeal, directive recreation, the dancing or dramatic club.

Frequently the visiting teacher makes many visits and waits long for results.

> Angelina was reported to the visiting teacher for poor work in the third grade, for constant lateness and for indifference. She was a tall Italian girl of ten, awkward, pale and shy. The teacher suspected that Angelina was overworked at home for she knew that she "sewed on coats." The visiting teacher found the home thrifty and clean, but the family was poor. To supplement the father's wages, the mother "finished coats." Angelina, the only daughter, helped with the sewing, swept the apartment and did other housework before school. This kept her late so that each morning began with a reproof from the teacher and the school work was taken up by a discouraged child. In addition, she was never allowed to play on the street, so that she did not get enough fresh air. She heard nothing but Italian at home, so that her school work was practically in a foreign language.
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> On the first visit the visiting teacher found that Angelina was made to sew all afternoon, more as a matter of course and as proper employment for an Italian girl, than because of economic need, but she did not press the subject of the child's work. Instead, she asked her to read aloud. Though the mother could not understand, she knew when Angelina was being commended or corrected. She was much interested and impressed with the fact that the American lady thought reading a matter of importance to Aneglina. Since her daughter's mistakes were evidently many, it was not hard to persuade her to allow the child to read for half an hour every day, sitting on the fire-escape to insure light and fresh air. The mother was also urged to send her to school early.
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> The teacher was told of the home situation and was asked to be lenient about lateness, while the mother was learning. Instead of being reproved for lateness, Angelina was commended for improvement, and the days started better. After a little time, the lateness and even tardiness ceased. The teacher took pains to speak slowly, now that she knew that English was strange. The half hours of fresh air and practice in reading aloud showed results and later the mother was persuaded that an hour's play with other girls on the street in daylight would not hurt her daughter's morals. With encouragement, the child's work improved so much that she was promoted to a special class in which she did two terms' work in one, at the same time gaining in vigor, confidence and good spirits. Incidentally, there was no longer a problem of "sewing on coats."

The work of the visiting teacher is constructive and preventive. By and large, the school comes in contact with all children. If any child is a variant from the normal standard of conduct, mental progress, or social reaction, he can be studied, watched and observed by the visiting teacher, the cause of his trouble investigated and determined before it has developed into delinquency or serious retardation. It is possible thus to get ahead of delinquency. Very simple difficulties in the home life of the child often cause considerable handicaps in the school or, again, very simple difficulties in the school roll up into serious burdens if not discovered in time and adjusted.

> Clara, thirteen years old, reported by the teacher for poor work, bad conduct, and deceit, was found by the visiting teacher to be of great concern to her family, because she was unmanage-

able associating with questionable company and staying out late. She was headed straight for the children's court

In studying her previous history, it became evident that Clara's original trouble had been difficulty in arithmetic. This had led to cheating in the third grade, which, undiscovered, had led to poor foundation—to cumulative confusion and to further cheating to avoid the shame and censure of being left back again. Now, in the sixth grade, to escape her father's disapproval and punishment for poor record, she had forged the father's name on her monthly report, presenting to him an excellent report which she had fraudulently secured.

The deceptions seen in class had made her unpopular with classmates, and, therefore, for companionship, she had been forced, unconsciously to herself to associate with the type of boy and girl who is not particular about reputation. Her own suffered.

By way of aside—Clara did not arrive at court, but after two years of co-operaton of family, teacher, special tutor, club director, Clara regained her reputation and her self-respect, but the years of poor school progress and deception that have taken a heavy toll might have been saved if the difficulty had been early discovered and adjusted.

Beside the work with the individual child, the visiting teacher often undertakes work with special groups including dancing classes and dramatic clubs and experimental classes for the over-aged. It is not rigid but adaptable to special conditions. Some visiting teachers have found problems which have led them into surveys of special grades or groups, giving mental and psychological tests. Others have assisted in organizing parents' associations and in conducting child's study clubs, some in arranging food exhibits with special emphasis on diet for children, exhibits of handwork done by children in their homes which have been illuminating to teachers and mothers—as to capabilities of the children and the lacks in the curriculum and which have also enabled the school to show its approval of homework. One visiting teacher carried out an experiment in giving school credit for home helping which led to additions to the curriculum.

One visiting teacher has done work of far-reaching influence in giving to normal school students opportunity for field work under her supervision. The visits in the homes and work with individual children have emphasized the necessity of a social as well as pedagogical point of view in teaching.

And this in turn points to the time when the schools will be socialized and the curriculum be so enriched and related to life that for every type of child and for every phase of child life there will be some study or work that will meet the special need of every boy and girl.

DISCUSSION: Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago; George E. Haynes, Nashville; T. F. Fitzgibbon, Columbus, O.; O. C. Walcott, Mobile, Ala.; Mrs. W. E. Simonds, Galesburg, Ill.; Bessie B. Buckley, Milwaukee; George B. Mangold, St. Louis.

THE PHYSICAL CARE OF RURAL SCHOOL CHILDREN*

Taliaferro Clark, Surgeon, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

An officer connected with the recruiting station of the U. S. Marine Corps, New York city, has been quoted in a recent publication to the effect that only 316 of 11,012 applicants for enlistment in this branch of the Public Service were up to the required physical standard. Furthermore, it has been noted by observers in other countries that, in the case of volunteers for military service, rejections because of physical unfitness were in direct relation to the number of years spent in the school. Although it is not claimed that these observations hold true for all sections of the country, they do serve to draw attention to the fact that large numbers of individuals in the country have not attained the highest individual efficiency, and that the schools might be responsible in a measure for such lack of development. This is all the more evident, when it is recalled that the greatest number of rejections for enlistment on account of physical defects were due to abnormalities of physical development, defective vision and hearing, heart disease, faulty teeth, and postural defects. These defects are in a large measure preventable, or at least controllable, depending upon their prompt recognition during childhood, during which period so many of them have their origin. It is for this reason that the health supervision of school children is so necessary.

Intensive studies of rural school conditions conducted by the Public Health Service have revealed a special need of health supervision of rural school children because:—(1) they constitute 60.7% of the total school enrollment of the country; (2) they are largely denied medical attention by specialists such as may be had in hospitals and clinics in cities; (3) they cannot be protected en masse by health laws as is the case in urban communities; (4) and they are more unduly affected by endemic diseases which diminish vital resistance and exercise an injurious influence on physical and mental development, such as malaria, hookworm and pellagra.

The needs indicated for the physical care of rural school children are quite plain. The first of these is to increase vital resistance through measures designed to promote physical development. A large proportion of the hampering physical defects

*Section meeting, Monday, May 15, 9:15 A. M.

observed in later life had their origin in childhood, at a period when their early recognition gives greatest hope of correction. This cannot be done successfully, however, until it be known how the child grows, what are the laws governing physical development, what are the physical averages of the sexes for the different age periods, how these averages are modified by racial and environmental influences in different communities. Finally, the school itself should be made a place in which the healthy child may grow in a normal manner, and where the best development of the weakened child may be secured. In this connection, we have recently compiled the physical averages obtained during an intensive survey by the Public Health Service of all the rural school children of a country in a middle western state. It was found that the relative physical development of boys and girls varied at different age periods in a manner not entirely in accord with that recorded by other observers in other localities. The greatest annual increase in height of the boys was between nine and ten years of age, 2.5 inches, between 14 and 15 years of age, 2.7 inches, and between 15 and 16 years of age, 2.5 inches. In the case of girls it was between nine and ten years of age, 2.7 inches, and between 12 and 13 years of age, 2.6 inches.

The greatest annual increase in weight of boys occurred between 15 and 16 years of age, 14.8 pounds, and in girls between 14 and 15 years of age, 10.7 pounds.

A marked decline was observed in all the physical measurements of girls at the 14 and 15 year age periods, which about corresponded to the time of the full establishment of the menstrual functions.

Variations in the growth of the child call for great expenditures of physical and mental energy at certain age periods. Great care must be exercised in the school at this time to maintain correct postures, provide suitable exercises and adapt the curriculum to the special needs of the child in order to secure the best physical development.

Compared with the children in certain urban centers, the boys of this county were below the average height at the 6-7, 7-8, 8-9, 11-13, 13-14, 15-16, and 16-17 year age periods. The girls were under mean height at the 12-13, 15-16 and 16-17 year age periods. The deficiency ranged from .7% to 2.3% among boys and from .2% to 2.8% among girls. The weight of boys was below the average at the 7-8, 9-10, 10-12 and 14-15 year age periods, and that of the girls at the 7-8, 12-13, 13-14, and 15-16 year age periods. The deficiency in weight varied from .2% to 5.9% in boys, and .6% to 8.9% in girls.

The important consideration in connection with the under physical development observed in the rural school population of this county was to determine the cause. Malaria and hookworm are not present in this community, pellagra is unknown, and there is but a limited prevalence of tuberculosis and typhoid fever. These diseases, therefore, are eliminated as causative factors. On the other hand, our observations tend to show that the habitual diet of these children was largely responsible. For example, the breakfast of 40% of them was composed almost exclusively of carbo-hydrates, and but 60% of them had a mixed diet of carbo-hydrates and proteids. Furthermore, 57% used coffee, only 15% drank milk, and 1.16% did not habitually eat breakfast. The need is plain, therefore, for the general establishment of domestic science classes in the schools and the teaching of food values and food preparation. The services of co-operative agencies could also be profitably employed for the purpose of extending this instruction to the home.

Furthermore, no suitable facilities for play were provided, and no systematic physical exercises were practiced at any of the rural schools of the county. The beneficial influences of these on health and physical development are now matters of common experience. Their absence may account in part for the sub-normal physical development of a number of these children.

Ranking in importance with measures intended to increase vital resistance through maintenance of the normal physical development of a school child, are those directed to the discovery and correction of physical defects. The relative frequency of physical defects among rural, as compared to urban, school children, according to our observations and the percentages given by Cornell, are as follows:

(1)	Adenoids	rural 11.5%; urban 12 to 24%	
(2)	Defective hearing	rural 12.1%; urban 5%	
(3)	Defective teeth		
	6 to 14 years of age	68.5 to 31.2%	rural.
	15 to 18 years of age	20.2 to 16.1%	rural.
	primary grades	50.0 to 75.0%	urban.
	grammar grades	10.0 to 30.0%	urban.
(4)	Diseased tonsils	rural 15.4%; urban 6 to 12%	
(5)	Refractive errors requiring glasses	rural 6.7%; urban 28%	

Physical defects among rural school children are potentially of more serious consequences than those among children in cities. This is due to the limited medical facilities in most rural districts, and in part to poorly constructed and equipped school buildings. Many examples illustrative of this observation have come under our personal notice. Witness the case of a small

child between six and seven years of age who, figuratively speaking, was standing on the edge of a threatening volcano, so far as life was concerned, by reason of a neglected inflammation of the middle ear. The otoscope revealed a slit in a very congested ear drum through which pus was oozing in great quantity. Neglect of this condition leads to deafness and not infrequently to death. The parents of this child were unaware of its dangerous condition. This and many similar cases occurring in rural schools remain unrecognized through the lack of medical supervision, until too late to prevent destructive changes.

The faulty illumination so frequently observed in rural schools is largely responsible for much of the impaired vision encountered. Recent measurements of the desk illumination of an eight-room school, on a cloudy day, showed that the illumination of more than half of the desks in a number of the class rooms was less than one-third of that demanded by the lowest minimum standard. The effect of such faulty illumination is to promote eye-strain and to increase near-sightedness. The illumination of these class rooms could have been doubled by the proper tinting of reflecting surfaces; but authorities were without competent advice in this important detail of school construction. The need of such advice is largely responsible for many of the undesirable features of rural school life.

Furthermore, a number of rural school children had never been refracted, and were badly in need of glasses. The rural school child cannot step around the corner to an eye clinic and secure the free services of a specialist. These children are frequently found wearing glasses entirely unsuited to them, as was a girl with one eye hyperopic and the other myopic, who was wearing a far-sighted lens in front of the near-sighted eye.

The percentage of rural school children observed who had been operated on for the removal of diseased tonsils and adenoids was so small as to be almost negligible. In a number of instances the operation had been imperfectly performed. The injurious influence of diseased tonsils and adenoids on the general health and their potential dangers to the organs of hearing are well recognized. The presence of so few children who had been relieved of these hampering defects by surgical procedure is a further illustration of the handicap imposed upon the rural school child by reason of social and economic conditions.

The rural school child is greatly in need of instruction in the care of the teeth and in need of adequate dental service. This is shown by the fact that 49.3% of the children had defective teeth, 21.1% had two or more missing teeth and only 16.9% had

dental attention. Furthermore, 14.4% of these children never used a toothbrush, 58.2% used one occasionally and only 27.4% used one daily. It is now well recognized that defective teeth are responsible for a number of the bodily ills which materially reduce physical efficiency. Due attention to the care of the teeth in childhood will prevent their early decay in later life. Our investigations have revealed the highest percentage of children with defective teeth among boys from the fifth to the eleventh year of age, and among girls from the fifth to the tenth year of age. The neglect thus evidenced is accounted for by the ignorance of so many parents of the necessity of preserving the deciduous teeth as long as possible.

We have collected data relative to the occurrence of communicable diseases among rural children while attending school. The compilation of this material has not yet been completed. Sufficient evidence has been adduced, however. to indicate that the school is a factor in the spread of these diseases in rural communities, due largely to the fact that the children of individual families are rarely in intimate contact except in school. An undue prevalence of these affections is measurebly responsible for an increase in the number of children with impairment of the organs of special sense. The control of communicable diseases in rural communities is urgently demanded, not only in the interests of the general health, but also because they endanger vision and hearing.

The field investigations of the Public Health Service show certain problems of rural school life which require special consideration. For example: what is the remedy for the conditions just enumerated? How can the physical efficiency be increased? How can hampering physical defects be avoided? How is the control of communicable diseases to be brought about? How is improvement in rural school construction to be secured? The answer is: (1) By abolishing school districts and establishing a county unit of school administration; (2) By establishing an efficient system of health supervision of school children; (3) By consolidating rural schools.

Of these, measures for the health supervision of school children are of prime importance for educational purposes and the protection of health. Unfortunately, only a small part of the rural school population of the country enjoys the benefits of such supervision. For example, in states where the laws are mandatory for the medical inspection of rural schools only 39.8% of the total school enrollment is in rural districts; where they are permissive, 60%; and where inspection laws do not apply, 61.4%.

There are several reasons for this state of affairs; (1) the lack of a proper appreciation of such measures in rural communities; (2) the scarcity of persons in rural districts who are properly qualified for this service; (3) the financial inability of a number of rural communities to maintain an independent medical inspection service.

The interest of rural communities in this matter can best be secured through intensive school surveys. The value of this procedure lies in the fact that, by calling attention to unsuspected physical defects in their children and school conditions requiring attention, the necessity of some form of health supervision is brought home to parents. We have had practical experience of the educational value of such investigations through reports of an increased number of children seeking relief following surveys of this character.

The medical inspection of schools in rural districts is accompanied by a serious handicap, due to the impossibility, under existing conditions, of securing the services of a person properly qualified for this position. The appointment of a local practioner is, as a rule, barren of results. He is unable to devote his whole time to this work, while the jealousy and quiet opposition of other local practioners frequently render his efforts nugatory.

The requirements of a medical inspector are: (1) he should devote his whole time to this service and not engage in private practice or other calling that would interfere with the proper discharge of the duties of this position; (2) he should be skilled in medical diagnosis, able to refract children for glasses when necessary, and qualified to advise with and assist the family physician when it is so desired; (3) he should have a thorough understanding of the principles of hygiene and the ability to apply them to school purposes.

The restricted financial resources of most rural communities preclude the offering of a salary commensurate with the attainments of a desirable school inspector. This difficulty can be overcome, in great measure, by combining the duties of the school physician with those of the district, county or local health officer, with a salary equivalent to the combined salaries of the two positions. By so doing it will be possible for these communities to secure the full time services of a trained sanitarian for health work and school inspection. The health of the school children is a reliable index of the health of the community as a whole. Owing to the close association of the home and the school, therefore, it is most desirable for the health officer, through school inspections, to gain first hand knowledge of con-

ditions that would guide him to the application of measures to the home which would be protective to the community at large.

The possibilities of rural school consolidation for the protection of the health of the children is an important consideration in the adoption of this measure. The sanitary requirements of school constructions can more readily be secured in the larger buildings of this type and the child thereby placed in a more healthy school environment. Furthermore, the concentration of a larger number of children in one building offers greater opportunity and facility for health supervision than is afforded by one room schools.

Lastly, no system of health supervision will be effective without the co-operation of the parents. This can be secured through the employment of tactful school nurses to do follow-up work. The practical application of the principles of sanitation by an efficient nurse in time of sickness will do much towards educating parents regarding measures for safeguarding the health of their children. In addition, the co-operation of social workers and the formation of civic leagues and of home and school improvement associations among rural school children tend to a better understanding of good citizenship and of the obligations of the individual to the community, which, in time, should bring about improved social conditions and an increased efficiency of the individual.

PHYSICAL CARE OF THE CHILD IN RURAL SCHOOLS: DISCUSSION

William A. Ocker, B.S.G., M.D., Director of Physical Education and Hygiene, Public Schools of Indianapolis

From reports of the United States Bureau of Education, from conferences with schoolmen interested in the welfare of the school child, I am convinced that the general or average health of the boys and girls attending city schools is superior to that of children in rural schools. This is true despite the fact that rural schools are located in a purer atmosphere than most city schools. Theoretically, life in the country is more natural and healthful than city life. There is less strain on the nervous system due to the lack of city noise and street hazards. The air is better and the food fresher. Our forefathers of thousands of years ago, no doubt lived in the open, but civilization forces *us* to spend much of our time indoors.

City dwellers therefore, soon learned the need of precau-

tionary measures to protect themselves from influences detrimental to their health and welfare. Dwellers in rural districts pay little or no attention to sanitary science. It is reported in one of the bulletins published by the U. S. Bureau of Education, that of the water supply of farms, both in Canada and in the United States, fully 60% of the wells are polluted with house and barnyard drainage. The milk supplied, while fresh, too often is produced under insanitary conditions. Disposal of human and animal waste products is commonly primitive, and these products are, as a rule, exposed to flies in a manner that makes easy the transfer of bacteria to the house and to the food of its occupants. Sleeping with closed windows is common, and house air in the country is often worse than house air in the city. The common drinking cup or dipper is a regular institution, and so is the roller towel. Hot water is scarce, and consequently the dish-washing process suffers. As a consequence of these things, even in the country there is an abundance of infectious diseases.

The conditions in rural communities differ from those in cities most markedly in respect to sanitary precaution. Because of the scattered population, there is less community interest in the country than in the city. In agricultural districts each farm is almost an independent social unit, and has its own water supply, milk supply, and sewerage system. Its sanitary conditions are whatever the proprietor chooses to make them. Hence public education seems to be the road leading to the improvement of sanitary conditions in the country.

The country school teacher must therefore become the public health educator. He must not only teach the children and instruct them in the many phases of hygiene, but he must extend his influence into the homes by instructing the parents and other adults in the science of sanitation.

To reach the parents may be a rather difficult problem, but it seems to me that the farmer's institutes, such as are arranged by the Purdue University, for instance, would lend themselves admirably for short talks on hygiene and sanitation. At a recent such meeting the University specialized on corn-raising, stock-raising, poultry-raising and on bee-industry. Farmers came for many miles to hear the lectures. They showed great interest, for many stayed all day. If the country school-teacher, or the county health officer could have a few minutes between lectures to say something about health and hygiene, much good might result. The school-building, and the school-room in particular, should be constructed to give the children as much comfort and convenience as possible. The ordinary one-room school house ought

to be a thing of the past. Every school building should contain, at least, one class room, two cloak rooms, one room for industrial work, and a large room for physical education.

Good health is as important as mental development and progress. It is the duty of every school, rural as well as urban, to safeguard the children against disease and insanitary conditions, and to promote their health, strength, vigor, and happiness. Fresh air and sunlight, of which the country scholar has an abundance, is not sufficient. Proper medical inspection and advice on health problems which does not end in the school room but travels and finds recognition in the home of the pupils is an absolute necessity. It has been said that "as a general rule the official care of the health of school children varies directly with the density of the population." On the one hand we have the modern and fully equipped urban school house, supplied with the latest and best heating and ventilating system, proper illumination and with efficient medical inspection and visiting nurses; on the other hand, the rural school, difficult of access, located far away from anywhere, irregularly heated by the old cannon-ball stove, poorly lighted and ventilated, and worst of all, the insanitary out-house. No medical inspection except, perhaps, in case of an epidemic. Fortunately, not all rural schools are so poorly situated; there are many which will compare favorably with the city schools.

The fact remains, however, that the poor roads leading to the school house, the long distances between home and school, walking through mud and slush in wet weather, sitting with wet feet throughout the school session, and cold lunches, all have a decided influence on the health of the rural pupils. Efficient medical inspection of schools does not consist of merely preventing the spread of contagious disease. It includes looking after the heating, lighting and ventilating of the rooms. It means giving of sound advice as to personal cleanliness at school as well as at home. It includes physical examination of all pupils to detect errors of vision, eye-strain, decayed teeth, enlarged tonsils and adenoids. The physical well-being of school children is greatly influenced by the condition of the teeth, but because there is no dentist near at hand, the teeth of the rural child are often neglected. The health of the body depends largely upon proper nourishment. Sound normal teeth are of the greatest value because they are needed to prepare the food for mastication and assimilation. Decayed teeth not only prevent proper mastication of food, but also have a detrimental influence upon the general welfare of the child.

Members of school boards are rapidly learning that a child must have a sound body in which to keep a sound mind. Also that good physical health is the basis of all education. The health of children in school should not only be maintained, but it should, on the average, improve from the time they enter school, if we teach and practice, as any rational system of education would require, the principles of health.

Though the rural school children have plenty of fresh air and sunshine, though some of them walk long distances to and from school, still they do not receive that "all 'round" development made possible only by an adequate system of physical training. Every school building should have a special room for health training. The equipment, though simple, should consist of apparatus for gymnastics and games. The training should be educative, corrective and recreative.

It must counteract those conditions of school life which are adverse to the physical development of the pupils. It must strive for correct posture of the body while sitting as well as while standing, and it must stimulate the nutritive processes by increasing circulation, respiration, and digestion. School children, both rural and urban, should have at least one hour of physical training per day.

My suggestions then for improving the physical welfare of rural school children may be summed up as follows: (1) Sanitary school houses and surroundings. (2) Instruction in sanitary science as applied to school and home. (3) Adequate medical inspection (it isn't adequate without the services of a school nurse). (4) Compulsory physical training in every school.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in the informal discussion: Philip Jacobs, New York; Raymond A. Hoyer, LaSalle, Ill.; Frederick H. Knight, Boston; Wilfrid S. Reynolds and G. C. Knobel, Chicago; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia; Mrs. Ballard, Crawfordsville, Ind.; Mrs. Ethel M. Hendriksen, Grand Rapids; Ira W. Jayne, Detroit.

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THE SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY CENTER*

Ethel de Long, Pine Mountain Settlement School, Pine Mountain, Kentucky

I wish that the old man who founded the Pine Mountain Settlement School with which I am connected could speak in my place to-day on "The Rural School as a Community Center."

*Section meeting, Tuesday, May 16, 9:15 A. M.

Forty years ago, before the world began to talk of the needs and possibilities of rural sections, he was thinking what the right sort of school would accomplish for his neighborhood, away off in the Kentucky mountains. And when, at sixty-seven years old, he deeded all his land to establish the Pine Mountain Settlement School, he wrote into the deed, "This land to have and to hold for school purposes as long as the constitution of the United States stands." He expressed his own broad conceptions of rural school service in the "Reasons" he wrote a few years ago:

> I want to tell my reasons why I want a school here at Pine Mountain. There is so many of our young folks growing up here not even taught up as to Morality. It grieved me to think that parents would raise their children under such rulings. I see no chance to better it without we teach the young generation that they can't never prosper while they follow the old ones' Example. I have been thinking about this some thirty years or more. . . . .
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> My idea was that if we could get a good school here and get the children interested it would help Moralize the country. If we can bring our children to see the error of liquor we can squash it.
>
> Some places hereabouts are so Lost from Knowledge that the young uns have never been taught the knowledge of reading and writing and don't know the country they were Borned in or what State or County they was borned. We need a whole lot of teaching how to work on the farm and how to make their farms pay, also teaching them how to take care of their timber and stuff they're wasting. In the way they farm and doing no good it is hardening them and they are turning to public works, too many of them. . . . .

In a letter written last fall, he says:

> I see no chance to teach the old but if the children can be teached up in a better light they can lay an example even for their parents.
>
> I don't look after wealth for them. I look after the prosperity of our nation.

Here is a high ideal of service for a rural school!

In rural communities one star differs from another in glory; there are neighborhoods where the school is the expression of an eager and intelligent community life; others, where the school must lead the community; and there are places described by President Frost of Berea as "super-rural," where the school must supply all the lacks in medical, religious, social and educational aid. Yet whatever the degree of rurality, the country school will attain its largest success if it has as its ideal the supplying of those elements of life that are difficult to attain under rural conditions. It can be the interpreter between the life of towns and cities and that of the country, and can serve as a true light-house for those sitting in darkness because of the poverty of communication.

At this point, my subject becomes too broad for me. I cannot tell how this ideal of a rural school could be applied in Maine or New Jersey or Michigan, and if I am to speak knowingly, can talk only of what is being done in the Southern mountains. Perhaps, since this field numbers at least three million folk, my topic will not be too much narrowed. In the fact that this is a group homogeneous in race,—Americans, surely, after a hundred years, whether their origin was Irish or Scotch, English, German, or French,—the problems of local environment may be easier than they are in other sections. Yet the physical, economic, social, and educational handicaps of this region are so tremendous that no rural school elsewhere could have more problems to surmount in attaining its ideal.

This is the region tragically hampered by hookworm, the disease which is responsible for the adjective "shiftless" so often applied by the ignorant to our Southern mountain people. No wide-awake school can neglect the opportunities for helpfulness in removing this blight. The large agencies of the state and nation can be made available to those who could not know of them, except for the help of someone better informed. Again, general enlightenment will do as much in the long run as the Inter-National Health Commission to improve hygienic conditions. "General enlightenment" comes with no burst of glory, but as the result of many tiny candles lighted in country schools. As a writer in the current *Atlantic* says: "The School, not the College, is the hearthstone of Education. It is the first and second-formers who are important." Hookworm is now a problem of national importance, and the school performs as important a service in bringing local conditions to the attention of great agencies as it does in disseminating knowledge and in securing clinics.

The study of trachoma, and the hospitals and clinics for the relief of it in the Southern mountains are very largely due to the efforts of one school, which induced a famous eye specialist to come into the mountains to relieve the frightful conditions which no one knew of before. Such schools avail themselves also of hospital aid in large cities for men, women, and children whom they cannot help themselves. There is a growing belief among mountain workers that an all-round mountain school must include a hospital in its equipment; and many schools which do not operate a small hospital employ a nurse to do district work, and to preach the gospel of germs,—a gospel as unknown to the mountain people as it was to our grandparents.

The field of medicine is a new one for both town and country schools; that of recreation is better tilled. In our own school,

needed in the "busy country," where there is no town, weekly clubs and classes are a necessity and we are all ourselves of the good holidays as occasions for giving material for thought and imagination. The woman who walks ten miles at Christmas time, bringing her little children, carries away with her more than the bit of bread she wears on her hat, or the Christmas tree ornament that is "the prettiest sight in the world." She has something to think of, to talk about, and to look forward to. In villages, clubs and playgrounds meet a fundamental need, just as they do in cities; and if a life made wholesome by the right elements of play and work were common, the country would not be drained so often for the city, and the per cent of insanity among country women would decrease.

Three years ago, when our school was just beginning, we invited the young people to play basketball with us one afternoon. The news spread far and wide, and along with the boys and girls came the heads of the families. Fathers with twelve children played in that first game of basketball as eagerly as did their grown sons. Seven brothers, grown men, six of whom had been estranged from the others for months and were not on speaking terms with one, crowed the ball together, and forgot that they were at strife. A boy of nineteen said at the close of the afternoon: "Hope those old men won't come next time, so's to give us young folks a chance to play." It is the privilege of the country school to satisfy such hunger as this.

Lacking southern mountain conditions, there is an immense advantage, too, in combining a home with the school. Industrial training acquired in the school home is worth far more than that learned in the ordinary cooking class kitchen; and the young people of a whole section can be "reached up better" in home making if some of them have lived in an industrial school. By way of illustration, our boy "daughter" to be married, a girl brought up in the lowermost hollow, under just the conditions you must long to relieve, moved back to this country after a brief experience put aside the convention, because "They was too nasty over there. I couldn't stand 'em; they threw dishwater and ashes out o' the windows." Your money invested here is bearing interest in her tidy, immaculate house, set in a yard undisfigured by old rags, tin cans, or trash, where one clean-washed housecloth, drying on the fence, bears testimony to its owner's standards.

One could not ask for better returns than those given us by a modest and sparkling little seven-year-old, who recently spent a day with her kindergarten. On the way home her wise little head

outmeasured the understanding one would expect from her still clumsy baby tongue. "One o' dem younguns, de next to de least 'un," she said, "said some bad words, an' tol' me to do sompin' bad, but I didn't pay no 'tention to him, 'tause he didn't known no better. Nobody didn't teach 'im. Aunt T——, she aimin' to send one o' her younguns to school, an' hit'll larn better an' do home an' teach de rest o' de younguns." And sure enough when Aunt T—— did send her youngun, when he said some bad words and when he was asked "Didn't anyone ever tell you not to say those words?" he answered, "Nobody didn't never, till E—— come to see us, and she said you teached the younguns up here not to say that."

The original idea of a country school as a place for the study of the three R's has been marvelously enlarged through the work of the moonlight schools in Eastern Kentucky. The Superintendent of Schools in Rowan County, out of her sympathy for the old men and women who wanted the ability to write to their children or to read the Bible, created the plan of holding night sessions in the country schools under her charge for such old men and women as were anxious to learn. All of her teachers gave their services the two weeks out of the month when pupils could travel by moonlight. Hundreds of old men and women came, some of them from miles away. The plan was contagious, and has been adopted in many other counties of Kentucky with a perceptible decrease in the state's percentage of adult illiteracy.

No live school in our part of this country can be blind to the economic difficulties of life in an almost roadless country. Our own school is now engaged in the great project of raising funds for a road across the mountain which separates us from communication with the world,—a mountain so stern that in all its one hundred and fifty miles there is no good wagon road across it. So deeply are we convinced of the importance of establishing a road over which people can carry vegetables and fruits to market that we are endeavoring to raise $25,000 by private subscription, and $35,000 from the state and county, to build the road. Here and there through our section, the traveler sees, close to a little home entirely inadequate to the family it shelters, a pile of weathered lumber, bought years ago for an addition to the house. There is no more touching testimony to the need of improved economic conditions than these little lumber heaps with their tale of deferred hopes. Some schools are striving to relieve the economic pressure by establishing fruit-growers' associations, by the co-operative purchase of farm machinery, by

offering courses in carpentry work for the boys who can see no future except farming or joining the army.

The effect of broad, intelligent effort to serve the community was splendidly shown at Hindman, in Knott county, where the criminal record in the first year of the school was sixteen murders and one hundred and thirty-seven other felonies. Ten years later, the county judge pointed out that the criminal record was the best in the state, being for the current year only one murder and 17 other felonics. He said that in his opinion the school was responsible for this remarkable change.

Clearly in every school's conscious ideal must stand forth the recognition that in medical, educational, social, or economic activities the co-operation of the whole neighborhood must be secured. Dwellers in the super-rural sections of this country suffer from lack of experience in pulling together. The mountains breed a race of individualists, and do not teach co-operation. If hookworm is to be eradicated, the school does well to remember that the neighborhood must work for this end quite as much as the school. If a road is needed, the whole people must petition for it. By all such means, by farmers' institutes, by educational rallies, by frolics, the sense of social relationship must be developed.

The magic word for all this is neighborliness. Communities are made over slowly through unconscious influence far more than by consciously directed effort, just as individuals find their chief inspiration through spontaneous contacts. I have often thought that my colleague's friendly discussion of the pruning and spraying of fruit trees, as she visits our neighbors from time to time, is the most productive agricultural force in our section. Yet these conversations spring not out of missionary impulses, but out of live interest in agriculture, which would make her discuss its various phases wherever she found herself. Visitings, when they have back of them the real social impulse, are the true leaven of the school.

However generously the school may supply material for the imagination, give new ideals for an isolated community, or open vistas of thought for young people, it is quite certain that its workers will receive still more bountiful things. Back and forth flies the shuttle. In return for hookworm clinics and roads come the gifts of the spirit. For us in the Southern mountains they bring a new conception of gentleness in human relationship and of gracious hospitality. In serving remote sections come riches more than the wealth of the Indies. This large philosophy of life was expressed for me by an old flax spinner who was trying

to teach me her art. As my untrained fingers fumbled with the thread, she commented, "Ain't it quare, I cain't recollect the time when I wan't about a wheel, an' here you're all growed up, an' don't know how to spin." Then, as I tied again the thread I had clumsily broken, she added, "Wal, I reckon things is about evened up in this world; you've been everywhar an' seen everything, but I kin spin."

DISCUSSION: Henrietta W. Calvin, Washington; Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, Birmingham; Raymond A. Hoyer, La Salle, Ill.; Julia C. Lathrop, Washington; Robert K. Atkinson, Sag Harbor, N. Y.; Helen B. Pendleton, Newark; C. C. Carstens, Boston; Ella V. Ball, Richmond, Va.

HEALTH

PROGRAM

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In the absence of the chairman and the vice-chairman of the Committee on Health, and at the request of the latter, this general session was presided over by Dr. J. Rilus Eastman of Indianapolis.*

LONGER AND MORE EFFECTIVE LIVING

Eugene L. Fisk, M.D., Director of Hygiene, Life Extension Institute, New York

As a man's hair whitens and his features become furrowed, his back bent and perchance his girth unduly expanded, we say, "He shows the marks of time." Time, however, has nothing whatever to do with such changes. Our concepts of time, of bodily decay, old age and death, are often worthy of the days of scholasticism when the authority of Aristotle was accepted as against the evidence of the senses.

Too often symbolism and tradition govern us in our daily affairs, and especially in the consideration of these vital problems of age, growth and death. We conceive time to be a lean, repulsive old man with an hour-glass and scythe, mowing down the human race. Death is also personified and looked upon as a "grim reaper" by pathologists as well as poets.

Now, time is a mere mathematical abstraction, a synthesis of space and motion. It can no more kill a man than can the Rule of Three. Man is not chased to the grave by an absurd old man with a scythe and an hour-glass, but by myriads of microscopic enemies, by streptococci, largely, and spirochetes and pneumococci, and others of that ilk.

*General session, Wednesday, May 17, 8:15 P. M.

There is no law of mortality, shocking as this may seem to some actuarial minds, insistent that the curve *must* end at 95 because an actuary discovered that it *now* ends there. I am not here to predict an elixir of life, or to hold out the hope of earthly immortality. But I do claim that the postulate of relative immortality for the human body involves no negation of biologic law or fact. On the contrary, it is an affirmation of such law or fact.

Insistence upon the inherent necessity of old age and death, however, drags in by the heels the supernatural for a sufficient cause. I trust that I may not be misunderstood. I realize that the span of human life must at least be governed by the duration of habitable conditions on the earth, and so I would only claim, as the ultimate attainable lifetime, as many million years as the geologist and physicist will grant for a habitable globe! This may sound fanciful and figurative, but I am in sober earnest in urging that we acquire this viewpoint before planning for race improvement, and especially in attacking the problem of better and longer living.

Sir Clifford Allbutt, in his recent splendid work on angina pectoris and diseases of the blood-vessels, says of so-called senile arteriosclerosis or hardening of the arteries: "It is immedicable; we cannot hold time by the wings, and with some men time flies faster than with others." "Time" is here supposed to do something that elsewhere is done by poison, by trauma, by starvation, by direct bacterial attack. Time, the immaterial, is charged with a material offense.

Although we cannot hold time by the wings, as they sometimes try to do in Congress by turning back the hands of the clock, we can be very busy doing things while the hands go round. It is the activity of certain lethal agencies that brings on old age and death, and in so far as we can put in motion other activities to meet and neutralize them, in so far shall we hold back the "wings of time" to indulge in symbolism; or, to use language derived from ordinary scientific observation, protect the cells of our bodies from injury or strain, from poison (whether formed internally or externally), from starvation, from bacterial attack. That is all there is to the "wings of time."

Perhaps we can agree more thoroughly on this matter by considering a simple concrete piece of evidence, Carrel's experiment with the connective tissue cells of the chicken embryo. A fragment of tissue cut from the heart of a chicken embryo, placed in nutrient media, periodically washed in Ringer's solution and

transferred to fresh media, keeps on growing, and cultures from the original mass after three years behave likewise. The simple formula of protection from injury, from poison, from starvation, from bacterial attack, has relieved this segment of life from its responsibility to time. In that test tube, time means nothing except growth, so long as the conditions of the experiment are maintained.

It is true that man cannot be placed in a test tube and controlled like a group of chicken embryo cells, but from this simple experiment and from allied experiments with the transplantation of organs, also from the interesting phenomena of latent or indefinitely arrested life recently developed by Becquerel, we have evidence that a very slight change in the environment of living tissue entirely alters its life cycle and utterly refutes the postulate that some mysterious, occult edict, recorded somehow, somewhere, is responsible for its age, decay and death, and not the physico-chemical conditions and relations in the media in which it lives.

It is true that as an organism becomes more complex the difficulty of maintaining it in equilibrium increases. It becomes differentiated in its parts and functions, and the difficulty of protecting it from the adverse agencies I have mentioned increases. But as man grows in complexity, his ability to meet the demands of differentiation should also increase, his resources become multiplied for resisting bacterial attacks, and for maintaining the efficiency of his body as a machine.

It is idle to say that the ductless glands determine the duration of life. Ductless glands are not all-powerful geniuses, willing that life shall go thus far and no farther. Ductless glands are open to attack by poison, by starvation, by trauma, by infection, and such government as they may exert can be changed by changing their condition or supplying some substance in which they are deficient. Always we hark back to the basic fact that life is an internal response to external conditions, a continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations, and not a period of activity pre-ordained to cease within a given time, regardless of external conditions.

Heredity has been suggested as an explanation of the duration of life. Heredity may count heavily in either prolonging or curtailing life, but it is not the governing factor in determining the ultimate possible duration of life. The death rate is in part selective, but a highly resistant germ plasm is simply a stream of cells that have escaped injury and poison and infection, and

have developed resistance to such agencies. This germ plasm contains no mysterious qualities that take it out of the domain of nature. It is plainly subject to physico-chemical forces that operate either to prolong or curtail its existence, as we have seen in the case of other animal cells.

Having reached the point, I must get down to earth and confess that to extend a perfect measure of protection to all the myriads of cells in the vital tissue of man, and to maintain a perfect correlation among them is not likely to be an early accomplishment of science. But even though we cannot reach the millenium at a bound, that is not a sufficient reason for sitting with folded hands and dealing in metaphors about the wings of time.

During the past quarter century, we have become familiar with the fact of preventable disease. What does that mean? That we have exorcised demons or driven off succubi? Have we in some way met and conquered an *entity* called yellow fever, or typhoid, or malaria? Surely not—that miserable word "disease" has always been a cloak for ignorance. We have not diseases to deal with, mysterious somethings to which we give meaningless names like Bright's disease, Graves' disease, beriberi, pellagra, scurvy, but tissue changes due to some definite injury, or poison, or starvation (deficiency), or bacterial attack. Arteriosclerosis is not a disease, an affliction coming from somewhere out of the blue or out of the depths; it is a physical change due to some physical or chemical cause or causes. It is our business to seek such cause, and not blame it on the "wings of time."

The children in our primary schools now know the cause of malaria. They know that it is simply a battle between the cells of the body and animal parasites. Also they know that death rates formerly supposed beyond the control of man have been cut in half in places like Panama. Less is heard of India, but it is well for us to bear in mind that splendid work has been done there by British scientists.

These facts show what science has done in meeting the abrupt attacks of man's microscopic enemies, attacks which in current war phraseology might be described as "drives." Typhoid and yellow fever and plague, and in a measure tuberculosis, come under this category. These drives we have met with increasing success, although the enemy is still within our lines, if we except yellow fever and plague.

But there is another line of attack, called "nibbling" by the French generalissimo, which we are not meeting successfully, at

least in this country. Our lowered death rate, of which we are so proud, reflects the repulse of drives against our infant and youthful population, but the "nibbling" of focal infection, the weakening of our defenses in the later years by insidious bacterial attack, is lessening rather than extending the span of life. Life has been extended for the young, but there is good reason to believe that it has been shortened for the elderly in this country.

This is a sorry confession to make on behalf of science following the postulate of a million or so years as the possible duration of human life. Surely it is a matter that may well give us some concern, especially as we see a different trend in European countries which many of us affect to look down upon as effete and decadent. All over the civilized world, death rates have been falling, and in many countries, such as Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, England and Wales, the gain in vitality has been manifested at every age period in life, especially in the last quarter century, but in the United States our falling death rate is a reflection of gain in the years below 50 chiefly.

The splendid achievements of public hygiene, of public health workers, are still going on. There is much yet to do while we have a typhoid death rate of 17.9 per 100,000 and a tuberculosis death rate of 147.6 per 100,000. While there is a hook-worm left, or a malarial mosquito, the repulse of these diseases must go on and the enemy be driven from our lines.

But if public hygiene were raised to the highest power, there would still remain a tremendous loss from preventable disease, or rather preventable tissue impairments, affecting the valuable lives of early maturity as well as middle life and old age. To meet these "nibbling" attacks of these agencies, whether bacterial, parasitic, chemical or physical, that slowly undermine the foundation of our being, that force us through the classic "seven ages of man", is the function of personal or individual hygiene, aided by surgery and modern therapeutics. "Personal hygiene (I quote from *How to Live,* by the Institute) thoroughly carried out implies high ideals of health, strength, symmetry and beauty; it enormously increases our capacity to work, to be happy and to be useful; it develops not only the body, but the mind and the heart; it ennobles the man as a whole."

So, after all, it is better life rather than longer life that we are seeking.

Personal hygiene is now being taught by public health departments. Recognizing that the total health of a community is conditioned by the health of its units, one department after another has taken up the cause of personal hygiene. New York State has

been particularly active in fighting the degenerative diseases of middle life. New York City has done likewise, and has instituted an educational campaign on alcohol. Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, North Carolina, Detroit, Toronto and others have issued bulletins dealing with living habits, and the care of the body, as well as the destruction of the housefly and mosquito, and protection against communicable disease.

Now, the subject of my paper is longer and more effective living. I find I have wandered on, dealing largely with general principles, but I have not been without purpose in the wandering. Such a subject as longer and better living is not to be covered by a few Draconian laws and a solemn injunction to lead a hair-shirt existence. It is not only the specific things that we do, but the ideals that govern our actions, that count in the long-run.

In planning for longer and more effective living, we should commence with our ancestors. Given the best quality of tissue that we can get at birth (eugenics), the problem then confronts us of preparing against the enemies that will appear from moment to moment as we pass along. If one could command a sort of X-Ray microscope that would enable one to view the human body and its environing media enormously magnified, and its inner workings revealed with the activity of the organisms that infest it, how changed our view of life would become! How quickly we would realize the real nature of life's processes and the factors that for man as well as for other organisms govern decay and death, and the grim fact that life is essentially a losing struggle with living enemies and with environment.

We cannot command such a microscope, but we can at least use such instruments as we have to survey the body from time to time and note its changing condition and the incidence of bacterial attacks, as well as the influence of trauma, fatigue, poison or starvation. This, in simple language, is the principle of periodic examination, commencing at birth and repeated year after year. It is the first step in the practice of personal hygiene, for the old adage holds that what is one man's meat is another man's poison. We must apply the rules of hygiene with precision, recognizing each man's strength as well as weakness.

It is rarely that anyone writing on old age will fail to quote Cazalis' aphorism that "a man is as old as his arteries." Like most aphorisms, this will not hold as a valid generalization, and is a very narrow definition of age. Organisms that have no arteries grow old, and I have seen many an old man with soft arteries and many a young one with thickened arteries. There is

so much jumbled, confusing phraseology and thought current regarding arteriosclerosis and the cardio-vascular changes that are so common with advancing years, that a student may well exercise caution in approaching this subject. The word "disease" is nowhere used so unfortunately and so misleadingly as when applied to arterial changes. Arteriosclerosis is described as a "disease", when it is in reality a tissue change, varying in character and degree according to which or how many of the manifold possible causes of such changes are at work.

For example, in children certain infections may damage the arterial tree, but on cessation of the cause these changes are arrested, and under hygienic living the expectation of life may be exceeded. On the other hand, organic impairment may occur without involving the arterial coats. As a rule, arterial change takes place slowly, as the result of various influences, and is one of the many possible signs of so-called "aging." That the average man of 45 shows signs of aging makes it certain that chronic changes have been going on, not for weeks, but for years, and that man actually begins to grow old in a pathological sense, in youth.

This is not a matter of academic theory. The mortality trend as revealed by a conservative interpretation of population and life insurance statistics suggests a condition of more or less widespread physical impairment. For every death there must be a proportionate number either frankly ill or in a condition of physical impairment or insufficiency.

These implications of the death rate from chronic or degenerative diseases which have in the past twenty-three years risen in the United States Registration Area, from 27 per 10,000 to 39 per 10,000, an increase of 45%, are confirmed by what is actually found upon the examination of large groups of supposedly healthy lives, actively engaged in non-hazardous and ordinarily healthful occupation.

I have here assembled some figures from the experience of the Life Extension Institute in the examination of industrial and commercial groups. In these groups, the service of the Institute, which includes a complete physical examination and a report to the employe or his physician, together with a monthly Health Letter or bulletin to each employe, was subscribed for by the employer, hence practically no selection was exercised, that is, they were representative groups of their class and not people seeking examination because of fear of illness. The figures are as follows:

RESULTS OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS BY THE LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE, COMPARED

	Industrial Average Age 31.6 years	Commercial Average Age 27.8 years
Free from physical defect or unhealthful living habits	0.46%	0.81%
Slight impairment or errors in living habits	27.16%	22.96%
Moderate impairment, needing medical, dental or hygienic treatment	67.15%	71.91%
Advanced impairment, requiring immediate medical supervision and treatment	5.20%	4.29%

These figures should be cautiously interpreted. They are derived from an entirely new method of collecting such data, and with an underlying pschycology totally different from that governing examinations for life insurance, for employment, or for any other purpose than that of a general physical survey for life lengthening and life improving purposes. The purpose of our Health Service is not only to detect disease, but to make a spot map, as it were, of the individual and record any defect or deficiency, either in the body or the life of the individual, the correction of which would prolong his life, or render it happier, more useful or more effective.

Naturally we found few (about one-half of 1%) without defect either or of body or of life. About 2% were found free from physical defect. We also found a relatively large number showing bodily changes or defects which invited disease, and you will note a substantial number (about 5%) that might be termed in a dangerous condition, needing immediate medical attention to protect their lives, notwithstanding the fact that they were actively at work.

The lesson from this is that the opportunity, the need, for such preventive studies, such effort in humaniculture, is overwhelming in its magnitude and in the responsibilities that it imposes. One has a momentary vision of the terrible waste of life, of happiness that might have been, of achievement that never will be, of needless crime, of weakness, of failure—of the whole stupid, wretched mass of misery due to human machines gone wrong for the lack of a little early repair or government or guidance.

The mind can only dwell momentarily on the stream of life going over the precipice of failure. It must turn from this picture to the work in hand, of getting to the people with a knowledge of how they can steer away from this precipice. It is not so much the terrible loss that we should dwell upon as the tremendous gain that is possible if we enter whole-heartedly,

systematically and with faith and courage into this work, the philosophy of which is deep-rooted in common sense and scientific law.

Who knows what we are facing as a nation in the years to come? One thing we do know—there is to be a struggle for existence, and the nation that is physically sound at the core is the nation that will hand down its civilization to the centuries. To study where we are weak, to study how we can make each generation a little better than the preceding one, instead of drifting with the tide of so-called natural evolution and trusting to luck that we shall not meet the destructive fate of all previous civilizations; to find out the facts about ourselves and our children and proceed to do our duty by our bodies and theirs by applying the lessons of science in the art of living; to accumulate health and vitality instead of disease and degeneration—these things I look upon as simple elementary measures in preparation for either war or peace.

LONGER AND MORE EFFECTIVE LIVING

Louis J. Rettger, Ph.D., Professor of Physiology, Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute

Longer and more effective living,—this seems at first glance a subject helplessly vague and broad and impossible of direct attack. A little reflection, however, shows that such is not the case. That it is possible by knowledge and forethought to increase the length and the efficiency of human life is evidenced by the decreasing death rate everywhere where such knowledge and forethought are practically applied. We no longer need to discuss whether we are able or not to add to the fullness of human life. That this problem within large bounds is within our own hands explains this very convention itself. But as it is a possibility it thereby becomes a duty. And it is with this sense of obligation to a great and common cause entirely possible that the writer wishes to re-emphasize one point as vital in this campaign. To make human life longer and more effective is a work that will touch intimately every phase of individual and social endeavor. A thousand things will have to work together to bring this hope to pass. It will enlist the co-operation of every insti-

tution of civilized society. No single program can be devised big enough to bring success. Literally the entire machinery of society will have to move together as one great common power to achieve the desired end.

It is, however, possible to group the leading factors in this fight for a fuller common life under three heads, co-ordinate divisions of the entire army of attack. Failure on the part of a single group to do its work effectively and well will undo even the good of the other groups. To be intensely partisan for the development of any one of these groups and indifferent to the others is to be disloyal to the high purpose common to all of them.

The first factor in such a campaign for longer and more effective living is original investigation and research. Knowledge, scientific and accurate, is the only guide that will lead us in the right direction. The investigating scholar in the field of disease and preventive medicine is the pioneer who must blaze the trail along which all the rest of us must march. Ascertained facts are the only trustworthy guide-posts along the road which we wish to take. A movement is a forward movement only when it takes us in the direction we ought to go. We must find an enemy and locate him to save a useless loss of artillery and ammunition. To fire at random is little better than not firing at all. It is therefore, of the utmost importance to give to all forms of original investigation and research not only our own approval, but the substantial approval of the public at large, without which in the long run the highest results are impossible. Here lies still an important duty. The public, usually impatient for quick results, looks with indifference and often distrust upon the slowly moving, quiet investigator, unwilling to come to premature conclusions. The illiterate and unscientific charlatan, propounding his guesses in newspaper advertisements or on the village street corner has a public hearing far superior to the careful scholar publishing his investigations.

The achievements of investigation and research in the domain of health have of late years called forth the wonder and admiration of the world. They certainly justify us in looking forward hopefully to the achievements of the future for much needs still to be done. In spite of the knowledge we have, we still need light on a thousand problems. We are still in the dark about some of the conditions that affect even the commonest of diseases. Cancer lies before us unexplained. The laws of heredity and their significance in human life are far from being definitely

formulated. The science of human behavior lies in the future. The physiologist has recently caught glimpses of new continents extremely inviting, but almost wholly uncharted.

It is a fitting thing that such a group of workers as this conference represents should give substantial encouragement to scholars in laboratories and institutes everywhere, who must light the torches by which we must find our way.

The second group consists of those persons informed and expert in their way, who shall take the findings of research and investigation and adapt them to practical needs. In the case of the army they are not the guides who blaze the trails, they are the general staff who determine the issue of the battle. This convention is such a group. Research may give us knowledge, but even knowledge is impotent unless properly harnessed to social needs. It is the high function of this and similar conferences to sift knowledge, to weigh evidence, to select the strategic points at which our knowledge shall be applied. How to use what we know, to make it dynamic for the criminal, the delinquent, the defective and the sick, this is a tremendous problem no less important than the other. How to use our knowledge to make it pointed and dynamic for the fit and the well has not yet so fully interested us, but will some day be the supreme problem of all.

It is certainly a fine comment upon the highmindedness and wisdom of our land that makes such a conference as this has been, possible. It is as valuable in the life of a people as a council of war to an army or a meeting of business directors to a chamber of commerce. It is a clearing-house of ideas.

The two groups so far have done their work well. Would that this could be said of the third and remaining group. It is in connection with the failure of the third group that the writer wishes to make a single point. Scholars may make discoveries and conferences may deliberate, and yet all amount to relatively little if the great world of folks is largely left untouched. Guides and scouts may blaze a trail through the enemy's country, a war council may formulate a grand plan of battle, but victory never comes until the great army itself has carried out this plan of battle and pushed its conquests over the blazed trails. A plan of battle amounts to something only when it sets an army in motion. Here is the serious gap, as I see it, in our present situation. Investigation is fifty years ahead of its general public adoption. Conferences discuss and devise plans which common indifference will block for a decade of years. This

does not mean at all that no public progress has been made. It would be an insult to the common intelligence of people to deny them a growing appreciation of the new order of things. Let us note with hope and gratitude that in almost every community there is an increasing group of forward-looking men and women, often college-bred, who are giving their time and their energy to bring in a better day. There is no question at all about the fact that there is a social leaven in society that will some day happily leaven the whole lump. But it does mean that the great majority of men and women everywhere move and live on, largely unconscious of the stirring questions of social reform.

With the very best intentions, charity and philanthropy have busied themselves almost exclusively with individuals. To feed, to clothe, to shelter, to correct, to reform, these duties have taken most of our time. We have been busied with the *final products* of our social fabric. We have played the part of the ambulance after the accident has happened, and we have been kept on the run most of the time. Quite frequently too, these persons whom we have helped seemed largely ignorant of the real cause of the danger that had overtaken them. Too much of our work has been like the hospital work for patients, too far advanced to be curable.

Have we not means at hand to catch these social delinquents in the incipient stage or better still, before they have been infected at all? I think we have one agency whose possibilities for good have never yet been properly tested. This is the common school, including the high school. The writer has the honor of being a teacher. Very naturally he is prone to look at problems from an educational angle. You will, therefore, excuse a possible faulty perspective.

When the miserable drunkard stands before the police judge a veritable social wreck, the thought occurs that this man was probably for years a school-boy. Season after season he sat before teachers, read his books and recited his lessons, not materially different from the average boy. Does it not seem hard to understand how after eight or twelve years of such instruction, he stands finally a complete wreck before the court, with not a single worthy ideal left? The delinquent and the criminal were only a few years ago ordinary school children. Without asking that every such delinquent and criminal be wholly saved, could not the instruction and educational guidance for so many years have been adapted in part to have saved during their plastic years a larger proportion?

But the writer is a student of biology, and appreciates the criticism that may be made that all these qualities are primarily an integral part of the heredity constitution, a veritable yellow streak through the tissues not fundamentally affected by the externals of the schoolroom. Then let us turn to purely informational matters in which heredity influences do not exert such a determining action. Innumerable persons suffer from the handicaps of impure air in their homes or offices, who only a few years ago graduated from the local high school. Indeed, they may still be enrolled as students without discovering the inconsistency of their situation. Consumption claims each year many persons who finished only recently the whole high school course with signal honors in scholarship. The young women with shattered health is not infrequently pointed out as the prize student, who delivered the valedictory address at her commencement. Typhoid fever is endemic in communities that have had a consolidated school many seasons, and epidemics of children's diseases flourish in places where apparently high-grade instruction goes on nine months in the year.

The point here is not to hold the school entirely responsible for the unfortunate health situation. This would be unjust. It is to remind us, however, that too frequently the school drags mechanically on in its formal academic routine unconscious of the call for service which the world of life around is sending mutely to its doors.

The regrettable fact is that much of our health instruction in the grades is formal and perfunctory. The lesson in physiology is too often a bookish performance, devoid of genuine substance and lacks that serious earnestness that carries the lesson beyond the class-room into the practical life of the pupil. Reaching the high school, the subject of physiology is absent altogether, and matters of health are touched only now and then in some general talk or morning exercise. He may have a course in zoology that will deal with every animal except man himself. His course in chemistry will introduce him to innumerable new compounds except the foods that he will see daily on his table. In his course in botany he will probably fail to see a single culture tube of disease producing germs. In his mathematics he may have learned to determine areas and volumes at a glance, but never have had one practical experiment to determine when his own room is thoroughly disinfected. He may know the laws of hydrostatics, but probably not the simple tests whether his own well water is fit to drink. He may know how

electric impulses are transmitted by wireless apparatus, but he has never fully sensed how epidemics move by contact. He knows the rate of discount in commercial matters, but the rate of infant mortality of his own state is a surprise when he learns it later.

The writer wishes in no way to be understood as condemning in a wholesale way the health instruction now given in our schools. To do so would be merely to show ignorance of the innumerable schools where effective and high-grade teaching in this field obtains. In fact, the greatly decreasing death rate from contagious diseases is due in no small part to the general campaign which has been waged against these diseases. Even now the enlistment of the school children against the fly is almost nation-wide. The danger of the common drinking cup and the infected towel, and other similar matters have been pretty generally pointed out, and there are few school children wholly ignorant of the common fight against infection. This is, indeed, good as far as it has gone; but the point to this paper is to urge the necessity of using the great instrument of the school in still more telling ways.

We must add to the simple, concrete and external facts a deeper discussion of the fundamental issues that have to do with longer and more effective living. The ordinary, well-marked, acute cases of infectious diseases we are getting in hand, but practically nothing has yet been done in the way of instruction that deals with those more insidious forms of infection which steal unobserved through the tissues and produce the thousand-and-one forms of chronic ill health. We have so far largely failed to explain what the slowly developing conditions are that cause the final breakdown of some vital internal organ. The necessity for eternal vigilance in the matter of careful periodic examinations of the body is appreciated by few. We have in part learned to avoid the open well as a focus of typhoid infection, but the foci that form and slowly develop in our own bodies through a lapse of years are not yet sufficiently brought to our attention. We have succeeded partially in diminishing disease, but chronic ill health has not been attacked with sufficient vigor. We have had much to say about inflamed tonsils and adenoids, and surely no fault can be found with this, but we have so far said little in our instruction about lesions of the heart, faulty blood vessels and deranged kidneys. Indeed, it is only the expert who sees in the final collapse of some of these internal organs any connection at all with bacterial infection

and germ invasion. Thus it is, as you have been told, while we may help the young person, perhaps, to escape the acute infection of well-marked disease, we leave him unprotected against the insidious and slowly-moving attacks of chronic derangement that overwhelm him in middle life.

Would it not be eminently fitting that some of the earnest contributions presented at this conference and here reaching only a relatively small public, should find a definite and permanent place in our schools, where they would in the course of a few years reach an entire generation? Here is an institution already planned and developed and deeply entrenched behind public approval, and with a great army of instructors planted in every hamlet and village of the country. Could anything be more effective than the capture of this institution for these worthy ends? Shall we save the most earnest speakers and give our finest contributions to the occasional public lecture, and overlook the innumerable little audiences that gather every school day? Shall we print our most stimulating essays and articles in current magazines that enjoy only a partial distribution, and fail to include their essence in books which we place on our pupils' desks?

At present we are in the midst of a veritable uproar for adequate instruction in vocational and industrial subjects. It may be well that this is so. A job is a very real and necessary thing for the grown man or woman. Industrial efficiency is a great public asset, and the public has shown its wisdom in pressing the schools into this service. But health is the very cornerstone of industrial and every other type of efficiency. No matter how well the man does his work, if he breaks down in the midst of his duties, incapacitated by chronic ill-health, it is a waste both of life and business efficiency. Let us, therefore, teach the man not only his job, but also the conditions of living wherby he may be able to do his work during the most telling and productive years of his life. We have the entire future generation now before us in daily sessions, from the immature child in the first grade to the senior in the high school, practically grown and matured. Let us, with a new and high devotion, teach them *now* those simple but important things which will make actual with them longer and more effective living.

VENEREAL DISEASES IN THEIR RELATION TO PRIVATE AND PUBLIC HEALTH*

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It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the relation of the venereal diseases to public and private health constitutes one of the most serious problems in the domain of public health. This is true because:

First, these diseases are most frequently associated with the intimate moral and social life of the individual.

Second, they have always been and are now regarded as legitimate secrets which must be respected, no matter what the consequences to the individual and the public may be.

Third, they have always been and are now regarded as loathsome and disgraceful. They are not understood by the public, and are, therefore, ignorantly feared by some and disregarded by others.

Fourth, they are exceedingly prevalent.

Fifth, they are less destructive in their acute than in their chronic stages.

Sixth, they have not been placed in their proper category as they relate to the public health, because there has not been a public sentiment which would support the health officer in his efforts to control them.

Seventh, they are generally not properly treated.

We have first of all to ask ourselves whether or not any or all of the above facts justify and excuse our failure properly and efficiently to deal with venereal infections as public health problems. It must not be forgotten that the first reason why we have difficulty in dealing with these diseases is the inseparable relation which they bear to the morality of the individual.

It is a somewhat vulgar notion that venereal infections are the just reward for sexual immorality. Also, they have never been discussed by the laity from a scientific point of view because they were regarded as strictly private matters. But our enlightenment cannot longer tolerate diseases which constitute important social matters because they are related to the morality of the individual. It is quite important, therefore, for us to insist that the discussion of these diseases should be from the point

*Section meeting, Thursday, May 11, 11:00 A. M.

of view of public and individual physical and mental health. We have fortunately seen a remarkable change in the attitude of many people toward this question and we are encouraged to believe that we shall soon see the prejudice and erroneous notions, which have prevented a sane view of venereal diseases, broken down. Our effort must be directed constantly toward the building up of an intelligent hygiene which will inspire a desire and even a passion for sound physical and mental health. And from this point of view we must teach the facts concerning venereal diseases just as we teach facts concerning other serious infections. We have abundant material upon which to base our instruction, but it is not my purpose to detail the stages of the venereal diseases and the subsequent pathological changes which may occur. Every social worker, however, should be familiar with certain facts which would help him in discussing venereal diseases, just as he ought to know certain things concerning tuberculosis and typhoid fever, which he may impart to the laymen with the probability of the latter understanding enough to help him to save himself from these infections.

We must regard venereal diseases as social problems rather than as medical—or perhaps I ought to say, as social-medical problems. We have not entirely passed out of the time when the person who had the disease was regarded as of much more importance than persons who did not have the disease, and we have seen the tragedies of these infections following a failure on the part of the physician to protect the wife or perhaps the husband.

From our point of view these diseases are neither loathsome nor disgraceful. We must see them as enemies of the physical and mental health and therefore legitimate subjects of investigation.

Against these facts, however, there exist the following considerations: First, the causes of these diseases are accurately known; second, the modes of dissemination are well-known; third, they are almost entirely preventable; again, they are curable; and lastly, they are completely controllable.

These two sets of facts lead us to ask the question, What are the important things to do, and how shall we do them?

First, we must make the knowledge concerning these diseases familiar to both the individual and the public. We must be so persistent in our educational effort that no intelligent person can truthfully allege that he does not know or that he never had the opportunity to learn. Every one of us has met confessions of

ignorance, sometimes even from unexpected sources. We must remember, however, that many persons excuse themselves by alleging ignorance, when as a matter of fact there was sufficient knowledge. But we must invoke every educational agency which can in any way disseminate that knowledge concerning venereal infection which would at least make it impossible for the individual truthfully to say that he did not know. Of course, not one of us is so unsophisticated as to believe that knowledge alone will save the individual; but, on the other hand, we cannot quite discharge our duty to the public until we have recognized the very great value of information concerning these particular diseases. However, the educational effort which has been going on now for quite a while has well-nigh accomplished its purpose.

It becomes imperative, therefore, for us to do something specific. A mere educational program which has no well-defined path to follow fails to get itself worked out effectually in the life of the individual and that of the public. I feel today, therefore, that it is my duty to break with those who seem to have the conviction that we must still educate and inform people, but we must not attempt to deal with these diseases in any specific and legal way. I believe I appreciate something of the very great importance of educational propaganda, and yet I do not believe that we can well control typhoid fever, for instance, without specific and fairly accurate methods of study, of accumulation of facts and of co-operative action of those who are immediately concerned. I have nothing new to suggest concerning the methods of education. I think that for the most part these have been and are sane and successful. Notwithstanding this fact, we have, of course, a very great prevalence of venereal diseases. However, we must remember that a decade is a relatively short period in the life of a state. There are surely many more men and women today than in former days who not only know but really act in their own defense and that of others. It is a pleasure to say that the organizations which have the function of disseminating knowledge, and the people for the most part who have engaged in this work, have done well.

The specific things which must be done now are, in my opinion:

First, the proper classification of venereal diseases in the public health office. Venereal diseases should be reported to the health office just as faithfully as are typhoid fever and tuberculosis. So far as I can see, there is not the slightest reason why this should not be done. I must disagree with those who seem to have the idea that it is the function of society to pro-

tect from embarrassment the man who has the disease and who is therefore a potential source of danger to those about him. There are today, so far as I know, very few states which require the physician or any one else to report in any way the existence of venereal diseases. And perhaps in those communities in which there is a requirement that venereal diseases must be reported to the health officers, the statistics are quite incomplete and unreliable. It is singular that the public has so long permitted itself to be deprived of the very great advantage of accurate statistics of venereal diseases.

It has been suggested that a requirement that physicians report venereal diseases would defeat its own purpose. I cannot say whether this would be true or not, simply because it has never been tried. And yet, suppose that it is true. Much less than ten years ago not a third as many cases of tuberculosis were reported in the office of the department of public health of Indianapolis as are reported today. The law existed, however, and people evaded it for one reason or another, but without the law it would have been impossible to require the physician to report the case. Consequently, we would not have a record of any value today. All sorts of compromises have been suggested to reduce what would seem to be the rigor of an accurate report of a venereal disease. I must again dissent from the view which men have that we should be satisfied with the mere number of cases, and that we should not expect to secure anything like an accurate record. Why not? We require the obstetrician to report the birth of a child, no matter whether it is legitimate or otherwise. And all the facts, such as the names of the mother and her parents and the absence of the name of the father are to be found on the health records. And yet there are those who say that we shall not report venereal diseases because people would not want their names known to the public health officials. This is an absurdity which has successfully postponed from year to year the requirements which we shall sooner or later have, that all venereal diseases shall be reported, just as other infectious diseases, to the public health office.

I am willing, therefore, to say publicly that I do not believe there is a single valid argument against the complete and accurate reporting of the existence of venereal infection. Perhaps I should answer the question as to how we shall get the report. We shall get it in precisely the same way that we get other reports. It is a well-known historic fact that when we first required the report of cases of tuberculosis there was a most vehement protest in behalf of the patient who might be injured

by the information which the health officials were given. Yet we have steadily insisted that the public welfare demanded that we should have as accurate a record as possible of all cases of tuberculosis. In enlightened communities there is no objection made at the present time. We shall then concentrate our efforts upon the task of securing those legal enactments which may be necessary to warrant the health official in requiring the physician to report venereal diseases. And any reasonable man must ultimately come to believe that the advantage to society is quite worth while, and that the disadvantage to the individual is entirely negligible.

It is not primarily for the purpose of segregating or quarantining the victim of the disease that we wish to have a report of his infection; but rather, that we shall provide ourselves with certain absolutely essential information in our efforts to prevent the spread of these diseases. We have now a vague and indefinite knowledge concerning their prevalence. We know that they are exceedingly common. And yet nobody knows whether we are making a good or bad guess as to how many people there are who have the diseases. I do not think they are as common as people generally believe. The physician whose practice is limited to the treatment of these diseases is very likely to conclude that nearly all men and women are victims. We ought therefore to settle this point because, as we know, one of the most important steps in the control of any infection is to learn how widespread is is. I think that the statistics will be very inaccurate and unreliable for quite a while. Yet I am confident that the time will come when the cases will be just as accurately and faithfully reported as are the cases of typhoid fever at present.

The next specific thing which I think we must accomplish is the thorough treatment of venereal diseases. As I have already said, these diseases are more destructive in their sequential than in their acute stages. This is unfortunate, perhaps, from the point of view of public health. Diseases that are violent in their on-set, and speedily destructive and frequently fatal, get themselves promptly and thoroughly attended to; while those diseases which are practically never fatal in their acute stages, but pass into chronicity without any very great inconvenience or damage to the individual, are very likely to be improperly managed. This is just exactly where the very great danger of venereal diseases, so far as the public is concerned, lies. In their chronic stages these infections are readily transmissible, and the victim himself is often ignorant of the danger which he bears to others.

The facilities, however, for the treatment of these diseases in public and private hospitals are notoriously inadequate. This is utterly deplorable, because every victim of a venereal disease should really be hospitalized so that he may be properly treated and rendered innocuous before he again mingles with the public. One may object that this is an extreme position to take, but I am willing to defend it because I am thoroughly convinced that the man with a chronic venereal infection is much more dangerous than the man with an acute venereal infection; also, because these diseases are much more difficult to cure when they become chronic than when they are acute or sub-acute. It is a very common thing for the physician to attempt to place a patient with acute infection in our private and semi-public hospitals. But it is almost impossible for these hospitals to admit such cases, because there is a feeling, as I have already stated, that persons carrying these infections are to be shunned.

I believe, therefore, that every municipal hospital should be thoroughly equipped for the treatment of these diseases. I believe also that the private hospitals, when it is possible for them to do so, should make proper provision for the admission of these cases. My views are based not only upon an interest in the individual who is so unfortunate as to have acquired these infections, but also my concern for those who may become victims through the ignorance of both the person who was infected and the innocent one. No one knows how many women have been infected by their husbands who believed that they had long since lost every trace of these diseases. Now, this train of misery could be almost entirely prevented by thorough treatment of the individual.

I am inclined to believe, therefore, that of the three specific things that are necessary to do, the thorough treatment of the patient is the most important. I believe that more tragedies are due to improper treatment than to any other failure which we make in the entire scheme of controlling venereal diseases. The dispensary treatment of these diseases may be efficient, but it is likely not to be. However, we must improve such provisions as are made in public dispensaries in order that they may be as efficient as possible. Every patient should be treated in the most thorough manner, no matter what the cost. The public should be, and doubtless is, willing to provide for the complete management of those having venereal diseases who cannot pay for their treatment. I think this is just as important, and may be more so, than the public treatment of tuberculosis.

The difficulty which attends our efforts to convince those who have chronic syphilis and gonorrhea that their treatment must be continued until the diseases have been thoroughly eradicated is well-known to all physicians and social workers. And yet, the social worker meets chronic syphilis as a daily and ever-present problem. Clearly, there ought to be some simple and effective way of getting skillful and complete management of such cases. It is evident that the person who is engaged in social work must have a kind of support which he does not now possess in his efforts to bring the victim and the physician together, and to hold them together until the former is cured. This object may, perhaps, be accomplished somewhat more readily when those having venereal diseases learn that they cannot readily find employment so long as they are capable of transmitting their diseases. It is worth while, therefore, to encourage employers to refuse work to such persons. It may occur to us that the aggressive and persistent effort to secure thorough treatment for those having chronic venereal diseases will cost a great deal of money. And yet, there would doubtless be a very great reduction in the cost of caring for those who will become hopelessly damaged by these diseases. It seems to me, therefore, that we ought to have a rather definite program to follow. The first thing to accomplish is the prevention of these diseases. The second is their thorough treatment. We need certain legal enactments to help us in accomplishing both objects.

I would suggest that there be a more or less united effort in those states where it is possible to get a hearing at all, to convince health officials and legislatures that the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases depends more upon certain moral and legal provisions at the present time than upon any other thing. Compromises will doubtless have to be made, but the placing of venereal diseases in their proper category as they relate to the public health should be the one thing which we must strive ultimately to accomplish. We need to show that those who are infected cannot be injured in any way by the application of recognized means of prevention in so far as is possible in the case of venereal diseases; and further, the consideration of the individual should not balance the demands for protection of the public. Again, the legislative branch of the city government should be requested to make sufficient appropriation and provision for the proper treatment in municipal hospitals and dispensaries of venereal infections. And, lastly, there should be a vigorous campaign against the employment, under certain conditions, of persons who have these diseases.

VENEREAL DISEASES IN THEIR RELATION TO PUBLIC AND INDIVIDUAL HEALTH*

Walter Clarke, Field Secretary, American Social Hygiene Association, Chicago

Among the most important contributions, during the past year, to the literature regarding various phases of social hygiene have been the Report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, appointed in 1913, to inquire into the prevalence of venereal disease in the United Kingdom of Great Britain; the report of the Detroit Health Department of an investigation of 224 prostitutes; the report of a study of records of the Lakeside Dispensary of Cleveland, published in the *Cleveland Medical Journal* (March, 1916); and a recent report of the Syracuse Morals Survey Committee.

In the Report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, all the best measures which are being experimented with in American cities are presented. The provision of adequate facilities for early diagnosis and treatment of venereal diseases, is suggested as the most promising line of attack. Reporting of venereal diseases is not recommended until experience has been gained in the operation of modern facilities for diagnosis and treatment, but the Commission recommends amendments to the registration laws, which would provide for confidential registration of causes of death, and for "privileged communications" by a physician to "a parent, guardian, or other person directly interested in the welfare of a woman or man, and with the object of preventing or delaying the marriage with a person who is in an infectious condition from venereal disease." Especial importance is attached to the establishment of a uniform system of records of the venereally diseased in hospitals, statistics of the number of patients for whom salvarsan is provided at public expense, and similar data.

The Detroit Board of Health made a study of 224 prostitutes applying to the Municipal Venereal Clinic during the period January to March, 1916. Ninety-four per cent of the prostitutes applying were afflicted with recent or uncured venereal disease. The report points out a number of obvious conclusions: Venereal diseases are spread, in the vast majority of cases, by illicit sexual intercourse; inmates of well known houses of prostitution are only a partial factor in the prevalence of venereal diseases;

*Author's summary.

repeated illicit intercourse will result in gonorrheal or syphilitic infection in ninety-four per cent of cases; illicit intercourse as a "health" measure is a sad anomaly in the light of the above figures.

The study of the records of the Lakeside Dispensary offers interesting figures upon male applicants for the treatment of venereal diseases during the eight months preceding and eight months following the close of the segregated district. For the eight months preceding the close of the district, 112 cases (exclusive of women, old infections, and infections acquired outside of Cleveland) of syphilis were recorded. For the eight months following the close, only 18 comparable cases were recorded. In this study, proper care seems to have been given to the elimination of sources of error in comparing the two periods. "From the standpoint of public health," the article states, "the closing of Cleveland's vice district was certainly wise."

The Report of the Syracuse Morals Survey Committee adds support to the conclusions at which the study of the Lakeside records arrive. Since 1910 there has been a reduction of more than one-quarter in the volume of gonorrhea, and of nearly one-half in the volume of syphilis. The main reduction in syphilis followed the closing of the segregated district; the main reduction in gonorrhea followed the improved control of the liquor traffic and the suppression of disorderly houses and drinking places where men and women congregate.

As the serious study of venereal diseases in relation to public and individual health progresses, it is becoming more evident that immediate and adequate establishments for the diagnosis and treatment of these diseases is the first essential; that, secondly, every effort should be made not only to promote continence as the greatest factor in personal prophylaxis, but also to disseminate knowledge concerning the venereal diseases and their methods of spreading, together with steady efforts toward the development of public opinion in support of the reporting of these diseases to the proper health authorities. Lastly, unremitting efforts are required for the suppression of commercialized prostitution, the elimination of alcoholic drinks, and the upbuilding of ample facilities for wholesome play and recreation as among the most important factors conducive to healthful and normal living.

DISCUSSION: The following named delegates took part in the informal discussion: W. E. Edgin, Washington, D. C.; Frederick H. Whitin, New York; A. R. Gephart, Spokane; Dr. F. E. Fronczak, Buffalo.

INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE*

Emery R. Hayhurst, M.D., Director, Division of Industrial Hygiene, Ohio State Board of Health; Assistant Professor of Hygiene (Industrial), Ohio State University, Columbus

The subject of Industrial Hygiene must appeal to the American people as vital to the internal development of our country and the placing of its industries in a position in which they are able to compete with those of any other country in the world. The truth is, that in these matters we are far behind some of the European nations. On account of the newness of the country, we have misled ourselves into believing that we have no retrograde conditions.

A state-wide survey of these features in Ohio in which over 1,000 establishments, employing 235,000 wage earners, were covered, showed to an astonishing degree our limited development in these matters.[1]

We begin to be industrious the day we begin to do something steadily with the object of gain or acquisition before us. Hence, industry in this country usually dates from the first day of school. *Industrial hygiene* is made up of the environments and methods of industry, whether such application is schooling or so-called "gainful" occupation.

To my mind, hygiene is the keystone of efficiency and production. It covers the relation between man and his environment; or, more strictly speaking, between physiology and concrete facts. Industrial hygiene, of itself, covers (1) the state of perfection of sanitary equipment in the plant—this is *factory sanitation;* (2) the state of physiologic perfection of the worker—this is dependent upon information collected by means of physical examinations; and (3) the extent of knowledge and practice of personal hygiene—this is conservation of health and energies, and is controlled by both employer and employe. It is only by a well-co-ordinated interaction between these three fundamentals that industrial hygiene may stand for efficiency, production and happiness, rather than for inefficiency, loss[2] and suffering.

The results of several years of field experience with the elements concerned in work-place sanitation and hygiene has convinced me that all deleterious agencies are best conceived of as *health-hazards,* and that the proper method of measuring them is to accept, so far as possible, the standards which have been laid

*Section meeting, Friday, May 12, 9:15 A. M.

down by sanitarians and research workers in this and other fields, and to analyze industries by them, remembering that these hazards may be those of geographical location, of work-space environment, or of the occupation, itself.

I submit the following summary as an analysis of the subject of Industrial Hygiene. It will be found that this covers the school-house, the office and the store, as well as the manufacturing plant or mine. Whether such a place is producing all that it is capable of doing depends upon the prevalence of any or all of the following health-hazards within it: (1) the extent of the devitalizing character of the working atmosphere; (2) the physical, mental and moral inhibitions resulting from disordered, dirty, or unkempt surroundings; (3) the qualities of the illumination; (4) the extent of visible particulate matter in the working atmosphere; (5) the extent and manipulations of poisons, whether in solid, liquid, or gaseous form; (6) the extent of communicable diseases and the risk of simple infections; (7) the exposure to extremes of temperature; (8) the exposure to extremes of humidity; (9) the exposure to extremes of atmospheric pressure; and (10) the state of the equipment for satisfying the natural desires and requirements, such as thirst, hunger, toilet and washing facilities, sleep, recreation, etc. To the above should be added three more health-hazards which concern physical equipment, physiologic perfection, and personal hygiene all combined. These are (11) exhaustion from fatiguing applications and ignorance of how to keep from getting tired; (12) lethargy from inactivity; and (13) the extent of the inducements to stimulantism or the desire for stimulants—always unnatural in the healthy person.

In making a survey of industrial hygiene, whether confined to a single plant, or to an industry, or to an entire state, the individual occupations should be investigated in respect to each and all of the above named industrial health hazards. This method of inquiry should be followed, whether the inquirer be a representative of the public service, of an insurance service, of a self-appointed factory efficiency service, or of a treatment and relief service. Only by so doing may the methods of all be standardized,—a highly desirable end, since all are seeking the same object, *viz.*, less waste and greater efficiency. Also, to facilitate work in various industries and occupations, a standard nomenclature should be adopted, such as that of the United States Census, *Index to Occupations, Alphabetical and Classified.*

A discussion of the most feasible measures of determining and counteracting the effects of each of the above hazards is next in order.

Devitalizing Air

Sanitarians and physiologists have in the past few years pointed out that "bad air" has one or more properties of the following character, any and all of which may be found in working places:[3]

1. *Stagnation:* This means a lack of circulation of the air present. This single feature probably affects a greater total of workers the year around than any other single hazard. Stagnation especially differentiates indoor atmosphere from outdoor atmosphere. The circulation of the air current has been shown to tone up the human system by striking the skin, thus improving the blood flow by impact, evaporation of moisture and removing the "envelope of heat" which is given off by the living body and constantly surrounds it. The velocity of the air movement is an important matter. As a standard, it may vary from a just perceptible and refreshing breath in the case of the inactive worker, i.e., a matter of 5 to 10 feet per second, to many times this for active workers.[4] To accomplish this, air movement systems may be considered as of two kinds: (a) ventilation systems, which introduce fresh air; (b) re-circulation systems, which simply keep that air moving which is present. The electric fan is a common illustration of the latter. The open window and the use of window-boards are examples of the simplest methods of the former. Finally, there may be a combination of the two systems with hardly any end of elaboration.[7]

2. *Room temperature*: Invariably, artificial room temperature is set much too high for the vast majority of our indoor workers in this country. It should not run above 68° for rooms occupied by sedentary workers, while from 60 to 65° is ideal for quarters occupied by active workers. Where the extra expense involved in useless over-heating does not appeal to some employers, there is no more potent argument than to point out that "the cool condition, therefore, showed an excess of 15% in actual physical work performed over the 75° condition, and an excess of 37% over the 86° condition."[5]

3. *Dryness*: Personal observation causes me to emphasize this feature of devitalizing air as one which obtains in practically all interiors heated by stoves, furnaces, hot water or steam systems. Throughout the closed-up seasons of the year, the relative humidity in most workplace interiors in the temperate zones remains much less than 40%, indeed often much less than that of the great deserts. While investigators have not yet demonstrated that dry air is in fact harmful (we know, too, that persons are

sent to our arid regions to be cured of certain afflictions), there can be no doubt that the alternations from relatively high humidity out of doors to this extremely dry condition within doors which causes violent intumescence, irritation and discharge from the breathing membranes, is a most potent factor in the matter of respiratory diseases of head, throat and chest. The average normal humidity out of doors in the temperate zone on a fair day is 70% of total saturation; indoors, it certainly would do no harm if it were as high as 60%. Artificial humidification thus becomes a necessity for practically all interiors, on cold weather days. An exception, of course, would be where processes themselves develop humidity; also where ventilation, i.e., fresh air ingress, is unusually free [6] and the expense of heating is no factor—a rare situation. Even this would not suffice on particularly cold days, because of the lack of enough moisture in the fresh air itself after it has been raised to a working temperature. It may take from 10 to 20 gallons of water per day to humidify properly the atmosphere for a six-room house.[8] A relative humidity of about 50% is considered about ideal and practical. The wet and dry bulb thermometer should take the place of the ordinary thermometer. This instrument is called a "hygrometer," while the "sling psychrometer" is considered as its most accurate form.[9] The many devices for humidifying work rooms, usually in connection with the heating apparatus, cannot be gone into here.[7] It should be pointed out, however, that few, if any, pan and water systems will evaporate the amount of water which is needed.

4. A fourth feature of the atmosphere is the amount of its *contamination* with particulate matter such as may be seen, for instance, suspended in the path of a ray of light, but is otherwise *invisible dust.* Whipple[10] has pointed out that as much as 18,000 particles of particulate matter per cubic foot can be counted in the supposedly pure air some miles out over the surface of the ocean, and some 27,000 particles at the height of the Woolworth tower in New York city. The irritating effect of any unusual increase in this fine particulate matter should be determined, and standards concerning it should be adopted.

5. Slight *chemical changes* in the gases composing the air, or the addition to the air of gases, fumes or vapors, may or may not be serious factors in air conditions. While open gas burners, as in soldering rooms, ironing and pressing establishments, furnace rooms, etc., may endanger the oxygen content of the air for breathing purposes, it is quite evident that this oxygen hazard is rare under the usual conditions. The findings of recent investigators [3] have clearly shown that the amount of oxygen which a

number of persons may use up in an inhabited room in several hours' time, under ordinary circumstances, has no effect upon the health. This because the partial pressure of this gas in the outside air is of sufficient amount to maintain a fairly stable equilibrium of the same wherever the slightest chances for leakage obtain. Also, the amount of carbon dioxide and other gaseous emanations which a number of persons gathered in a room may add to the atmosphere, under ordinary circumstances, has no effect upon the health, except that the appetite may, perhaps, be somewhat decreased. From this, human beings do not cause chemical changes in the air about them to an extent which is damaging to health, unless, perhaps, a large number of persons are closely confined, as in the Black Hole of Calcutta incident; and even here, stagnation, temperature and humidity were probably potent factors in the cause of death. The depressing effects of a "close" room are not, therefore, matters of chemistry but of physics. It is the recognition of this principle which is the basis for re-circulation systems of ventilation.

6. *Pollution of the air*: A person with a communicable disease of the respiratory passages may pollute the air in his immediate vicinity with the germs of his disease by coughing, sneezing, talking and the like. It has also been shown that in crowded rooms the percentage of streptococci and other disease-producing germs [10] is very much increased, while dust and moisture particles may act as the means of transmitting them. However, direct pollution of the air is not considered, at the present time, as of much importance in the spread of communicable diseases, since the germs are apparently rapidly killed by the action of light and drafts. A person must needs be in the zone of mediate contact—a matter of a very few feet—and probably for an appreciable length of time, to receive enough concentration of disease-producing organisms from the air to break down his local resistance to their entry into the body. Most so-called "air-borne diseases" are really caught by contact with, or continued close approach to persons carrying the germs. Such "carriers" may not themselves be sick and may, also, be in total ignorance of their own menace. Prevention lies in the avoidance of touching persons as much as possible; also in keeping beyond the breathing range; and, finally, in the ordinary precaution of washing the hands often to prevent carrying disease propagators picked up here and there to the face and mouth. Flies and other insects are also a common form of aerial pollution. Increased personal resistance, physical examinations and the abolishing of crowded

work rooms appear to be the chief means of counteracting these hazards.

7. *Objectionable odors*: For some workers (oil-blast furnacemen, fertilizer workers, chemical workers, etc.), nauseating odors may endanger health by affecting the appetite, causing mucous gastritis, or causing the actual vomiting of food.[11] Where odors alone are concerned, usually only particularly susceptible persons are affected. Ventilation, confinement, spraying or burning may be used to overcome these nuisances.

Disorder of the Workplace

Lack of cleanliness, accumulations of rubbish and dirt constitute definite health-hazards in a number of ways: (1) Generally speaking, dirt and disease co-exist;[12] (2) a "dirty" place is the first place in which waste matters are accumulated and bodily excrements, especially sputum, are deposited; (3) how much dirt upon window panes, skylights, lamp globes, reflectors, walls and ceilings inhibits light and its distribution, is very little appreciated;[13] (4) waste accumulations tend to gather moisure and hence favor prolongation of germ life; (5) unkempt surroundings have a sub-conscious deteriorating effect upon the inclination to work and upon the ability to produce, and, particularly, upon the observance of health standards and health habits and morals by workers, both without as well as within the work place. The insistence upon a sanitary and orderly work environment is fundamentally economic from three points of view: physiologic, psychologic, and industrial output.

Illumination

Since it is impossible, and often undesirable, to do all work in daylight, it becomes necessary to observe certain standards for interior lighting.[13] Artificial lighting has one set of standards and natural lighting another. (1) As a general proposition, eye-workers require from 5 to 10 *foot-candles* of artificial light for ordinary eye-work.[14] The strength of daylight should be about three times this amount. Finer work requires more foot-candles of light focused upon the working plane. Where contamination of the air occurs, light is going to be obstructed. Diffused daylight and that reflected from the sky is better than sunlight. (2) In *color*, artificial light should simulate diffused skylight as much as possible, the Welsbach mantle or the tungsten electric lamp appearing to come nearest the ideal. (3) *Glare* must be carefully avoided by an intelligent comprehension of the angle of glare, the intensity of the intruding light, etc. How often do we see office and

factory workers seated facing the light! The vast amount of importance to be given to accessories, such as shades, reflectors, globes, color of working surfaces, etc., requires the services of a lighting expert, if for no other reason. Many times, proper positions and lighting accessories[15] enable the total expenditure for lighting to be greatly curtailed, and with an increased efficiency. (4) Again, a flickering or *unsteady* light can be just as fatiguing from its effects upon the human eyes as the most laborious work. (5) Absence of sharp *contrasts*[16] between lights and shadows may or may not be desirable. (6) Investigations in schools have shown the great influence of *clean windows*[17] upon the quantity of light, this influence amounting, perhaps, to as much as several hundred per cent in the amount available. (7) Dark colored walls and *surroundings* may absorb as much as seventy per cent. of the available light, whereas light colors absorb but little and reflect much.[13] Windows placed high give better light, because of increased exposure to sky surfaces. Window shades, therefore, should be attached at the bottom and pulled upward. (8) The *ratio* of window area to floor area should be about 1 to 4 for general interior lighting. (9) In buildings with extensive floor space this ratio will often be found greatly curtailed while machinery, shelving and benches often greatly limit or *obstruct* the amount of light present on working planes. (10) Occasionally, we find workers exposed to *intensely brilliant* lights without proper protection to the eyes and even to the skin. (11) When all of these features, indeed, are corrected, defective *eyesight* is so common that ocular examinations of workers is imperative. The great importance of proper illumination and good vision is shown in regard to the following wasteful results: accidents, eye-strain with its manifold accompanying health disasters, defective execution, defective product and decreased output.

Dust and Visible Particulate Matter

As an arbitrary standard it may be stated that the breathing of any form of ordinary non-irritating dust which is present in an amount able to be easily discerned by the naked vision for more than the total of an hour's time in the course of any one day will do damage to the respiratory tract of human beings.[18] It may be possible to put this on an exact numerical basis: for instance, the presence of more than 250,000 particles (one micron in size or larger) per cubic foot of air. The extent of the damage will be largely a personal factor. Mineral, metallic or poisonous dust may do damage in a much shorter time than this. Some-

thing is already known of the limits to which some of the more common forms of irritating dusts an individual may be subjected. The dust hazards is not always one upon the respiratory system. Three-fourths of dust breathed is swallowed,[19] thereby disturbing the digestive system. Furthermore, the skin, eyes and ear canals may be the principal parts to suffer.

Some of the most dangerous dust is that created by dry-sweeping, dusting or cleaning during working hours. The personal factor of carelessness is a most important one in the production of dust. Discipline is the cure for carelessness. Besides the usual principles of local exhaust ventilation, confinement, destruction by fire, laying by sprays, etc., attention should be directed to the dust bag collector and separator system and to the Cottrell electrical precipitation devices for both dust and vapor.[20] In those most hazardous occupations, sand-blasting and stone-cutting, a properly directed air blast placed near the face of the operator will practically free him from the dust hazard. Only as a last resort should workers be expected to wear respirators or helmets, and in this last case the helmets should be provided with tubes supplying pure air under forced pressure.[21] Limitation of the number of work hours needs serious consideration in many dusty trades.

Poisons

Were as much attention given to the effects upon health by poisons as is given to the methods and purposes for which they are used, poisons would be very little troublesome as health-hazards. As a rule, no poisons need to be dispensed with in industry simply because they are health-hazards, but all poisons should be absolutely removed from the possibility of damaging the health of the worker. Instead of this firm attitude, most employers, and, indeed, employes, prefer to withstand or tolerate as much as possible of the poisonous substances. Habituation to poisons should be lookd upon as entirely untenable since, with the exception of biologic poisons, no immunity is acquired to any poison. Systematic poisoning is undoubtedly a question of the concentration [22] of the noxious substances in the blood stream which, in turn, depends upon the resistance to absorption of the poison into the tissues and the capability of the eliminative organs to get rid of the same. The rule should be that persons exposed to a poison or the handling of a suspicious unknown substance should be selected first by physical examinations and thereafter carefully supervised and all minor health complaints investigated. Especially should personal hygiene be dwelt upon. Personal

peculiarities in regard to poisons are largely matters of personal hygiene, while the degree of physiological perfection or imperfection supplies the rest of the explanation. It is the employer's responsibility to see that his workers are properly instructed in regard to the use of poisons.[23] The toleration limits of many of the common poisons have been experimentally determined.[24] As examples, a few of them are given herewith. In questions of dispute, these figures should be considered in the light of standards (aerial concentration is meant):

Ammonia— .10 per cent will cause local symptoms.
.33 per cent can be tolerated for ½ hour.
1.00 per cent may be borne by habitual workers for varying intervals.
10.00 per cent may be fatal forthwith.

Benzine— .02 per litre will cause local symptoms.
.05 per litre is poisonous.

Benzol— .015 per litre will cause local symptoms.
.042 per litre will kill dogs in 20 minutes.

Carbon monoxide—
.05 per cent is slightly poisonous.
.25 per cent is dangerous to new workers.
.50 per cent is the limit to which habitual workers may expose themselves.

Lead Oxide—1/6th grain (estimated as lead) absorbed daily will produce symptoms in from 2 to 4 weeks.

Zinc Oxide— .007 grams in 30 litres of air produced in burning pure zinc will cause brass founder's ague.

In a similar manner, maximum limits of toleration for most of the poisons used in industry have been determined and are upon record. It behooves the respective industries and supervising agencies to ascertain these limits and to devise means to keep within them.

Infections

There are two kinds of infections which may endanger the health of workers: The first is non-contagious, such as blood poisoning and lockjaw, following wounds, burns, etc.; the second is that class of communicable diseases which may be spread by air convection, already discussed, but largely by actual contact (shaking hands, touching the person, etc.), and by soiled matter, polluted foods and drinks, and finally, the presence of the "carrier." Typhoid fever has proved a menace to thousands of workers in Ohio: In one place where strikebreakers were confined behind factory enclosures without proper sanitary arrangements; in another where the offal from a quarry district which was almost without sanitary provisions, eventually polluted the water supply; in others, through water connections which establishments have had with the city water supply [25] (the plants themselves using a polluted river or canal water for manufacturing purposes); etc. Trachoma (granulated eyelids) has proven a

serious menace to factory districts and even truck garden workers, mostly through housing conditions, and the question at once arises to what extent employers have a right to demand certain sanitary standards in the homes and elsewhere in return for the value of the money which is paid in wages. The many features which tend to make infections a common form of health-hazard in work places have been delineated elsewhere and includes such factors as over-crowding, the common use of towels, cups, soap, clothing, washing facilities, etc., unscreened privies, promiscuous spitting, absence of cuspidors, dry sweeping, the handling of infectious materials, the lack of physical examinations and instructions in personal hygiene and the like. While early medical treatment for the most trivial injury, foreign particle in the eye, etc., is imperative, still the value of "first aid," particularly in the hands of lay persons, has recently come into disrepute.[26]

Temperature

Dry *heat* may be endured without impairment to health up to about 100° F. or even higher than this where rapid movement of the air is maintained in order to cause evaporation of perspiration from the skin and thus aid the body in keeping cool. However, a general rise in body temperature accompanies work in hot places.[27] This "thermic fever" must be avoided since direct destruction of tissues occurs as in all forms of fever.[28] All persons exposed to radiant heat should also wear glasses to protect the eyes.[29] The means of avoiding heat or protecting the workers from the same, have been perfected for practically all situations. *Heat combined with moisture* should especially be avoided.[30] Workers in hot places should be provided with shower baths, which they should use on quitting work for the day. By this means a quick control of the circulation of the blood is at hand, and by thus generalizing its distribution, the danger of sudden congestions in vital organs is inhibited. Double lockers supplied with heat to dry out wet clothing, and a special suit for working purposes, are imperative. *Cold,* pure and simple, cannot be considered a health hazard under ordinary circumstances. Workers in cold places (ice houses, storage warehouses, chocolate dipping, etc.), should be properly clothed and allowed a certain amount of activity. Cooling of one part of the body while heating another is especially to be avoided.

Humidity

The amount of moisture in the air has been discussed already as one of the features of devitalizing air, especially from the

point of view of the absence of a sufficient amount. Excessive humidity is a feature of a certain few industries which, however, in certain districts employ large numbers of workers. Particularly is this so in the textile industries, while it is apt to be found, also, in laundries, bottling works, breweries, paper manufacturing, plating rooms, etc. Where considered a necessity, as in textile manufacturing, it is pointed out that the process of humidification is usually considerably overdone to the great detriment of the health of the workers and the decrease of production—the conditions are often made much worse because room temperature is also maintained too high. In fact, a reading of 70° upon both the wet and the dry thermometers need probably never be exceeded.[31] Where humidity is not a necessity in the general atmosphere of the work room, excesses of vapor should be withdrawn at their source of origin. Particular attention should be given to work of inactive or semi-active character in damp quarters such as basements, warehouses and the like.

Abnormal Air Pressures

For caisson workers, standards and detailed instructions have been laid down which require the use of the "air lock" for workers subjected to any pressure above one atmosphere.[32] The opposite condition, working in rarified air, is rarely one produced artificially as an industrial process, while physiologic adaptation,[33] as in the case of mountain workers, aviators and baloonists seems to have considerable range.

Natural Desires

Very often the natural desires are the cause, directly or indirectly, of great risks to health. *Thirst* should be especially carefully provided for in connection with workplaces by which the water supply should be safe from bacterial pollution and poison content, and it should be made as inviting as possible through a proper degree of cooling and its convenience for use. All other substitute beverages should be discouraged. The devices in the nature of bubbling fountains and individual drinking cups and the processes of water purification are imperative. *Hunger* becomes a hazard when the taking of food is not properly provided for in workrooms free from poisons, dusts, odors and bacterial contamination; also, when the time factor is not physiologically observed and, finally, when the character and quantity of the food itself lacks supervision. *Cleanliness* becomes a hazard when proper and safe means are not at hand for the use of workers. The desire to be clean under such circumstances may

prove a greater hazard than the remaining unclean. The attention to the *natural desires* brings in the consideration of the standards which have been adopted in all of our leading states and countries in regard to toilets, urinals, sewage and refuse disposal. The desire for *rest* and the occasional demands for the temporary cessation of work requires the presence of rest-rooms and an arrangement for necessary rest periods and simple remedies, especially where females are employed. The desire for *sleep* should be satisfied with provision for at least an eight hours' continuous period out of each twenty-four hours. The worker should be encouraged to make *the day the unit of routine* [34] rather than, as is often the custom, the week, whereupon extra sleep, rest, cleanliness, diet, etc., are made features of Sunday. The desire for *recreation* should be encouraged and made recreative, and not dissipative. The value of the money spent for wages and the maintenance of a high standard of safety should be made to weigh in this matter.

Fatigue

The work necessities which produce fatigue have also been delineated elsewhere,[1] such as hard work, long hours, speeding up, monotonous application, strained postures, jarring processes, pressures against the body, friction and irritants, reverberating noises and the like. Each of these conditions requires a special study. Unfortunately, scientific management experts have undertaken to solve certain of them, especially where motion is concerned.[35] A chief fallacy in their systems is the failure to introduce two or three methods for performing any movement which requires to be often repeated. In other words, they are ignorant of the fundamental biologic law that variation governs all things vital, that Nature makes no two things alike nor in the same way. Variation conduces to the conservation of energy where vital processes are concerned. Frequently, the absence of a limitation upon output, the presence of the pacemaker and the inducement of prizes, so rapidly wear out individuals, that only an inexhaustible supply of labor can enable such systems to continue. As Dr. Thomas Darlington has pointed out, however, there is another side to this question of fatigue which is usually overlooked.

It is axiomatic that labor promotes health. In truth, it is not labor which produces fatigue except when excessive or extreme, but rather, personal factors which include an improper supply of good food, an improper supply of oxygen, a presence of deleterious gases so that anemia ensues, and an imperfect elimination

of waste products through the bowels and bladder. To these should be added a proper action of the heart in maintaining blood pressure. In other words, we cannot get away from "how to live" and from physical supervision. The expression "so tired" at the end of a day's work,[36] or at any other time, should call for an investigation, personal as well as environmental. Definite signs of fatigue are decreased output, inaccuracies of execution with consequent defective product, as well as greater liability to accident. The effects of fatigue upon health and longevity cannot be discussed here.[37] Probably the greatest single hazard of personal origin in American life is the lack of enough sleep; and the next in importance, a lack of *diversity of work*. Given a normal environment and physical perfection, a certain diversity of application is the secret of energy conservation in the human being.

Use of Stimulants

Finally, it is necessary to mention industrial *stimulantism*, or the desire which the masses of the people have for the taking of stimulants, by which I mean to include alcoholism, coffeeism, teaism, and drugism in general. Stimulantism is promoted by (1) almost any of the above hazards, (2) the absence of a plentiful supply of good drinking water, (3) the tradition among workers in certain lines that alcoholic liquors tend to stimulate them and to ward off the effcets of poisons, dusts, gases and hard work, (4) the permitting of the drinking of intoxicating liquors while at work, and finally, (5) the fact that there is an absence of the human study attitude which should be part of the industrial efficiency department in every establishment. The desire for stimulants is always abnormal and unnatural in the healthy person. I think it well to make a distinction between industrial stimulantism and the liquor habit which has been acquired through ignorance and bravado in other relations of life.

In conclusion, I would lay stress upon the following: Every employer should endeavor to intensify the output in his plant by a careful attention to industrial hygiene. He not only needs a work place in which each physical hazard of the environment is standardized, but one in which the principal mental and physical defects in his workers are known and compensated for by a selection of the worker to the job and the job to the worker. Further than this, it must not be forgotten that the most perfect specimen of Apollo Belvedere placed within the most exemplary environment may soon prove a decidedly bad risk if he has no knowledge of how to take care of himself and his health, and is given no instruction in the same. Such knowledge is not born

in persons, at least no more than a savage needs for his simple, wild life. One glance shows that inborn and casually acquired knowledge is not enough for the many hazards imposed by civilization.

The real activator in bringing about this higher degree of efficiency and its associated economies through industrial hygiene, consists in some form of health insurance [38] whereby the employer, employe and an intelligent social or state interest are all working toward the same end, and in which the dollar paid toward premiums for insurance against sickness, waste and loss of efficiency, becomes a direct incentive.

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DISCUSSION. The informal discussion was participated in by: Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Arthur B. Farwell, Chicago; Zenas L. Potter, Dayton; Mrs. Florence Kelley and I. N. Rubinow, New York; Mrs. J. W. Beck, Indianapolis.

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ORAL HYGIENE IN ITS RELATION TO PUBLIC AND INDIVIDUAL HEALTH*

Charles H. Oakman, D.D.S., M.D., Detroit, Michigan.

This subject, to my mind, is one of the greatest aids to preventive medicine and public health. It is also the most equitable, the money for this work being raised by direct taxation. This, I believe, is the ideal method, for the mass of people have a share therein. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to carry on a campaign of education.

The first thing is to spread the propaganda of oral hygiene so that the great mass of people will know the fundamentals of what is required. This can best be done by the daily press, magazine articles, chambers of commence, churches and clubs, especially women's clubs. The writer would not plan a campaign of this kind without first taking the press into council, for it must be borne in mind that the press is the great stimulator of public opinion. What the press has done in the city of Detroit for oral hygiene would be difficult to over-estimate. To-day the managing editors of every paper are believers in this work, but as these gentlemen are very much "from Missouri" it was necessary in the beginning that they be "shown." When they became converted they gave the cause of oral hygiene unlimited space, and then came the conversion of the aldermen, estimators and thousands of others.

The superintendent of schools and his assistants were "strong in the faith," and also a number of teachers. From them it

*Section meeting, Tuesday, May 16, 9:15 A. M.

became evident that our cause had won and now the teachers of our schools are practically a unit in their belief in oral hygiene. The child who continues to receive a poor mark in this subject is looked upon with suspicion and is not considered a good citizen by the rest of the children. More power to their belief.

It is a pity that every city in this country does not have the benefits of municipal or endowed clinics. If the local dentists would combine to work for the cause of oral hygiene and devote part of their time and energy to it, I am firm in the belief that it could be accomplished. Harmony among the dentists is the first essential, together with a knowledge of the requirements and a definite policy to be pursued.

The time is not far distant when the average dentist must come out of his shell and do something for humanity. A little time spent occasionally where the dollar sign is not always visible is, to my mind, absolutely necessary, for by so doing we become broader and a benefit to the profession. Besides, we have the satisfaction of knowing that dentistry is doing its share in the world's work.

We know that the child between the ages of seven and ten years has an average of about six cavities in his teeth. How can these children have a fair show in normal development under existing conditions? Experience has taught us that the amount of inflammation and the quota of abscesses that each child sooner or later develops would make interesting statistics if they could be compiled,—as well as the great amount of irritation to the tongue and soft tissue due to broken-down, jagged teeth. While the etiology of cancer is not known, irritation is recognized throughout the world as one of the causative factors in the origin of that disease. These conditions should be eliminated at the earliest possible moment.

The United States government realizes the necessity of preserving the teeth of the men in the army and navy. It has appointed dentists to care for the men in these two branches of the service. They know that the highest state of physical perfection cannot be reached without proper masticating apparatus.

To care for the diseased conditions of the teeth and mouths of adults, in a paternalistic way, would indeed be a colossal task, which cannot be accomplished in a few years. But we must be patient and persevering. The real salvation of oral hygiene lies in education of the children, for in the next decade or two they will be the fathers and mothers, and we must look to them for the high state of perfection to which oral hygiene is sooner or later to be raised. It should occupy, together with personal

hygiene, a prominent part in the school readers, so that it could be kept constantly before the children. Lectures by dental inspectors and instructions from the teacher with a follow-up system, to see that the teeth and mouths have been properly cared for, is of the greatest value. I believe that dental inspection in the next twenty years will not be as necessary as now, for every child who has received instruction will, as time passes, necessarily be somewhat of a missionary for the cause. Today a family without tooth brushes is rare, except among the poorest. Thirty or forty years ago they were considered somewhat as a luxury, and were carried around in people's pockets for fear something would befall them, I presume. People were unaware that the habit was unsanitary.

Other evidences of barbarism might be cited. Most of us can remember when the common communion cup was passed to fifty or a hundred people within an hour's time, and little or no thought of the possible consequences entered their minds. It remained so until several of a congregation in New York city contracted syphilis, and then there was a stir throughout the country and the individual communion cup came into use. With the present knowledge of bacteria it is not less than criminal that such practices should continue. I have had several patients who contracted syphilis innocently either through kissing, or the public drinking cup and some of those were among children ten and twelve years of age. The all-day sucker was another method of spreading infection.

The writer has sent letters to many of the state institutions of Michigan, including the four penal institutions, institutions for the deaf and dumb and blind, insane hospitals, reform schools for boys and girls, institutions for feeble-minded, etc. The query addressed to the wardens and superintendents of these institutions was, "Is there a need for dental service in your institution?" And every one replied that there was.

Some were doing a little work, but most of them were doing only what was imperative for the time being,—nothing to speak of in the line of prevention, observing only those who were brought in for treatment. It is incumbent upon the state to care for its wards who are deprived of their liberty and unable to do for themselves, and it is hoped that in the near future the state dental societies of the various states will take up this subject and carry it to a successful conclusion.

My experience with men in politics has taught me that they are human, and when the subject of oral hygiene is presented to them in a tangible manner they are quick to grasp the situation,

but as before stated they must be shown, and it is therefore necessary that those who have to do with this cause figure conditions from all angles and be sure of their ground before starting a campaign.

I will touch very briefly on school inspection. Startling as it may appear to some of you, the fact remains that children are being rescued from an early grave primarily by dental inspection, for thereby lesions which have proven to be cancerous are discovered and by early discovery and operation, the children are generally restored to health. I believe it will do more to make my position clear than anything else I can say, to present the following two cases:

CASE I:

A boy seven years of age appeared with an abscess in the rgeion of the lower first molar. There was a large swelling and the induration was quite marked; advised extraction of tooth which was done. The cervical glands showed no apparent involvement but the child was ill. His mother would get out of patience with him because, as she said, the boy was lazy; he did not care to play with other children and would sit at the wndow inside of he house and seldom dared to venture outside. If he did go out he would sit down and rest and was quite indifferent to his surroundings; also stated that he was not keeping up in his piano lessons, etc. I advised his mother to take him out of school, give up his music, keep him out of doors as much as possible, even to sleeping in the open, and advised that he have all the rest possible, together with nutritious food. His appetite was poor and he showed evidences of auto intoxication. Previous to the advice given he had a hectic flush and rise in temprature ½ to 1½ degrees every afternoon. The wound was curetted several times and treated antiseptically. After five weeks' treatment the temperature ceased and the little child was glad to get out and soon began to take interest in things. He gained in weight and we had the pleasure of seeing him two years later a healthy boy. One instance in thousands.

CASE II:

A girl of nine years, stout and of a healthy type appeared with an abscess on lower jaw. Treatment was of no avail; extracted tooth, socket did not heal so curetted; this did little good. As the glands on that side of neck were enlarged found it necessary to make external incision followed by curetting; drainage was maintaind for six weeks, after which the wound healed. During most of all of her treatment a rise in temperature was apparent; just before the wound healed the temperature became normal. This occurred about 12 years ago. She is now 21 years old and in splendid health. It is my practice to keep track if possible of these cases.

Tubercle baccilli were found on both occasions. These are further evidences of the need of prevention. The etiology of these cases were carious teeth, resulting in death of the pulp and invasion of the turbercle bacillus. There was no family history of tuberculosis. This is another evidence of the great

need of medical and dental inspection. I trust that the day is not far distant when every child entering school will undergo a physical and dental examination.

If pathological conditions are discovered early, the work of the physician and dentist will be lessened and the prognosis in these cases will be very generally favorable. The protean manifestations of auto-intoxication are largely due to faulty metabolism, mal-assimilation and impaired digestion.

When we consider the large number of people showing a high indoxyl content in their unrine, the result of absorption of the products of intestinal putrefaction, and figure the percentage of cases in which this is due to imperfect mastication, either too much hurry or defective teeth, is it not well worthy of an attempt to remedy?

In conclusion, can any citizen do more for humanity than to leave funds to endow a hospital, college or dental infirmary?

ORAL HYGIENE AND ITS RELATION TO PUBLIC AND INDIVIDUAL HEALTH

Otto U. King, D. D. S., General Secretary, National Dental Association, Huntington, Indiana

On behalf of the great National Dental Association with its twenty-two thousand members, and personally, I bring you greetings. I also extend through you, Mr. Chairman, to the officers of this great conference, our professional appreciation of being represented and recognized in this great gathering of professional men and women, interested in the welfare of humanity. Our profession has, during the last few years, awakened to the fact that as individual dentists we have a very well defined mission for humanity. We are rapidly learning this truth, that to secure better public health, we must add to the physical, mental and moral efficiency of the individual.

The community's health is the total of the health of the various separate individuals that compose that community, and that which causes the sickness and death of an individual, by so much lessens the total efficiency of the community. But in addition to this, if the sickness of the individual is contagious and so likely to extend and incapacitate others, by so much more it becomes a matter of general concern. While diseases of the mouth, nose and throat directly cause but a small proportion of

deaths, they indirectly cause a much larger proportion, and they do cause a very large part of the disability from sickness. I think we shall appreciate this the more if we each of us think of the sickness that has occurred in his own family and among his immediate friends, in, say, the past five years. Ordinary colds and sore throats of all kinds, practically all ear troubles, most cases of grippe, and all cases of sinus diseases would at once occur to all of you as being included, but in addition, most cases of diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, smallpox, and other contagious diseases would come under this head because most infectious diseases find their means of entrance to the body through the nose and mouth.

For many years, some of our leaders in the dental and medical profession have recognized, in a general way, that the condition of the teeth has much to do with the health of the individual; but only during the last few years has the direct relationship between oral hygiene and constitutional conditions been scientifically established.

Dental Infection and Its Relation to General Diseases

On February 7, 1916, we had in Cleveland, Ohio, the opening of the Research Institute of the National Dental Association, and had as one of our speakers Dr. Charles Mayo of Rochester, Minnesota. That splendid orator and magnificent physician and surgeon reviewed to us in detail the development of modern science as it relates to the healing arts. He reminded us of the splendid contributions of the Chinese, of those great contributions of the Greeks, and finally came down to the present decades and reminded us how one after another the great scourges, the great besoms of death, had been taken from the earth by medical science and then as his climax, said the great mass of people today would not die from one of those plagues, they would die of a simple infection, that 90 out of every 100 probably die because of some simple infection, the result of a focal infection, which focus itself would give them no trouble. He then referred to the fact that 90 per cent of the lesions of the focal infections are above the collar, and of those above the collar would include the tonsils, the antrum, the nasal passages and sinuses, that far the largest part come from oral infections, and then accepted the challenge of the dental profession that they are going to take that responsibility.

Dr. W. A. Evans, former Commissioner of Health of Chicago, who is accredited with having done more for the health of

Chicago than any other living man, in discussing this subject not long ago, used these words:

> The importance of diphtheria I am sure is fully understood but the enlargement of the glands of the neck, of the nose, of the tonsils, and of the pharnyx are not so clearly understood. They are due to absorptions somewhere in the nose or within the mouth and a large per cent of those absorptions take place through cavities in the teeth or down the sides of unclean teeth. We are constantly confronted with instances like this: A child has been in a diphtheria hospital and remained there until it seemed safe for the child to go home. Then the child has gone home and there has followed an infection of diphtheria in that home. What is the explanation? Simply that in some recess, somewhere in that child there was a focus of hidden bacteria and in all probability a large percentage of those infections are either in the tooth cavities or somewhere in close connection with tooth cavities.

Abscessed Teeth

Diseased teeth play another important part. The pus from one abscessed tooth may supply a constant infection to the membrane of the stomach, and the result is gastric catarrh. The contents of such a stomach, with the added handicap of poorly masticated food, passes on into the smaller and larger intestines, where the entire mass rots or auto-intoxication is manifest with all its disastrous results.

Decayed Teeth and Cancer

Cancer is sixth in the list of diseases that cause death in the United States. Different estimates indicate that from 9 to 26.3 per cent. of all cancers are found on the tongue. Equally significant is the estimate that one-third to one-half of all cancers are found in the stomach and duodenum.

Whatever may be the underlying, undiscovered cause of the cancer, there seems to be no question that the exciting cause is irritation. This irritation may be caused by chemicals, burns, injuries, or inflammatory diseased conditions. Dynamite is harmless until irritated; and whatever causes cancer is harmless until irritated. The two regions of the body most subjected to chronic irritation are the mouth and the stomach.

The particular irritation that is frequently found to cause cancer in the mouth is the sharp edge of a decayed, worn, misplaced, or tartar-covered tooth. The constant rubbing of the tongue, cheek, or lips over such a tooth produces an abrasion, an abrasion develops into a sore, and from a sore it may pass on through various stages to cancer. The irritation produced by the sharp edge of a poorly fitting plate, bridge, crown, or filling has caused cancer of the mouth.

Cancerous growths may also spring from the irritated and injured gum surrounding decayed and broken-down teeth. Polyps grow from irritated tooth pulps. Bony growths result from chronic inflammation of the covering of tooth roots. Injury to the bony support of teeth by extraction has resulted in the development of cancerous growths in these locations.

Among the most frequent causes of ulcer of the stomach are unmasticated food, too much food, and the constant swallowing of the contents of a diseased and unclean mouth. Food is not chewed but bolted either from habit or haste, or because decayed, diseased, deformed, or deficient teeth make proper chewing difficult, if not impossible.

Mayo has demonstrated that 45% to 90% of probably all cancers in the stomach originate at the site of the ulcer. Rosenow has experimentally proved that one particular micro-organism found in unhealthy mouths is capable, when carried by the blood, of lodging in the wall of the stomach and producing gastric ulcer.

A great amount of evidence shows that one of the most certain measures to prevent cancer, either in the mouth or stomach, is sound, clean teeth.

Dental Irritation and Insanity

The important relation of dental irritation to the general health is well illustrated by Dr. Henry S. Upson, Professor of Neurology in the Western Reserve Medical School (*Dental Cosmos*, May, 1910), in which he shows nine cases of insanity due to painless dental diseases; of these nine cases operated upon dentally, six recovered, two were improved and one remained unimproved.

Thoma says:

> The examination of the patients in the Robert Brigham Hospital, who are all chronic invalids, includes radiographs of the teeth, and there is not one arthritic patient in the hospital who is not suffering from oral infection. I found 334 abscessed teeth in the mouths of 72 patients. Systemic infection occurs principally in two ways. First, throughout the alimentary tract; and second through the circulation. Amongst the first class belong all those lesions which empty their exudates into the mouth; amongst the other belong abscesses which have no such outlet and where the exudates which are under the pressure enter the capillary system. The first class causes sinus infections stomatitis, tonsillitis, pharnygitis, gastric and intestinal infections, colitis, and appendicitis, while the hematogenous infection may cause malaise, toxemia, infectious arthritis, endocarditis, nephritis and gastric or intestinal ulcers.

School Inspection as a Preventive

School inspection must be inaugurated as a substitute for spending time, energy and money after the damage is done. If

the teeth of our coming generation are to be saved, it must be done during their school life. That is a truism. To defer such care until children become wage-earners will be too late. The necessity for such inspection among our children is immediate and obligatory. The treatment in clinics should be compulsory and systematically followed up throughout the school life of the child.

We have learned from reports from those cities in this country where dental inspection has been undertaken that 97 per cent. of our school children between the ages of six and twelve are dental cripples and that many of them are helpless; that few children ever make use of the tooth brush; that their mouths are filthy, diseased beyond belief; that most of them have one or more decayed or decaying teeth, and that these deplorable conditions characterize the more than 20,000,000 children throughout our country.

The further necessity for oral inspection is seen in the deleterious results to the child oft'times from faulty mouth hygiene in the way of juvenile delinquency and criminality. Irregular and abnormal teeth, it has been found, is one of the contributing elements, indirectly, to juvenile irritation of poisons from the teeth mixed with the food, through the intestinal tract and, second, by poor nutrition. It has been satisfactorily proven that direct irritation in the intestinal tract will tend to block the efforts to do right. As a result the child becomes by successive stages irritable, disobedient, incorrigible and untruthful. Thousands of cases are on record where faulty oral conditions, once having been corrected, the nutrition has improved, and with the improved nutrition has come about a sound nervous system, a changed character and improved morals.

If there exists any question as to the actual value of institutions founded to arrest dental decay and give good masticating apparatus to the children, one needs but to look at the results accomplished by our dental clinics in New York. Dr. Carney, of New York city, says:

> Since the opening of our clinics in January, 1913, we have operated on approximately 26,000 children. About 16,000 have been discharged as cured, 6,000 were dropped from our records for various reasons, chief among these are incorrigibility, failure to keep appointments and removal from the district. We have inserted over 150,000 fillings, and extracted upward of 40,000 teeth, of which number over 35,000 were deciduous. Every child that has attended our clinics has had the teeth thoroughly cleaned before being dismissed.
>
> The work that has been done has demonstrated its value in many ways; it has awakened the public to the fact that the

> teeth of children are important and have a decided influence upon the physical and mental development of the children. It has reduced the number of absentees in the schools, and enabled the child to devote his time to study and making his promotion more certain, and has thus reduced the cost of education, for the money required for the re-education of the children left behind each year is a very large amount. The old adage of "an ounce of prevention being worth a pound of cure" must have been written by a dentist.
>
> The single unit idea that has been adopted in New York is the solution of the dental clinic problem. It is far more serviceable and more efficient than having one central clinic. These smaller clinics, situated as they are in the hearts of congested school districts, are easier of access and better patronized than if the dental efforts of the city were being carried on in one institution remote from the congested areas.

Public Centers of Dental Treatment

There should be established in centrally located quarters, preferably in school buildings, dental consultation rooms and dispensaries where the people of the district might obtain reliable information and advice regarding teeth. At such centers printed material could be distributed (possibly in different languages) giving in simple words the principles governing the care of the teeth. Here, again, the dental department should be merely a part of a general school clinic scheme which might include the treatment of non-operative ailments such as refractions, non-contagious eye diseases, ear troubles, skin diseases and dental defects. In addition to these activities, hours of consultation for advice should be set apart.

In a recent monthly report of the Department of Public Health for the city of Toronto, an interesting account is given of the work being accomplished in the hospitals of the city.

We have a surprising number of poor people, in almost every community, unable to pay for dental services; children who need the most careful attention of their mouths and teeth that they may develop their bodies, physically, mentally and morally. We must establish free dental clinics not only in the largest cities but in the towns and villages. We need more free dental clinics, such as Forsyth Dental Infirmary, Boston, and the Eastman Dental Infirmary at Rochester, New York. Dentists should be appointed on fixed salaries and supported by the state for free services to poor individuals unable to pay dental fees. Edward F. Brown, Superintendent of the Bureau of Welfare of School Children, said in a paper read at the Panama-Pacific Dental Congress:

> To the dentist who looks upon his profession merely as a means of profit making, regardless of all else, we say that he is sadly lacking in professional ideals. We do not begrudge him an adequate payment for the work he does. But disease must

be wiped out at all costs, regardless of the incidental inconveniences and sacrifices which will be encountered. Disease is a social menace—an enemy of the state. The physician and dentists must protect us from distress—not because we have the money to pay therefor—but because it is right that it should be done. The socialization of these professions and the promotion of health, are charges which the state should be glad to liquidate, for health is essential—it is the keystone of life.

In this paper we have endeavored to show the relationship between oral public and individual health. But the next step in the development of better health through oral hygiene lies in education, preventive practice and a more thorough understanding among the dental and medical professions of "socialized health as against capitalized disease."

The sad thing about this subject is that the great dental and medical professions, the social workers, the politician and legislator, as individuals have not received a vision of the responsibility they owe to humanity. Thus, the spirit of indifference has characterized all of our work for the betterment of oral hygienic conditions, simply because we do not feel or see the bitter price that humanity and the state has had to pay, because of our ignorance on this subject.

ORAL HYGIENE: DISCUSSION

Frederic R. Henshaw, D. D. S., Dean, Indiana State Dental College, Indianapolis

Dr. Oakman and Dr. King have shown you the relation between oral infections and lesions and the general bodily health, and have enlarged upon the importance of early attention to conditions in the mouth as a protection against many ills which have heretofore been attributed to other sources.

It remains for me to tell you what steps have been taken in the city of Indianapolis to provide care for the indigent portion of the population who are utterly unable to secure dental services for themselves. Unfortunately, all cities cannot have a Forsythe or Eastman Infirmary at this ime, although it is the sincere hope of the dental profession that the time will come when such a condition may exist, and we are therefore compelled to meet the situations as best we may.

In April, 1915, a contract was entered into between the Indianapolis Board of Health and the Indiana Dental College, whereby the children of the public schools and such adults as

may be selected by the authorities of the City Dispensary were to have dental service in the clinic of the College, the expense of the same to be borne by the Board of Health. During the year the following services have been rendered under this agreement:

Number of patients	321
Number of treatments	546
Number of fillings	851
Number of extractions	127
Number of prophylaxis	220
Approximate cost	$564.00
Cost per visit	33 cents

The children are brought to the clinic by the school nurses and cared for to and from the College.

Reports have not been tabulated as to the individual results in attendance, attention, deportment and efficiency of these children in their school work, it being too early to have such a report, but the superintendent of nurses informs me that the general effect has been more than satisfactory to her and to the teachers. The Board of Health provides each child who comes to the clinic with a tooth brush, and he is instructed in its use for the future care of the teeth.

The hope of the future lies in the training of the child, and we feel greatly encouraged by the little beginning we have made. While we do not feel that our present plan is by any means ideal, yet it has given us an opportunity to prove our contentions and is merely a stepping-stone to better things. When the laws of Indiana have been changed to require dental examinations in all public schools, by dentists, and provision made from the public funds for dental clinics, rather than for improved jail facilities, we will begin to reap a richer harvest than the lay mind can possibly comprehend. One of the most encouraging symptoms with which we have met is the intelligent co-operation which has come to us from the teachers in our public schools. No one has been so quick to grasp the idea of the need for oral hygiene as the school teachers, and much of the good already accomplished is directly due to their interest and attention. They will be one of the largest factors in the solution of the problem.

The Indianapolis Board of Health is keenly alive to the needs and benefits of a public dental clinic and through the president, Dr. G. B. Jackson, has made our present small beginning possible. The matter of extension of the system is only contingent upon adequate funds and we feel certain that ways will be found whereby they may be obtained.

DISCUSSION: The following-named delegates took part in the informal discussion: Mrs. Mary M. Ogilvie, Indianapolis; Mrs. Martha Magee, Philadelphia.

DISEASE, ILL-HEALTH AND SICKNESS AND THEIR BEARING UPON INSANITY *

S. E. Smith, M. D., Medical Superintendent, Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane, Richmond, Indiana

Disease, ill-health and sickness evidently are synonymous, and in this instance are tautological, and have reference to physical disease. The word insanity is indefinite, although popularly used. I take advantage of the opportunity to call attention to the fact that among psychiatrists the word is passing into disuse and will soon become obsolete as has its forebear, *lunacy*. It is properly yielding to the better term *mental disease*, meaning a disordered mind from any cause. The word insanity is a legal and not a medical term. The term *mental disease*, however, does not stand for a definite disease entity, but a group of diseases. Our topic then when analyzed and interpreted is, "Physical Disease and Its Bearing Upon Mental Disease."

It is an admitted fact that most mental diseases have a physical basis, possible of demonstration. Yet there are some forms of mental disease which have no such foundation, or at least physical disorders to account for them have not been demonstrated. It is not impossible, however, that our aids to investigation are not perfect, our technique faulty, or our interpretation incorrect, and the day may yet come in the perfected laboratory means and methods when the blood stream may give up all its secrets, the functions of the ductless glands may be better understood, and the sympathetic and ganglionic systems may be less mysterious; and then probably the number of forms of mental diseases without physical foundation may be still further reduced.

And yet, after making all these allowances, there remains a group of nervous disorders which unquestionably are wholly outside of the pale of the physical disorders and find explanation in social and psychological conditions. The trend of modern psychiatry is in the direction of enlargement of this group. It is technically called the *neuroses*, and includes all those nervous disorders manifesting a central symptom of social inefficiency. These two groups of diseases have been aptly and figuratively described as the result, on the one hand, of a conflict between the individual and nature, and, on the other, of a conflict between the individual and society. Both are important in their bearing

*Section meeting, Wednesday, May 17, 9:15 A. M.

upon mental disease, but the discussion today relates more particularly to physical diseases as causes of mental disease.

The great majority of the mental diseases are the result of other diseases which invade the nervous system, including the brain, and directly or indirectly disorder the brain's functions. When we consider and contemplate the delicate and complicated structure of the brain and nervous system and how daintily and sensitively it presides over and directs the functioning of every other organ and part of the human anatomy, we may well wonder how any other organ may become diseased at all without disordering the brain's functioning itself, nor can it. For example, a small burn upon the hand produces enough pain and mental discomfort to prevent sleep; an acute indigestion or a severe cold, so-called, disturbs the attention and mentally incapacitates one temporarily. In fact, there are few diseases of any order of the body which do not echo some disorder, although not necessarily incapacitating in degree, in the mental activities.

Infections and poisons introduced into the body do not, as a rule, primarily attack the brain and nervous system, but do so secondarily. Some, however, such as morphine, alcohol, chloroform, ether and the like, are so rapid in their action that they may be regarded as attacking it directly. Usually, however, the infection or poison first attacks the organ exposed to it, impairing its functions, and then through the blood and lymph streams which supply nutrient elements to the entire body at the same time, carry the diseased organisms or their products to other organs, including the nervous system, and impair their nutrition and functions. Effective in this way are the micro-organisms of the infective fevers, typhoid, diphtheria, scarlatina, tuberculosis and the like, and delirium is a prominent manifestation.

Now, while we may regard any disease of the body as a menace to the nervous system, certain infections and poisons unquestionably have an affinity for it, and such are permanently destructive to it. To this group belong the habit-forming drugs—opium and its derivatives, and alcohol in all its compounds. These are a prolific source of mental disease and this fact is known to everyone. It is equally well-known that the mental diseases due to such causes are preventable.

In the evolution of alcoholic and other habit-forming drugs as sources of mental diseases, attention is usually confined to their direct effects, resulting in the conclusion that seven to ten per cent. of the cases of mental disease committed to our hospitals belong to this class. This omits entirely from considera-

tion those cases of mental defect or disease resulting indirectly from the use of such poisons through heredity. Unfortunately, we have no scientifically accurate test, as in certain infectious diseases, to aid in an estimate of this factor. We have observations, however, covering two and sometimes three generations which furnish good grounds for the inference that alcoholism and similar drugs are influential in modifying the organism transmitted from parent to offspring to a degree equal to that of the direct effects of these drugs. If this be true, then the value of alcohol and the drugs as causes of mental disease is doubled.

Among the infectious diseases causing, directly and through heredity, mental disease and defect, syphilis, of course, tops the list. While producing the largest number of victims, it is at the same time the most infectious and insidious of diseases. In those cities where a report of all infectious diseases is required, the health statistics show that syphilis again heads the list with approximately twenty-five per cent. of all the cases, while tuberculosis is about five per cent. less. At least fifteen per cent. of patients in our hospitals are victims of this disease through direct infection. How many are there through bad heredity, influenced by this disease, no one may now say; yet as our tests for it become more and more precise, the number brought to light becomes larger and larger. Within recent years it has been shown beyond question that certain forms of mental disease developing in early life and at the very threshold of mental and physical maturity, which are characterized by mental deterioration even to the degree of mental dilapidation, are largely due to inherited syphilis. The mortality records of the state hospitals show a steadily increasing percentage of deaths from diseases produced by this infection. In my own hospital last year it amounted to twenty-two per cent. of the total number of deaths, as against one per cent. from tuberculosis.

Of all the infections producing mental and nervous diseases, syphilis is the most prolific. It not only produces the largest number of cases, but, also, it is among those least amenable to treatment. So frequent is it and so often is it found in cases unsuspected, that tests of the blood and spinal fluid for it have become a matter of routine practice in all the public hospitals, and the results justify it. No longer may we view a subject of this disease as a victim of his own misdeeds. It may be true of many and even the majority, but it is far from the truth in many instances. The innocent victims are all of the second generation and many of the first, and all call for our sympathetic and helpful consideration.

The curability of this disease is more in question today than it was thirty years ago, when we were taught by our learned professors that two certain therapeutic agents were positive specifics for malaria and syphilis. Time has proved the statement true as to malaria, but doubtful as to the other, and the careful and conscientious physician of today, notwithstanding the new methods of treatment developed and broadly heralded within recent years, *controls* rather than *cures* syphilis, and prefers to leave final judgment to time.

This disease is the greatest enemy to mental and physical efficiency, and yet it attracts little attention outside of the medical profession and the families afflicted by it. Societies for the prevention of tuberculosis, a much less insidious and destructive infection, are rightly organized in almost every city and town in the land, and many of you within the sound of my voice are, to your credit, enlisted in their membership. The propaganda from these societies have reached every family, and their rules for management and prevention are now well-known and so well-heeded that tuberculosis is actually decreasing by prevention, and there is hope that it may be entirely eliminated. But there are few if any, societies for the prevention of syphilis, and not many of you have given the subject even serious consideration. This is true because the subject is a disagreeable one, and has in the past been regarded as involving a question of morals. Although the topic is unpleasant, we must face it before any substantial progress can be made in the direcion of prevention of mental disease.

Other infectious diseases contribute to mental disease and inefficiency, although in lesser degree. Typhoid fever presents a delirium, often prolonged, as a prominent symptom, and in neuropathic individuals the pronounced mental disorder is dated from such a period of illness. Scarlatina, diphtheria, measles, whooping cough, and the like, not infrequently have sequelae, which impair the special sense organs, resulting in retardation of children and permanently lower their efficiency and sometimes render them dependents.

Tuberculosis, as most of you know, is accompanied by a state of mental depression, which in the older nomenclature was dignified by the name of phthisical insanity. Certain it is that such a state does exist in this infection and it is worthy of recognition.

Pellagra, a disease of nutrition not frequent in this section, but common in many states, especially along the southern seacoast, presents a mental disease as one of its most conspicuous symptoms. This is a disorder of nutrition based on an unbalanced

food ration which, untreated, and oftentimes under the best treatment, advances to complete mental dilapidation and physical helplessness enduring through long periods of time. Cerebrospinal meningitis not infrequently results in a mental disorder worse than death. In fine, it is a safe statement that the infectious diseases are enemies to mental health and efficiency.

The diseases of the organs of digestion, which necessarily impair nutrition and elimination, result in a well defined group of mental diseases called the autointoxication psychoses, which usually yield to prolonged and careful treatment, but, neglected, become chronic and incurable conditions.

These diseases favoring mental disorders are almost entirely preventable. This can be accomplished by right living and a conscientious regard for the general rules of health. Additional legislation is not necessary, because it appears that even now our statute books have enough good laws upon their pages which await enforcement, and their enforcement is impossible in the absence of a wholesome and sturdy public opinion to support them. If we ever prevent syphilis, the disease must be reported in a health return. This disease cannot be controlled unless the source of infection is located and known, and then treated, and contact with the innocent prevented. The development of a single case of small-pox properly strikes terror to a community, and it is promptly and effectively quarantined by laws which public opinion does support. This disease, loathsome as it is, is much less mischievous to human efficiency than syphilis, and yet the laws requiring it to be reported are a dead letter in most of the states.

The plea for the prevention of mental disease must include the broad plea for more active individual interest in the subject of public health and the development of a public opinion which will not only support, but also demand, the enforcement of the public health laws. To this end I know of no step which promises as much as the employment of specially trained medical men for local health officers, who shall be required to devote all of their time and attention to the duties of their office.

HEREDITY AND HEALTH

At a section meeting, held Wednesday, May 16, at 11:00 A. M., devoted to this subject, the discussion was led by Dr. C. A. L. Reed, of the Medical Department, University of Cincinnati.

OPENING EXCERCISES

Wednesday, May 10, 1916, 8:15 P. M.

Mr. Evans Woollen, Chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements, presiding: The forty-third annual session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction will now be in order.

The invocation will be pronounced by the Reverend James D. Stanley, of Christ Church, Indianapolis.

(Invocation)

Chairman Woollen: The word I wish to say, Ladies and Gentlemen, on this occasion is a word not of formal welcome, but of earnest gratitude. I do not welcome you as men and women who have come hither with money in your pockets that will be spent in our hotels and shops. I do not welcome you as men and women to whom we would exhibit our city to the end that you go hence with praises on your lips. Rather, on behalf of the Local Committee and of all who here serve in the cause of better life, I welcome you as colleagues and express earnest gratitude for the light you bring that will illumine our way after you have gone and for the inspiration you bring that will vitalize our endeavors.

The Governor of Indiana being unavoidably absent from Indianapolis, the state is here represented by the President of Indiana University, Dr. William L. Bryan, whom I now present to you.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

William Lowe Bryan, President, Indiana University, Bloomington

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We are all very sorry that our distinguished governor, than whom none is more interested in the work of this Conference, is called by his public duty to another part of the state. I can only speak as one of the thousands of our citizens in giving you a most hearty welcome to Indiana.

In addressing you for a few minutes, I venture to say that three things underlie our work, all three intangible.

I. The first is right ideas. If anyone thinks lightly of what ideas can do, let him consider what wrong ideas can do—have done. I cite the belief in witches and in the burning of witches. I cite the belief that religion can be and should be established by force of arms. I cite the belief that the insane are possessed by devils and that the devils are to be driven out by torture. I cite the belief that human and divine justice require vengeance against the wrongdoer. These frightful ideas a few hundred years ago controlled our fathers and each of those ideas did its

part to make the world ten fold more like hell than it needs to be. The escape of civilized men from these beliefs is worth more than our whole array of scientific discoveries and inventions. The fact that we could and did escape, the fact that three hundred years ago most men believed these things, while now most men disbelieve them, gives us courage to hope that we shall presently escape from another false idea, which at this hour is driving three-quarters of the world to ruin,—the idea that a nation can be made greater and better by aggressive war. We are mastered by our ideas. If I see the world as a jungle I shall fight there like a wolf. If I see the million year evolution of life, through all the battle of it, as a progress toward beings who can and do and must co-operate in always higher and finer ways, I shall renounce the wolf. I shall see myself a gardener, trying to make good things grow, trying whenever possible, to rescue the barren fig tree. I shall see myself a shepherd feeding the sheep, protecting them against wolves, hunting tirelessly for the sheep that have gone astray. I shall see myself a physician not blind to human sickness and sin, not weakly sentimental, using a sharp knife and bitter medicine, but always in the thick of the plague, a physician whose goal is the abundant and healthy life.

II. We require the right underlying ideas, but ideas must have hands and feet. Ideas must be made effective through organization. Little good or bad can be effected in a great population except through organization. The wolves know that. They get together. They hunt in packs. They know what they are after and how to get it. They are not afraid of hostile ideas which do nothing but preach and pray and pass resolutions. Our problem is to organize the potential righteousness of society so as to make it more effective than the actual unrighteousness of society. We succeed in part. We are not always beaten. We rise from our defeats undisheartened. In ten years, in fifty years, we make gains that are not lost. In a thousand years we make gains which then seemed impossible, which now seem miraculous and which fortify our belief with Bergson that "life is a flood which mounts."

III. Right ideas, effective organization. Good, but not enough. There is a third necessity, the living Spirit of Charity. Life is always creating wonderful forms. It must create them. But then it withdraws, leaving dead forms which choke down the new life impulses. Religion is always creating devout forms of worship, rituals, creeds, institutions. It must create them. But often they die and obstruct the new and vital movement of religion itself. The Spirit of Charity is always creating institutions which like-

wise decline toward death, and which may become hateful foes of the Spirit of Charity itself. For one of a thousand illustrations recall Hawthorne's prison reformer who sent the glorious Zenobia to death in his ruthless determination to be as famous as Howard.

We are here to exchange ideas, to develop the adequate idea. We are here to perfect great and powerful organizations for the health of society. But one thing underlies all, that you and I, each of us, should cherish far down within himself, the living Spirit of Charity.

"Though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing."

Chairman Woollen: I now present to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Mayor of Indianapolis, the Honorable Joseph E. Bell.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Hon. Joseph E. Bell, Mayor of Indianapolis

How fitting that now, in the early days of springtime, you come to this, the capital city of Indiana, to hold your conference, to advise with one another to the end that when you go away you may carry new ideas that will bring sunshine to the lives of those who dwell beneath the shadows. How fitting it is that you come here to this city, located so near to the center of population of this great nation of ours, a nation which, while the nations across the sea are engaged in war, holds aloft the banner of peace. It is fitting that you come here, because it is the city of your president, of this splendid man whose name is a synonym for happiness and work, our own good Father Gavisk. It is fitting that you come to this city, because it was in years gone by the home of another worker, who, when I first came here, was filled with ambitious ideas—and we used to talk together over our plans and purposes, Ernest P. Bicknell. I remained here, where the field was broad enough for me; but his ideas, his plans and purposes, were too great to be confined to any one city, and he went forth as one of the great world workers for the cause of charity. I need not say to you that you are welcome. You are as welcome as the flowers that are opening in this early May time. We are glad to have you here.

The works of charity have converted the prison from a place of gloom to one which is now a field of preparation where the

unfortunate individuals who are confined there may be fitted for a useful life when the doors swing outward for them. The works of charity have scattered the gloom which formerly surrounded prison gates, and now the man who comes from there, if he has taken advantage of the opportunities presented, can walk forth out of the shadow of the prejudice which once followed him, and now has an opportunity to take his place among those who work for the betterment and uplift of mankind. The works of charity have scattered the prejudices which in years gone by permeated the minds of society, until today we are all brought closer in one great union of interests. The works of charity have taught us that none of us walk alone in this world, that we do not live for ourselves alone, but that each exercises an influence upon his brother, and each of us has a labor to perform, that each of us builds something upon which those who come tomorrow will build, and upon which those who come in the many tomorrows will also build, to the end that the pathway of those who are less fortunate in life may be made lighter and easier. Under this banner of charity all creeds, all discordant opinions, all party feelings unite in one great common purpose for the betterment of mankind. And so I welcome you. I hope your stay may be one that will make you want to return.

Chairman Woollen: I now turn over this Conference to your President, the Rev. Francis H. Gavisk.

President Gavisk assumed the chair. Mr. Alexander Johnson of Philadelphia, sought and obtained recognition.

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL

Alexander Johnson

A pleasant duty has been assigned to me, pleasant first because it gives me a place beside you, Mr. President, on this platform, and before this magnificent audience, and still more agreeable because it gives me an opportunity of paying a meed of reverence and love to one who long since passed away, but whose memory is still green and will be kept green as long as my heart and voice remain active. I mean my dearest friend and most inspiring leader, the Reverend Oscar Carlton McCulloch.

Twenty-five years seems a long time, but, as president of the National Conference, meeting in Indianapolis, you are his immediate successor. Of the forty-three presidents we have had, four have been ministers of the gospel in active service. Of those four, two have been citizens of Indiana,—the Reverend

Oscar McCulloch and the Reverend Francis Gavisk. I do not know whether there is any conclusion to be drawn from this, unless it shows that this gathering of the National Conference of Charities and Correction is one that may well be presided over by ministers in active work. It stands for the highest kind of service to God and to man. The men and women who made this Conference what it is, believed that religion means something for men, not merely something addressed to God; that if God's will is to be done on earth it is to be accomplished by human hands. And we who are gathered together in this faithful practice of charities and correction—a service which has two sides, but one purpose, to uplift humanity—come together to testify that, in the highest sense, we believe the purpose of this great Conference is the practice of true religion.

Our dear Oscar McCulloch passed away nearly twenty-five years ago. He was with us only a few years, he died in the prime of his age and vigor, comparatively a young man. Yet few men have left so deep and permanent an impression on a community. Thousands who have never heard his name feel the benefit of his work. Shakespeare tells us that "the evil that men do lives after them," but in the case of our beloved friend it is the good he did that lives after him. Much that he was the chief originator of did not come to its full fruition until he had passed away. He has joined the choir invisible whose music is the gladness of the world and whose influence is ever widening and ever more intense. We believe that when he left us he went to another mansion in his Father's house, and there surely his Father will have something for him to do. Surely somewhere he is doing his Father's work.

> "Somewhere, surely, afar;
> In the sounding labor-house vast
> Of being, is practiced that strength,
> Zealous, beneficent, firm."

When he was president a friend in Indianapolis gave him a gavel, which he used in presiding over the eighteenth conference. This is now the cherished possession of his daughter. She asks, Mr. President, that you use this gavel, at least tonight, in formally opening the conference, in grateful memory of the friend who has passed away, in the thought of his spirit, and of how truly and tenderly we loved him.

President Gavisk: It surely awakens a flood of memories to hold in one's hand the gavel which was used at the meeings of the National Conference twenty-five years ago. The poet says, "O, for the touch of a

vanished hand," and the sentiment ought to give inspiration to this Conference, and to this city of Indianapolis where the spirit of this good man still hovers for good. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, member of State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, who, on behalf of the Conference, will make response to these words of welcome which have been addressed to us by the Chairman of the Local Committee, by a representative of the Governor of Indiana, and by His Honor, the Mayor of Indianapolis, himself.

RESPONSE TO ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Ph.D., Member of the State Board of Charity, of Massachusetts

I cannot attempt to represent the many who have come here, but I will do my best to thank these good citizens of Indiana for their courteous words of welcome and all that they are doing so abundantly to make this conference a great success and a help to all of us. We owe Indiana a great debt, for more than any words of welcome or hospitality. We thank Indiana for being so long in the very front rank of the army that is fighting against ills and the causes of ills. Of the presidents of the National Conference six have come from Indiana, and five from Indianapolis. That beats the record. Your McCulloch of whom we have heard tonight was pre-eminently a pioneer for progress. We of the state boards have long been looking to your state board for real leadership. I must say a word about a recent member of your board because of his unusual public service and of the love we bear him,—Timothy Nicholson. The Indiana "poor law" is exceptionally good law. When we think of public health, we think of Hurty of Indiana. And who has served better the cause of good housing and good homes than your own Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon? We owe you more than we can ever repay.

Hither we come from many places and with varied interests the country over; and I am wondering whether as we come together for this week of mental and spiritual uplift, we can, perhaps, strike some keynote to which all of our varied interests may be attuned. I think that the keynote may be summed up in the word *thoroughness*. If I am not mistaken, that thoroughness is to be manifested in three ways. First, of course, in making better the lot of the individuals or the groups with whom we work, whether in removing handicaps or promoting opportunities. The second manifestation of this thoroughness—and we need this much, good friends—is sound method for taking from

our daily contacts with the individuals and groups with whom we work the lessons which shall build up a body of knowledge, so as to make better our work for human beings. Of the third manifestation of thoroughness I can give no better example than the work of that good citizen of yours, Mrs. Bacon. In her story *Beauty for Ashes*, she tells us how first, as a good neighbor among neighbors, she tried to help some struggling souls, and then went out along the ever-widening way to build up a public sentiment, and with it to secure good laws in order to make better housing and homes in one city, in one state, and in the whole nation. This is the thoroughness that we all should stand for, shoulder to shoulder; which dignifies the little tasks, and leads us to social programs based on knowledge of the needs and opportunities of the persons with whom we work, those to whom our social programs are to be applied.

Looking into the faces of this great audience I am struck by the number of you who are young,—comparatively young, at any rate. That gives us hope for greater vision and for greater courage. I recall to you those words of the prophet of old that "our sons and our daughters shall prophesy, and our young men shall see visions." And some of us like to recall that that prophet was so considerate, perhaps so sane, as to add to those encouraging words that even the "old men might dream dreams." Citizens of Indiana, each one of us gives you thanks, from the heart.

President Gavisk: We will now have a word or two from Indiana's most distinguished citizen, the Honorable Charles Warren Fairbanks.

GREETING

Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, Indianapolis

I was not aware, when I was invited to come here this evening, that I should be precipitated upon your hospitality in this way. Of course at this late hour of the evening and after a very full and rich program it would be unbecoming in me to indulge in more than a brief word. And that is a word of welcome to Indianapolis. You have already been welcomed to our splendid capital, and I wish to supplement that by my own hearty welcome to our city and our state. We have a hospitality for such organizations as yours. It has been my pleasure to welcome a great many bodies to our city. It was never a greater pleasure to extend a welcome than it is to welcome this great National Conference of Charities and Correction. It reaches to the very fundamentals; it makes life better and sweeter.

As our population increases in the great cities and in the centers of activity through the country, there is an increasing need of such work as you are engaged in advancing. As Brother Bicknell was speaking, I was struck with a fact which Father Gavisk has also observed. When the story of blood and slaughter in Europe was being told, Father Gavisk said we ought to be very thankful here in America. As I look out over this great body of men and women engaged in the noblest service that can engage men and women anywhere, I am very thankful that instead of shooting each other to death we are helping our less fortunate brothers to a better way of living.

Now, my friends, an invitation has gone to you to come and visit us at our home on next Monday afternoon. I hope you will all come. We shall be delighted to receive you there. I hope your visit to Indianapolis will be so agreeablee that it will constitute one of the pleasant memories of your annual assemblies. I wish you in your deliberations such advance as has never before been known in the history of your organization. I thank you.

CLOSING EXERCISES

Remarks of Father Gavisk on Presentation of the President-Elect, Frederic Almy

And now the forty-third conference has come to an end. As the president of this conference I have had a year of most pleasant work. It has been filled with the most delightful experiences. It has put me in a position to be near to most of you, and has extended my acquaintance with those whose hearts are in this work, as mine is. The interest and enthusiasm manifested by the members has been a revelation to me. I have first of all to return thanks to the program committees and to those who took any part in this conference. I know what it means to busy people to leave their lives of work to come and give us the benefit of their scholarship and research. We thank you for your attendance, citizens of Indianapolis and of the state of Indiana. Surely I cannot wish the incoming president any greater success than to have as fine, and enthusiastic, and thorough a local committee as Indianapolis has given us during this past twelve months.

The captain of a steamer, with its multitude of passengers, cuts a very great figure. To him is usually given the credit when the steamer reaches its port in safety. Not so much consideration is given to the men down in the hold who are putting the coal in the fire, to the engineer, out of sight, who is controlling the machinery and causing it to run so smoothly and so safely. To us who have appeared in public, to the president, to the speakers on the programs and to those who have taken part in the discussions, will be given most of the credit for the success of this conference. But there are those in the engine room of this conference, for whom the conference is not merely a week's experience, but a daily task, for whom the conference is meeting every day in the year. These are the people down in the hold feeding the fires and tending the engine. They have shown first of all great intelligence, they have shown far-sightedness, they have shown splendid direction. I refer to our very efficient, hard-working secretary, Mr. Cross, and to our recording secretary, Miss Bertha Freeman. These are the ones, I say, who in Chicago, lead a very busy life all of the year preparing for the

conference. It is largely through their efforts, and not through mine, nor through those of the speakers, that this conference has been brought to a successful conclusion.

And now in relinquishing the gavel to the incoming president, I trust, Mr. Almy, that you may have as profitable a year as I have had and as pleasant associations in this work of the conference as I have enjoyed. I warn you, however, that you are facing the busiest year of your life and that there is before you a great deal of work; but with your well-known activity and the enthusiastic support of the members of the conference there can be no doubt as to the success of the next conference at Pittsburgh. I take pleasure in presenting to this audience the President of the Conference of 1917. May he be as glad to accept the gavel as I am delighted to hand it to so eminent a man as Mr. Frederic Almy, the new President of the Conference.

Mr. Almy, on Accepting the Office of President of the 1917 Conference

Lightning zig-zags before it strikes, and up to the last moment I could not believe that it would strike me. I try to remember, however, that when lightning strikes anyone, he is heard of at the time but seldom afterwards. As W. S. Gilbert makes one of his characters say in the play Engaged,—"My modesty has always been admired." I have now entirely lost my modesty and do not know when I shall recover it. My head is both literally and metaphorically a hogshead, it is so swelled. So many men and women of the first rank have never been presidents of this Conference that I do not see why you descend into the second rank. In my school days I read in Herodotus of some sheep which had such tremendous tails that each sheep had a little wagon behind it to prevent the tail from touching the ground. When I look at the names of the vice-presidents who are elected with me, I feel that if this tail should choose to wag the dog, the dog would have no chance.

I have been wondering why I am chosen president of this Conference of Charities and Correction. If it is because I need charity, no one needs it more. If it is because I shall need correction, I expect to need it often. Perhaps it is because I am a defective, for I have seldom in my life remembered a name, a face, or a useful fact. It is a perfectly true tale still told that I once asked a girl to marry me, and three days after asked who

that girl was. I ought to give the explanation, that this was at a forfeit party in Cambridge when I was in the Harvard Law School (for I am a reformed lawyer), and that as my forfeit I had to make an offer of marriage, and asked an out-of-town girl whom I had just met. Possibly the honor comes as an old age pension, for old age is visible, and I have attended nineteen of these national conferences since my first at Nashville in 1894. I have missed only four, for good reasons. Another possible reason is that it seems to be my chief distinction that I was a classmate of Theodore Roosevelt. I think I may add, a friend, and am sure I may add, a supporter, except perhaps in war. A scoffer has said of him that his motto is "No sooner done than said," and perhaps this would be said of me if I should make an extended address now.

These reasons are not, perhaps, serious. The real reason is that, like *Mellen's Food,* I am advertised by my loving friends. I owe the presidency, I believe, to the boys whom I have brought to Buffalo in social work, and who now cover the country. They show at least that I am a good chooser, and I hope also a good loser, for I have always said that I would rather have men I could not keep than men I could not lose. Nearly all of them are now doing larger work than I, on larger pay, and I foresee among them future presidents of this Conference. Some of them are: Porter Lee, of New York; Eugene Lies, of Chicago; Roy Wallace, of Philadelphia; John and Carrington Howard, of New York and Boston; John Daniels, of Baltimore; Robert Binkerd and John Shillady, of New York; Mark Beeman, of Jersey City, and John Sanderson, of Buffalo. There are also women, and there are some others who have left social work. I have often said that I wished it were respectable for a bachelor to have a family, but these are sometimes spoken of as the Almy family.

I hope I have a serious side, but that side I shall reserve for the president's address at the next conference. I will say now, however, that you have chosen for your president a persistent optimist, although I must admit that the hideous war in Europe has made me a discouraged optimist. Like Professor Cramb, of England, I ask, "Has Corsica conquered Galilee?" As an optimist, hear me say, however, that I do believe that out of this awful war, at frightful cost, good will come, and that like the French Revolution, it has a bright, silver lining. I think that peace will rise like a phoenix from the ashes of the war, and that lessons are already being learned about the wiser care of human kind in all the affairs of life. After the waste of this war human life will

be too valuable to be neglected as it has been. It has always been my belief that our present unnecessary poverty is nothing less than a reproach to religion, and thanks in part to the religious tolerance which this Conference illustrates, and the social knowledge which this Conference inspires and educates, the level of life will be lifted.

MINUTES OF BUSINESS MEETINGS

Wednesday, May 10, 1916, 8:15 *P. M.*

President Gavisk in the chair.

On inquiry by Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh of New York, the President ruled that a resolution could not be introduced at the time.

Friday, May 12, 1916, 8:15 *P. M.*

President Gavisk in the chair.

The privilege of presenting a resolution to the Conference was asked by Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh of New York, the resolution being read by title as follows:

Resolution Presented at the National Conference of Charities and Correction by Benjamin C. Marsh of New York City.

A motion prevailed to the effect that the text of the resolution be heard, and it was accordingly read by Mr. Marsh.

The resolution was referred without debate to the Committee on Resolutions.

10:00 *P. M.*

The report of the *Committee on Time and Place** was presented by Mr. Frank J. Bruno, a member of the committee, as follows:

> Your Committee on Time and Place beg leave to report that invitations for the Conference of 1917 were presented from the cities of Des Moines, Ia., Kansas City, Mo., Newark, N. J., Pittsburgh, Pa., New Orleans, La., Philadelphia, Pa., Buffalo, N. Y., and Toronto, Canada. At a hearing held by the committee on May 11, delegations presented the case for each of these cities with the exception of Buffalo and Toronto.
>
> After full consideration of the earnest claims and attractions of these thriving communities the committee begs leave to recom-

*The Committee on Time and Place consisted of the following members as announced in the National Conference Bulletin: W. G. Theurer, Pittsburgh, Chairman; Marl T. Murray, Lansing, Mich.; James P. Kranz, Memphis; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; David I. Green, Hartford; Adelaide M. Walsh, Chicago; Rev. D. Frank Garland, Dayton; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Garfield A. Berlinsky, Denver; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham, Ala.; Elizabeth B. Neufeld, Akron, Ohio; Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, Manchester, N. H.; Arthur P. Kellogg, New York; Rev. Wm. J. Kerby, Washington, D. C.; V. S. Woodward, Charlotte, N. C.

mend that the National Conference of Charities and Correction for the year 1917 be held in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa.

We recommend, further, that the time be left to the Executive Committee in consultation with the local Committee.

(Signed) W. G. THEURER, Chairman.
ARTHUR P. KELLOGG, Secretary.

On motion, the report was received and concurred in.

The report of the tellers appointed to conduct the election of officers, as proposed by the *Committee on Nomination*,* was read by Mr. William C. Brown, chairman, as follows:

The undersigned committee of tellers appointed to conduct the election of officers of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for 1917, as provided under paragraph 3 of the section of the Rules of Procedure, entitled "Nomination and Election of Officers," beg leave to report as follows:

Total number of votes cast, 187. (Analysis omitted in printing.) Officers elected as follows: (See list of officers on pages 701-2.)

(Signed) WILLIAM C. BROWN, Chairman.
W. L. KUSER,
GERTRUDE E. HALL,
GEORGE B. ROBINSON,
JULIUS GOLDMAN.

Those shown by this report to have been elected were thereupon declared by the President to be the officers of the Conference of 1916-17.

Saturday, May 13, 1916, 2:30 *P. M.*

This was a meeting, generally announced, for the exclusive consideration of matters of business.

President Gavisk in the chair.

The President announced a vacancy in the membership of the Executive Committee on account of the resignation of Mrs. S. S. Crockett of Nashville.

On motion, the Committee on Nomination* was instructed to report at the Monday evening session the name of someone to serve the unexpired term.

At the direction of the President, the General Secretary reported to the Conference action taken by the Executive Committee as follows:

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*The Committee on Nomination, as announced in the Bulletin, consisted of Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago, chairman; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo; David F. Tilley, Boston; F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; Rabbi, Emil W. Leipziger, New Orleans; George S. Wilson, Washington; Mary C. Goodwillie, Baltimore; Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis; C. C. McClaughry, Anamosa, Ia.

1. Recommending a change in the Rules of Procedure in respect to memberships given by virtue of orders for copies of the *Proceedings* in quantity:

> It was moved and carried that the Executive Committee recommend to the Indianapolis meeting of the Conference a change in the fourth paragraph of the Rules of Procedure, in the section entitled "Membership," so as to provide that others than officers and members of organizations giving quantity orders for Proceedings may be entered as members of the Conference and that the number of members that may be so credited shall equal the resultant of dividing the entire amount paid by $3.00, instead of $2.50. The paragraph accordingly would read: "State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members and others as members of this Conference at the rate of one member for each $3.00 paid."

On motion, the recommendation of the Executive Committee was adopted.

2. Recommending the incorporation of the Conference:

> Whereas the financial business of the Conference, which is constantly increasing in volume and importance, can be transacted in a more orderly and businesslike manner by a corporation than by an unincorporated association, therefore,
>
> Resolved: That the Executive Committee for 1916-17 be and it is hereby empowered to secure the incorporation of the Conference for its present purposes and under its present name; such incorporation to be in the state of Illinois unless good reason to the contrary shall appear, and to conform as closely as possible to the present plan of organization; the officers of the Conference at the time of incorporation to hold corresponding offices in the corporation until the annual meeting in 1917, and all property of the Conference to be vested in the corporation when duly created and organized.

On motion the recommendation of the Executive Committee was adopted.

3. Recommending a change in the Rules of Procedure to avoid confusion regarding the alternating terms of members of the Executive Committee, and to maintain a constant quota of fifteen elective members:

> It is recommended to the Conference that the Rules of Procedure be amended by striking out the second sentence of the second paragraph of the section entitled "Committees," so that the section as amended will read as follows: "To be effective beginning with the Conference year 1916-1917 the Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First Vice President, and fifteen other members who shall be elected as follows: five each year for a term of three years. At the Conference of 1916 five members shall be elected to serve two years and five other members to serve three years."

On motion, the recommendation was adopted.

4. Recommending the appointment of a committee to con-

sider relationships with various kindred organizations and groups meeting at the time of the Conference:

> We therefore recommend the creation by the Executive Committee of a special committee, large enough to be thoroughly representative, and given broad power by the Conference to work out with the Organization Committee, and under the direction of the Executive Committee, our relationships with kindred organizations; also to make such desirable readjustments of our program and activities as may be possible under the present rules and policies. This committee, too, should suggest such changes in our procedure and organization as may be necessary most effectively to meet all existing needs.
>
> The committee should be given power in conjunction with the Executive Committee to put into effect any modification of our program and relationships to these independent groups as may be found practicable and desirable during the next year.

It was moved and seconded that the resolution as read be adopted.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Edwin D. Solenberger of Philadelphia, who was chairman of the sub-committee of the Executive Committee from whose report the recommendation was read, on request read the entire report of the sub-committee.

It was moved by Mrs. William H. Lothrop of Boston that the recommendation be amended by striking out the third sentence, so that it should read:

> We therefore recommend the creation by the Executive Committee of a special committee, large enough to be thoroughly representative, and given broad power by the Conference to work out with the Organization Committee, and under the direction of the Executive Committee, our relationships with kindred organizations: also to make such desirable readjustments of our program and activities as may be possible under the present rules and policies. This committee, too, should suggest such changes in our procedure and organization as may be necessary most effectively to meet all existing needs.

The motion to amend was seconded by Dr. Thomas J. Riley of Brooklyn.

The motion to amend was carried.

The original motion as amended prevailed.

The committee to consider the advisability of changing the name of the Conference reported through its chairman, Professor Graham Taylor, of Chicago, as follows:

> The committee of the National Conference on Change of Name at its meeting today voted unanimously for the following program to be reported to the business meeting of the Conference on Saturday.
>
> 1. The Committee believes that a change of name of the Conference is desirable.
>
> 2. The Committee recommends that the Committee on Change of Name be continued for another year.

3. The Committee should be given power to conduct a postal canvass of the members of the Conference asking for definite suggestions as to a suitable new name; this canvass to be conducted in ballot form, the ballot to contain already suggested names and space for an original suggestion and to be accompanied by a statement made by the Committee of the movement to change the name.

4. The results of this postal canvass to be analyzed by the Committee and published with a complete statement of the progress of the movement to change the name in a number of the Conference Bulletin to be issued as soon as possible and not later than three months before the Conference of 1917.

5. The final determination of the whole question to be made on the same ballot as is used for the election of officers at the 1917 Conference by the presentation of the question for a written yes or no vote in such form that the alternative between the present name and the definite name suggested as the result of the postal ballot may be direct and clear.

6. That the Executive Committee shall be authorized by the Conference to arrange for the carrying out of these plans.

Dr. Taylor moved the adoption of the report, and the motion was seconded.

After discussion, it was moved by Dr. H. H. Hart of New York, that the motion be amended by providing for a preferential vote giving five preferences at the time the final ballot should be taken on change of name, the number of preferences to be indicated being the result of a suggestion made by Mr. H. H. Shirer of Columbus, Ohio.

The motion to amend was seconded and carried.

With this amendment, the report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Alexander Johnson of Philadelphia, the sentence in the Rules of Procedure providing that ex-presidents should have the title President Emeritus was ordered stricken out, this being the third paragraph under the section entitled "Officers." Unanimous consent for this action was asked and granted. The sentence stricken out reads as follows:

> The title of President Emeritus shall be given to each ex-president of the Conference.

A resolution relating to the land problem was presented by Mr. Alexander Johnson of Philadelphia, and was referred to the Committee on Organization.

It was moved by Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, chairman of the Committee on Nomination, that the Executive Committee be authorized to pay the traveling expenses of the Committee on Nomination in attending a meeting during the year.

The motion was seconded, and after discussion was lost.

It was moved by Mr. Frank D. Loomis of Indianapolis that the Executive Committee ask the Committee on Nomination to

send a letter to every member of the Conference asking his or her preference in the choice of officers.

The motion of Mr. Loomis was tabled.

On motion of Mr. J. W. Magruder of Baltimore, the question of submitting on the printed ballot more than one name for each of the various offices to be filled, was referred to the Executive Committee with power.

It was moved by Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh of New York that the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to report out all resolutions submitted to them, indicating their favorable or unfavorable recommendations.

The motion was seconded.

A motion to table the motion of Mr. Marsh was lost.

After discussion, the original motion prevailed.

Monday, May 16, 1916, 12:30 *P. M.*

President Gavisk in the chair.

A resolution was presented by title by Mr. H. P. Faris of Clinton, Missouri, as follows: "A resolution suggesting a remedy for a vast percentage of the ills which the organizations represented by this Conference are endeavoring to relieve and cure."

A motion prevailed to the effect that the text of the resolution be read, and this was done.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Monday, May 16, 1916, 10:00 *P. M.*

President Gavisk in the chair.

The *Committee on Resolutions,* through its chairman, Mr. George L. Sehon, reported to the Conference the resolution offered by Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh of New York on Preparedness, with the recommendation that it be not adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was approved.

Tuesday, May 16, 1916, 10:00 *P. M.*

President Gavisk in the chair.

The *Committee on Nomination* reporting through one of its members, Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger of New Orleans, recommended

that Mr. Marcus C. Fagg of Jacksonville, Florida, be chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mrs. S. S. Crockett from the Executive Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The *Committee on Organization,** through its chairman, Dr. Thomas J. Riley, reported as follows:

> Your Commitee on Organization for the Conference of 1917 begs leave to submit the following report, and moves the adoption by the Conference:
>
> Your committee believes that the appointment of the Committee on Organization nine months in advance of the annual meeting is good, as it has been possible to prepare in advance a preliminary report, and to use the occasion of the Conference itself to get criticisms on definite proposals, and at the same time the members of the committee have been able to attend the sessions of the Conference.
>
> Your committee desires to take this opportunity to express its thanks to the many members of the Conference who have made most valuable suggestions for the program and committees for next year.
>
> The duties of the Committee on Organization are: "To select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairman, vice-chairman, and some members of the committee."
>
> Under these duties your committee has not felt that it should make detailed recommendations as to the topics of papers to be presented, but it desires to make the following general recommendation as to all program committees, viz: that so far as practicable each program committee devote its general session to an exposition of the underlying causes of the problems with which it deals, and to evaluate the necessary plans to remove these causes —in a word, that the theme of the general sessions be: the prevention of poverty, disease, defectiveness and crime, or laying the axe at the root of the tree of social ills.
>
> It is the belief of your committee that such a plan would promote unity in the Conference, and increase the value of the record of its proceedings, and yet would leave opportunity in sectional meetings, and in the meetings of related organizations for the discussion of the technology of social work, which is always of such great value.
>
> Your committee desires, also, to suggest that each program committee consider the desirability of devoting at least one paper or one sectional meeting to the consideration of recent noteworthy advances in social legislation and public administration with respect to the problems with which the committee deals and of the necessary and desirable duties of the State or the local government with respect to them.

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*The membership of this Committee, as announced previously in the Bulletin, was as follows: Dr. Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn, Chairman; Prof. C. S. Potts, Austin, Tex.; Helen Glenn, Philadelphia; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; Prof. Frank W. Blackmar, Lawrence, Kan.; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; E. Frances O'Neill, Providence; Adaline A. Buffington, Lansing, Mich.; L. H. Weir, San Francisco; Galen A. Merrill, Owatonna, Minn.; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; Boris D. Bogen, Cincinnati; Prof. C. C. North, Newcastle, Ind.

Your committee wishes to report that many requests were received that the question of sick benefits and retirement allowances for social workers be given place on the program, but feeling that this subject could be considered better by a business than by a program committee, we have referred the matter to the Executive Committee of the Conference.

Your committee wishes to say, that in the choice of officers and members of the several program committees an attempt has been made to combine leadership and geographic representation, including in the representation the officers, and the members of the Executive Committee, the business committees appointed nine months ago, and the new program committees; but the number of persons who have attained positions of leadership is so great, that of necessity some have been omitted.

Your committee submits the following list of program committees, together with nominations for chairman, vice-chairman, and members of the several committees: (see list of committees, pp. 701-2.)

* * * *

Before announcing the next committee (Committee on Community Programs) your committee desires to make a statement: We received through the business meeting of the Conference, but without instruction, a request that the Conference "organize a section On Land and Social Reform and devote at least one general meeting at the next Conference to this subject." It is the belief and the desire of the committee that the subject should be considered at the next Conference. But it has not seemed advisable to create an additional new section in the Conference at this time because the program is now overcrowded, because certain changes in the realignment of sections is under consideration by the Executive Committee, and because it is the practice of the Conference to organize its sections on classes of problems and not on specified methods of reform. Your committee recommends that the request be sent to the following named committee with the recommendation that at least one session be given to the subject.

A motion to adopt the report was seconded and carried.

The *Committee on Resolutions* reported with unfavorable recommendation the resolution offered by Mr. H. P. Faris of Clinton, Mo., relating to the liquor traffic.

A resolution substituted by Mr. Faris to the effect that the resolution be adopted, was tabled.

A resolution relating to child labor was presented by Miss Kate Davis of Cleveland, Ohio, and was referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

The following resolution was presented by Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston:

RESOLUTION SENDING GREETING TO THE FIRST AMERICAN CHILD'S CONGRESS.

Resolved, That the National Conference of Charities and Correction herewith sends its greetings to the delegates of the First American Child's Congress, to assemble in Buenos Aires, Argentine, July 7-18, and expresses its appreciation of the interest and efforts of our fellow-workers in child welfare on the South American Continent.

Mr. George L. Sehon, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported that the foregoing resolution had had favorable consideration by his committee.

The resolution was adopted.

Wednesday, May 17, 1916, 8:15 *P. M.*

President Gavisk in the chair.

The President announced the appointment as delegates to the first American Congress on the Child at Tucuman, Argentine, Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Washington, and Messrs. C. C. Carstens of Boston, George B. Robinson of New York, Galen A. Merrill of Owatonna, Minn., and Wilfred S. Reynolds of Chicago.

10:00 *P. M.*

The *Committee on Resolutions** made its final report through the chairman, Mr. George L. Sehon, as follows:

1. In the death of Thomas M. Mulry the cause of charity lost a noble, unselfish and tireless worker. He was undoubtedly the best known and most respected Roman Catholic layman in the United States, both among his co-religionists and among the members of other religious faiths.

He was the competent head of one of the greatest savings banks in the world; the acknowledged leader of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the United States; an active and efficient member of the New York State Board of Charities, and chairman of the Committee on Charities in the great New York Constitutional Convention of 1915.

It was a fitting climax to his honorable career when he was elected as president of the New York City Conference, the New York State Conference, and finally of the National Conference of Charities and Correction of 1908.

Mr. Mulry was generous, kindly, warm-hearted, loyal, charitable in his judgment of others, slow to discover their faults. He worked cordially and harmoniously with those of other religious faiths.

His memory will long survive in the hearts of those who were his colleagues and associates for so many years in the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

The resolution was adopted.

2. A recommendation that the resolution presented by Miss Kate Davis on child labor be not adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was approved.

3. (This portion of the report being read by a member of the Committee on Resolutions, Dr. Hastings H. Hart):

The report was adopted.

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*This committee consisted of Mr. Sehon, Dr. H. H. Hart, and Miss Jean Gordon.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction, returning to Indianapolis after an interval of twenty-five years, extends its sincere congratulations to the city of Indianapolis and the great Commonwealth of Indiana for the achievements of a quarter of a century in the field of social work.

Out of the 309 delegates from points outside the city of Indianapolis who attended the Conference of 1891, there are present at the present meeting only nine, as follows:

From New York: Dr. John H. Finley, Mrs. John M. Glenn, Dr. Hastings H. Hart.

From Pennsylvania: Mr. Alexander Johnson.

From Indiana: Mr. L. A. Barnett, of Danville, Mrs. Mary Sydney Miller, of Terre Haute, Hon. Timothy Nicholson, of Richmond, Mrs. Julia E. Work, of Plymouth, Dr. S. E. Smith, of Richmond.

The total enrollment of the two conferences may be compared as follows showing a seven-fold increase:

	1891	1916
From Indianapolis	151	995
From other places	300	2,145
Total enrollment	451	3,140

We congratulate the city of Indianapolis on its splendid growth in population, in public and private buildings, in monuments and public parks, in the equipment and organization of schools, and public playgrunds, and in the development of scientific study and modern provisions for public health and sanitation. Indianapolis has become one of the beautiful and notable cities of our country.

We anticipate that this progressive city will soon take measures to safeguard the indoor recreations of its children and young people with the same solicitude and care which have been displayed with reference to outdoor recreations.

We congratulate the State of Indiana in view of the amazing achievements of the past twenty-five years in the development of a state-wide program of social work. We believe that it is fair to say that no state in the union has accomplished more in this direction in the same length of time and that no state, with the possible exception of Massachusetts, has come nearer to the development of a universal social program.

When this Conference visited Indiana in 1891 the Board of State Charities was only two years old and the public institutions of the state and county were as yet only partially delivered from the grip of partisan politicians.

The state and county institutions for prisoners, insane people, feeble-minded children, dependent children and paupers were not superior to those of other states and the administration of poor relief, public health and sanitation was not notable for either efficiency or economy, but, in 1916, we find a different situation. We have been deeply impressed by the "Study of the Development of Public Charities and Correction in Indiana," which has been placed in our hands, and even more by the wonderful exhibit at the State House, illustrating the development of the social institutions of the state.

The resumé of social legislation from 1891 to 1915 given in the Study of the Development of Public Charities and Correction is an amazing story of evolution in jurisprudence. It is a testimonial not only to the genius and wisdom of the leaders who formulated and promoted this surprising body of social legislation but also to the public spirit and practical good sense of the legislators who enacted it. The extent of this social legislation is indicated by the fact that the number of different enactments recorded from session to session ranges from seven items in 1891 to thirty in 1911, covering about two hundred and fifty subjects relating to social welfare, including

I. **Administration:** Non-partisanship in state boards, the merit system for employes, boards of county charities, codification of poor relief laws, poor asylum administration, factory inspection, employment agencies.

II. **Public Health:** A state hospital for the sick, erection of county hospitals, a state soldiers' home, care of consumptives, free anti-toxin, medical inspection of public schools.

III. **Public Morals:** Abatement of prostitution, sterilization of criminals and defectives, regulation of marriage licenses, licensing of maternity hospitals, sale of tobacco and cigarettes to children.

IV. **Dependent and Neglected Children:** Juvenile courts, guardianship, punishment of parents contributing to delinquency, family desertion, the probation system, compulsory school attendance, industrial education, child labor, juvenile reformatories, exclusion of children from poor asylums, supervision of all placed-out children.

V. **Defectives:** The care of the insane, provision for epileptics, custodial care of feeble-minded women.

VI. **Criminals:** White slavery, adult probation, indeterminate sentence and parole, state farm for misdemeanants, prison labor, regulation of county jails, police matrons.

The following are some of the results of this great movement which is revolutionizing the social work of Indiana:

I. The humanizing of the hospitals for the insane and the development of modern methods of medical treatment and pathological study.

II. The removal of epileptics from the hospitals for insane and the institution for feeble-minded and their segregation in a fine modern farm colony, where those who were utterly wretched and hopeless lead normal and happy lives.

III. The assumption by the Mother State of the guardianship of all dependent children in county homes and private orphanages as well as those who have been placed out in family homes by public or private agencies. This guardianship is mantained by the Board of State Charities through its State Agency for Dependent Children and by the county boards of children's guardians. As a result of this public guardianship seventeen out of fifty county children's homes have closed up and have gone out of business; their children being returned to friends or placed in selectcd family homes, under supervision.

IV. The conversion of the Southern Penitentiary into a Reformatory for Men and the development of modern methods and human spirit in the state prisons for men and women.

V. The establishment of a correctional department for misdemeanants at the Woman's Prison and the establishment of a

state farm for misdemeanant men, which take the place of jail imprisonment in idleness for all petty offenders sentenced for more than sixty days, and which will probably result eventually in the abolition of the jail confinement for convicted prisoners and in the adoption of the indeterminate sentence and parole for this class of prisoners.

We congratulate the State of Indiana on these developments, some of which have undoubtedly a national significance.

When the Conference comes again to Indianapolis, in 1941, we anticipate that Indiana will have solved the difficult problem of the feeble-minded, eradicated tuberculosis and venereal diseases, and abolished prison contract labor.

The splendid accomplishments of Indiana have been due largely to the leadership of the governors and citizens who have devoted themselves to this cause and to the wisdom with which the executive officers of the Board of State Charities and the public institutions have been selected.

The quality of these leaders is indicated by the extraordinary fact that in the last twenty-six years Indiana has contributed no less than six out of twenty-six presidents of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, namely:

THANKS!

The thanks of the Conference are extended to the people of Indiana and the citizens of Indianapolis for the generous and unbounded hospitality and good-will which have contributed to make it a joyous and profitable meeting.

We appreciate the extraordinary skill and thoughtfulness with which the local arrangements have been made. No detail has been overlooked which could contribute to the comfort and pleasure of the visitors.

The managers of the hotels have been most considerate in furnishing meeting rooms and facilitating opportunities for social gatherings. The churches and the Christian Associations have furnished convenient meeting places. The commercial and civic organizations and clubs of the city have extended their hospitality freely to visiting delegates. Citizens furnished more than 150 automobiles for the tour of the women delegates. The trustees and superintendents of public and private institutions have kept open house and have furnished hospitality and instruction together.

The social workers of Indianapolis have maintained a most efficient bureau of information and registration. The Boy Scouts have rendered cheerful and unrequited service and a multitude of other people who cannot be mentioned have contributed to the pleasure and profit of this notable meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

The newspapers have not only given generously of their space, even to the extent of crowding war news off from the front page, but have reported the proceedings accurately and sympathetically.

The Conference has appreciated especially the delightful and artistic music which has been furnished and the hospitality which has been extended by multitudes of delightful homes. Thanks are especially due to the Honorable Charles W. Fairbanks and his daughters for the delightful reception at their home on Monday afternoon.

The thanks of the Conference are due to our beloved president, Rev. Father Gavisk, not only for his admirable services as a presiding officer but for that benign and gracious presence which will continue as a blessed memory in the heart of every delegate.

Only second to the president of the Conference comes the secretary of the Indiana Board of State Charities, whose name we are forbidden to mention. Under his guiding hand and inspiration there were chosen Mr. Woollen, Mr. Lilly and Mr. Loomis, who have so admirably worked out the details of the local program and have rendered such splendid service.

To all of these and many others who have contributed to the success of this magnificent meeting, the Conference offers its sincere and unstinted gratitude.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE L. SEHON,
HASTINGS H. HART,
JEAN GORDON,
Committee on Resolutions.

The report was adopted.

(Signed) FRANCIS H. GAVISK, *President.*
WILLIAM T. CROSS, *General Secretary.*

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

All persons who are interested in charities and correction may become members by registering their names and paying the annual fee.

Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The annual membership fee shall be $3.00 and the sustaining membership fee shall be $10.00 annually. These membership fees shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference. Sustaining members shall be entitled to a second copy of the Proceedings, on request.

State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members and others as members of this Conference at the rate of one member for each $3.00 paid.

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, first, second and third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory and the provinces of Canada.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference. The General Secretary, the Treasurer and the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the Executive Committee. The State Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary.

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The President shall appoint within ninety days of the adjournment of the Conference a committee of nine on Nomination. No member of the committee shall be an officer of the Conference or a member of the Executive Committee. The duty of this committee shall be to nominate the elective officers of the Conference and members of the Executive Committee.

2. The committee shall solicit by publication suggestions for nominees from all Conference members. All such suggestions shall be sent to the chairman of the committee within ninety days of the date of publication. The committee shall thereupon proceed to draft a report on nominations, which shall include, first, the nominees proposed by the Nominating Committee, and so designated, and second, other nominees, if any,

proposed by the suggestion or petition of at least twenty-five members, and so designated. The report shall be submitted to the members of the Conference by publication at least thirty days before the opening day of the Conference. Withdrawals of nominees, if any, may be made before the tenth day preceding the opening of the Conference, when the General Secretary shall print a ballot containing the names of all nominees and indicating whether they are nominated by the Nominating Committee or by petition. A blank space shall be left under each office for writing in any other name at the election.

3. The election of officers shall be by ballot, the voting to take place during business hours from the opening of registration on the first day of the Conference to five P. M. of the second day. The votes shall then be counted by five tellers appointed by the President, none of whom shall be officers or members of the Nominating or Executive Committees or nominees. The candidates receiving the largest number of votes shall be declared elected. The result shall be announced at the first business or general session following the completion of the count.

4. All members who have paid dues for the preceding year shall be qualified to vote. At any business session one hundred such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

COMMITTEES

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

To be effective beginning with the Conference year 1916-17 the Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First Vice-President, and fifteen other members who shall be elected as follows: five each year for a term of three years. At the Conference of 1916 five members shall be elected to serve two years and five other members to serve three years.

The President, not later than three months after the closing of the Conference, shall appoint:

A committee of thirteen on Organization of the next Conference, whose duties shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairman, vice-chairman and some members of the committee.

A committee of three on Resolutions to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

A committee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the organization of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities desiring to present such invitations. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon, of the day following. The action on report of the committee shall be by a rising vote, unless otherwise ordered, provided that the city receiving the highest vote, shall be selected; and, provided further that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

The President shall fill promptly any vacancies occurring in these committees, and the Secretary shall publish the names of these committees continuously in the Bulletin, together with an invitation to all members of the Conference to submit to these committees suggestions that are pertinent to the work of these committees.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman, ex-officio, of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference. He shall have authority to accept resignations and to fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees, and to fill vacancies in and add to the numbers of any committee except the Executive Committee. In case of the absence or inability of the President to serve he shall be succeeded by the First Vice-President, and he in like manner by the Second or Third Vice-President in the order named.

The General Secretary shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Executive Committee and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees and others, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programs, and shall direct the work of the secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowance for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter shall report the Proceedings of the Conference, under the direction of the General Secretary.

The retiring Pesident of the Conference and the General Secretary shall constitute a Publication Committee, and shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several states. It shall be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies.

THE DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings. The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President of the Conference, and five members shall constitute a quorum provided that, when the Conference is not in session, three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide suitable meeting places, satisfactory to the President and the General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amount as the Executive Committee may determine.

The President, in consultation with the chairman of each standing committee, shall arrange the program for the sessions and section meetings, and shall so arrange it as to give opportunity for free discussion; provided that the program, before final adoption, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committee, and no paper shall be read in the absence of the writer except by unanimous consent.

In cases when there is a cognate national organization which meets at or about the time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said national organization and as far as possible shall endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and of the Conference.

SECTION MEETINGS

The Section Meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting, to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. If possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion. No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official program.

DEBATES

In the debates of the Conference, speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS

The Executive Committee may authorize the Secretary to announce in the official program the meetings of certain national societies whose purposes are in harmony with those of the National Conference, and which meet at the same place and during, or immediately after or before, the sessions of the National Conference. No such meetings shall be announced until after action by the Executive Committee upon each year's announcement. No such meeting shall be announced which is to occur more than four days prior to the opening meeting of the Conference. No meeting shall be announced which conflicts in time with any meeting of the Conference.

The kindred organizations whose meetings are announced in the Conference program shall be invited to send, if they see fit, to the Secretary of the Conference, in writing, not later than the second day of the Conference session, suggestions as to topics and speakers for the program of the next year's session. Also several names of persons desirable for membership on the standing committees of the next Conference. Such suggestions shall be turned over by the Secretary of the Conference to the Committee on Organization.

AMENDMENTS

These rules shall remain in force from year to year, unless amended; and all additions or amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee before being acted on by the Conference.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF 1916

Officers

President, Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis, Ind.

First Vice President, James F. Jackson, Cleveland, O.; Second Vice President, Dr. James T. Gilmour, Toronto, Can.; Third Vice President, Miss Minnie F. Low, Chicago, Ill.

General Secretary and Treasurer, William T. Cross, Chicago, Ill.

Assistant Secretaries: Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta, Ga.; Nathaniel G. Grasty, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Margaret F. Byington, Brooklyn, N. Y.; T. J. Edmonds, Cincinnati, O.; Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Mass.; John J. O'Connor, Chicago, Ill.

Executive Committee: The ex-presidents as follows: F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts (1881); Hastings H. Hart, Illinois (1893); Alexander Johnson, Indiana (1897); William R. Stewart, New York (1898); Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota (1900); John M. Glenn, Maryland (1901); Timothy Nicholson, Indiana (1902); Robert W. de Forest, New York (1903); Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts (1904); Edward T. Devine, New York (1906); Amos W. Butler, Indiana (1907); Thomas M. Mulry, New York (1908); Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois (1909); Miss Jane Addams, Illinois (1910); Homer Folks, New York (1911); Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C. (1912); Frank Tucker, New York (1913); Graham Taylor, Illinois (1914); Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York (1915). In addition, the President and First Vice President, as named above, and the following: Term expiring 1916, Robert A. Woods, Boston, Mass.; Rabbi Louis Bernstein, St. Joseph, Mo.; Miss Jean Gordon, New Orleans, La.; Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville, Ky.; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia, Pa. Term expiring 1917, J. O. White, Cincinnati, O.; Judge E. F. Waite, Minneapolis, Minn.; Roger N. Baldwin, St Louis, Mo.; Joseph P. Byers, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. S. S. Crockett, Nashville, Tenn.

Also standing, or program, committees as follows:

Children

Chairman, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, D. C.

Vice Chairman, Edward M. Williams, Cleveland, O

Other members: William Wirt, Gary, Ind.; Edward N. Clopper, New York City; Miss Frances G. Curtis, Boston, Mass.; Miss Esther Eaton, Columbus, O.; Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, Boston, Mass.; Henry J. Gideon, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Beverley B. Mumford, Richmond, Va.; C. C. Carstens, Boston, Mass.; Miss Ruth True, New York City; Prof. D. F. Shirk, Topeka, Kan.; Dr. George B. Mangold, St. Louis, Mo.; Guy C. Hanna, Plainfield, Ind.

Corrections

Chairman, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, New York City.

Vice Chairman, Hon. Harry Olson, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: Hon. George S. Addams, Cleveland, O.; Prof. Demarchus C. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.; Allan D. Conover, Madison, Wis.; Hon. Arthur Woods, New York City; Hon. Charles A. DeCourcy, Boston, Mass.; John J. Gascoyne, Newark, N. J.; Dr. John R. Haynes, Los Angeles, Cal.; Albert Garvin, Cheshire, Conn.; W. H. Whittaker, Occoquan, Va.; A. J. G. Wells, Frankort, Ky.; Fred L. Paddelford, Golden, Col.; Hon. James A. Collins, Indianapolis, Ind.; Mrs. Margaret M. Elliott, Indianapolis, Ind.; Robert B. Dripps, Philadelphia Pa.; Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, Los Angeles, Cal.

The Family and The Community

Chairman, Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, Cambridge ,Mass.

Vice Chairman, Prof. Frank L. McVey, University, N. D.

Other members: Mrs. H. E. Bacon, Evansville, Ind.; Prof. Walter G. Beach, Seattle, Wash.; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis, Minn.; Prof. C. C. North, Greencastle, Ind.; J. M. Hanson, Youngstown, O.; Prof. John M. Gillette, University, N. D.; Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago, Ill.; Francis H. McLean, New York City; John Melpolder, Richmond, Ind.; Riley M. Little, Philadelphia, Pa.; Howard S. Braucher, New York City.

Feeblemindedness and Insanity

Chairman, E. R. Johnstone, Vineland, N. J.

Vice Chairman, Dr. George S. Bliss, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Other members: Dr. Owen Copp, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. C. Rogers, Faribault, Minn.; Alexander Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa.; Starr Cadwallader, Columbus, O.; Mrs. Lucy M. Sickles, Mitchellville, Ia.; Jacob Billikopf, Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. Walter E. Fernald, Waverly, Mass.; Dr. David Weeks, Skillman, N. J.; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Sherborn, Mass.; Dr. David C Peyton, Jeffersonville, Ind.

Health

Chairman, Dr. J. N. Hurty, Indianapolis, Ind.

Other members: Frederick L. Hoffman, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Eugene Kelly, Seattle, Wash.; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, Indianapolis, Ind.; Lee F. Hanmer, New York City; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, New York City; Dr. Herman C. Biggs, Albany, N. Y.; Dr. S. E. Smith, Richmond, Ind.; Dr. R. K. Flannagan, Richmond, Va.

Inebriety

Chairman, Bailey B. Burritt, New York City.

Secretary, Alexander Fleisher, New York City.

Other members: Murray A. Auerbach, Little Rock, Ark.; Dr. Irwin H. Neff, Norfolk, Mass.; Dr. George R. Green, Muncie, Ind.; Robert A. Woods, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore, Md; Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. Charles Stelzle, New York City.

Promotion of Social Programs

Chairman Graham Romeyn Taylor, New York City.

Other members: W. J. Norton, Cincinnati, O.; Prof. Frank A. Fetter, Princeton, N. Y.; Orlando F. Lewis, New York City; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis, Minn.; Dr. A. J. McKelway, Washingon, D. C.; Shelby M. Harrison, New York City; Charles Whiting Williams, Cleveland, O.; Porter R. Lee, New York City; Miss Virginia McMechen, Seattle, Wash.; J. Prentice Murphy, Boston, Mass.

Public and Private Charities

Chairman, H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Ohio.

Vice Chairman, Charles C. Stillman, St. Paul Minn.

Other members: James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Miss Katharine R. Williams, Milwaukee, Wis.; Alexander M. Wilson, New York City; Leroy A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo.; Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.; John H. Holliday, Indianapolis, Ind.; George S. Wilson, Washington, D. C.; A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill.; James B. Williams, Los Angeles, Cal.; Miss Amy F. Acton, Boston, Mass.; W. Frank Persons, New York City; Marl T. Murray, Lansing, Mich.

Unemployment

Chairman, William H. Pear, Boston, Mass.

Vice Chairman, Prof. Charles E. Merriam, Chicago, Ill.

Other members: Jacob H Hollander, Baltiomre, Md.; Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Frances A. Kellor, New York City; Mrs. W. E. Miller, South Bend, Ind.; Prof. J. E. Hagerty, Columbus, O.; James Mullenbach, Chicago, Ill.; George L. Warren, Boston, Mass.; E. T. Brigham, Kansas City, Mo.; John R. Shillady, New York City.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1917*

Officers.

President, Frederic Almy, 181 Franklin St., Buffalo.

First Vice-President, Joseph Lee, Boston; Second Vice-President, Julia C. Lathrop, Washington; Third Vice-President, Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, New Orleans.

General Secretary and Treasurer, William T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

Assistant Secretaries: Frank D. Loomis, Indianapolis; T. J. Edmonds, Cincinnati; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Charles C. Stillman, St. Paul; Maurice Willows, Scranton; Albert E. Sinks, Wheeling; Dr. Gertrude E. Hall, Albany; Ernest D. Easton, Newark, N. J.; Adelaide M. Walsh, Chicago; Alexander Fleisher, New York City; Virginia McMechen, Seattle; Albert Sidney Johnstone, Columbia, S. C.; Cheney C. Jones, Cleveland; Murray A. Auerbach, Little Rock; Mrs. Ray Van Baalen, Pittsburgh.

Executive Committee: Frederic Almy, Buffalo; Joseph Lee, Boston; James O. White, Cincinnati; Edward M. Waite, Minneapolis; Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis; Joseph P. Byers, Philadelphia; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis; Minnie F. Low, Chicago; Katharine B. Davis, New York; John Daniels, New York; Graham Taylor, Chicago; Hastings H. Hart, New York; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; Arthur H. Burnett, Toronto; Gertrude Vaile, Denver.

Also standing, or program, committees, as follows:

Children.

Chairman, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Sup't Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, 1818 Republic Bldg., Chicago.

Vice Chairman, George B. Mangold, Dir. School of Social Economy, St. Louis.

Other members: Roy Smith Wallace, Philadelphia; Edward N. Clopper, New York; Arthur W. Towne, Brooklyn; Allie Jewell, Wheatland, Wyo.; J. August Brown, Indianapolis; George L. Jones, Baltimore; Cheney C. Jones, Cleveland; J. Prentice Murphy, Boston; Vida Newsom, Columbus, Ind.; Alfred Fairbank, St. Louis; George R. Bedinger, Detroit; L. B. Bernstein, Pleasantville, N. Y.; Brother Henry, Lincolndale, N. Y.; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; Jean Gordon, New Orleans; John P. Sanderson, Buffalo; Mrs. Benjamin West, Memphis; Mrs. Paul Woolley, Cincinnati; A. D. Stuckeman, Sioux Falls; William C. White, Milwaukee.

Community Programs.

Chairman: Robert A. Woods, head resident, South End House, 20 Union Park, Boston.

Vice Chairman: W. J. Norten, Dir., Council of Social Agencies, 806 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati.

Other members: Shelby M. Harrison, New York; Edward T. Hartman, Boston; George E. Hooker, Chicago; Walter Lippmann, New York City; Allen T. Burns, Cleveland; Alexander Fleisher, New York; Dr. William A. Wilson, Detroit; Edith S. Reider, Chicago; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington, D. C.; Prof. Frank A. Fetter, Princeton, N. J.; Alexander Johnson, Philadelphia; Benjamin C. Marsh, New York; Murray A. Auerbach, Little Rock; Helen Hart, Toronto; George E. Haynes, Nashville; Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Detroit.

The Family and The Community.

Chairman, W. Frank Persons, Dir. of General Work, Charity Organization Soc'y, 105 E. 22nd St., New York City.

Vice Chairman, Mary C. Goodwillie, 205 Wendover Road, Baltimore, Md.

Other members: Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Mrs. Eva W. White, Boston; Fred R. Johnson, Boston; Evelyn Gail Gardiner, Grand Rapids; Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia; J. Byron Deacon, Pittsburgh; Louise Cottrell, Kenosha, Wis.; Harriet E. Vittum, Chicago; Louis H. Levin, Baltimore; Miss G. L. Button, Red Bank, N. J.; Margaret Laing, Columbia, S. C.; Walter S. Ufford, Washington; A. E. Sinks, Wheeling; Mrs. Harriett N. Leary, San Antonio; Harriet Anderson, Louisville, Ky.; Sadie Gober, Jackson, Miss.; Morris D. Waldman, New York; Christianna G. Gilchrist, Phoenix, Ariz.; Virginia McMechen, Seattle; George L. Warren, Bridgeport, Conn.

Corrections.

Chairman, Thomas Mott Osborne, Warden of Sing Sing, Ossining, N. Y.

*Corrected to date, October 1, 1916.

Vice Chairman, Hon. George S. Addams, Juvenile Court, Cleveland.

Other members: Mrs. Jessie Hodder, Framingham, Mass.; Dr. William Healy, Chicago; Herbert C. Parsons, Brookline, Mass.; Judge James A. Collins, Indianapolis; Mrs. Otto Wittpenn, Jersey City; Mrs. Frances F. Morse, Sauk Center, Minn.; W. F. Simpson, Jackson, Mich.; Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh, Birmingham; Judge Arthur J. Lacy, Detroit; Dr. Kenosha Sessions, Indianapolis; Judge Charles W. Hoffman, Cincinnati; W. H. Whittaker, Occoquan, Va.; Rev. Harris Cooley, Cleveland; Kate Barnard, Oklahoma City; A. W. Miller, Omaha; E. S. Hinkley, Ogden, Utah; Judge Charles Almy, Boston.

Health

Chairman: Dr. Charles P. Emerson, Dean, Indiana University School of Medicine, Indianapolis.

Vice Chairman: Dr. H. M. Bracken, Sec'y, State Board of Health, Minneapolis.

Other members: Kate McMahon, Boston; Julia C. Stimson, St. Louis; Lillian D. Wald, New York; Dr. C. E. Terry, Jacksonville, Fla.; Dr. W. H. Rankin, Raleigh; Pres. Livingston Farrand, Boulder, Colo.; Philip S. Jacobs, New York; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, New York; John H. Ihlder, Washington; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven; Dr. Walter S. Goodale, Buffalo; Arthur H. Burnett, Toronto; Dr. Algernon S. Barnes, St. Louis; Dr. Samuel G. Dixon, Harrisburg; Edna G. Henry, Indianapolis; Dr. J. H. Mason Knox, Baltimore; Dr. William F. Snow, New York.

Mental Hygiene

Chairman: Owen Copp, M. D., Sup't, Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia.

Vice Chairman: S. E. Smith, M.D., Sup't, Eastern Hospital for Insane, Richmond, Ind.

Other members: Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, New York; Dr. J. H. Randolph, Jacksonville, Fla.; Dr. Adolf Meyer, Baltimore; Dr. A. J. Rosenoff, Kings Park, N. Y.; J. M. Murdoch, Polk, Pa.; Dr. Walter Van Nuys, Newcastle, Ind.; Dr. Walter S. Cornell, Philadelphia; Dr. H. H. Goddard, Vineland, N. J.; Dr. A. C. Rogers, Faribault, Minn.; Dr. Herman M. Adler, Boston; Dr. Arthur W. Hurd, Buffalo.

Public Charities

Chairman: A. L. Bowen, Sec'y, State Charities Commission, Springfield, Ill.

Vice Chairman: Gertrude Vaile, 1137 Sherman St., Denver, Colo.

Other members: Laura Greely, Indianapolis; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; C. C. Menzler, Chattanooga; Rabbi W. S. Friedman, Denver; Robert D. Dripps, Philadelphia; John A. Kingsbury, New York; C. V. Williams, Columbus, O.; Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley, Cal.; J. T. Mastin, Richmond, Va.; James B. Williams, Los Angeles; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; H. C. Bowman, Topeka, Kans.; Albert S. Johnstone, Columbia, S. C.; Jacob Billikopf, Kansas City; J. O. White, Cincinnati.

Rural Social Problems

Chairman: Prof. John M. Gillette, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D.

Vice Chairman: Warren M. Wilson, Sup't, Dep't of Country Church, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, N. Y.

Other members: Bessie McClenahan, Iowa City; Anna Clark, New York; E. C. Lindemann, Lansing, Mich.; Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New York; Prof. Liberty H. Bailey, Ithaca, N. Y.; Martha Berry, Rome, Ga.; George Frederick Wells, Tyringham, Mass.; Joseph Pincus, New York; Prof. Thomas N. Carver, Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. Cecil C. North, Greencastle, Ind.; Hon. Samuel D. Murphy, Birmingham; Major R. R. Moton, Tuskegee; Gifford Pinchot, Milford, Pa.

Social Insurance

Chairman: Max Senior, Dir., United Jewish Charities, Mitchell Bldg.; Cincinnati, O.

Vice Chairman: John B. Andrews, Sec'y, American Ass'n for Labor Legislation, New York.

Other members: Prof. Jacob H. Hollender, Baltimore; Lee K. Frankel, New York; Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn; Dr. William E. McLennan, Buffalo; S. Gale Lowrie, Cincinnati; Prof. E. A. Ross, Madison, Wis.; E. R. Hayhurst, M. D., Columbus, O.; I. M. Rubinow, New York; Eugene T. Lies, Chicago.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Admin.	Administration,-ive	Gen.	General	Prob.	Probation
Assn.	Association,-s	Govt.	Government,-al	Prog.	Program,-s
Char.	Charity,-ies,-able	Hist.	History,-ical	Prohib.	Prohibition,-s
Chil.	Child,-ren,-s	Hyg.	Hygiene,-ic	Psychol.	Psychological
Com.	Committee,-s	Imgt.	Immigrant,-ation	Psychop.	Psychopathic
Comn.	Commission,-s	Indus.	Industry,-ial,-ly	Pub.	Public
Comty.	Community,-ies	Inst.	Institution,-al	Recn.	Recreation,-al
Conf.	Conference,-s	Ins.	Insurance	Ref.	Reference
Cor.	Correction,-s,-al	Introd.	Introduction,-ory	Reg.	Regulate,-ion,-s, -ing
Crit.	Criticized,-ism	Invstg.	Investigate,-ed,-ion	Rehab.	Rehabilitation
Defec.	Defect,-ive,-s,-ness	Legis.	Legislator,-s,-ion, -ive,-ure	Relig.	Religion,-s,-ous
Delinq.	Delinquent,-cy	Lim.	Limit,-ed,-ation	Rep.	Report,-ed,-ing
Dep.	Dependent,-cy	Med.	Medical	Quot.	Quoted,-ation
Dept.	Department,-s	Ment.	Mental,-ly,-ity	Soc.	Social,-ety
Descr.	Description,-s,-ive, -ibed	Org.	Organize,-ing,-ed, -ation	Stat.	Statistics,-al
Develp.	Develop,-ment,-s	Phil.	Philanthropic,-y	Supt.	Superintendent
Econ.	Economy,-ics,-al	Pop.	Population,-s	Superv.	Supervision,-ory, -ing
Educ.	Educate,-ion,-al	Prev.	Prevent,-ion,-ing, -ive	Tbc.	Tuberculosis
Exam.	Examine,-ed, -ation,-s	Pris.	Prison,-s	Unem.	Unemployed,-ment, -able
Fed.	Federal,-ation,-s	Priv.	Private,-ly	Vol.	Volunteer,-ary
F. M.	Feeble-minded,-ness				
Fin.	Finance,-s,-ial				

EXPLANATION

Names of states and countries, the usual postoffice abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S. Phrases in *Italics* signify titles of papers. Author's name follows title.

The Index contains the names of all speakers at the meeting and of all persons to whom important reference is made or who are quoted. The Index does not contain reference by name to officers and members of committees, nor to speakers whose words are not published. These may be found by reference under the words "committee" and "officers."

The Index contains references to all geographical divisions to which important reference is made, except where series of data or statistics are given, with many references to cities or states. In such cases the material is usually classified under general headings such as "statistics," "studies," etc.

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